

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

Vol. III

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY GUPTA KINGS 'AND THEIR SUCCESSORS

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scarcity of authentic materials for

attached to all genuine monuments, and even for the modern, history of the Hindu race, importance is
attached especially to inscriptions on stone and metal"—*Colebrooke's Essays*,
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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

As book-sellers specializing in oriental books we have been facing great difficulties in procuring rare and out of print books to meet growing demands of our customers. If a copy or two of a rare book could be obtained with much strenuous efforts it was always on prohibitive price. We, therefore, decided to re-publish some of the very rare and useful books on the various subjects in the field of Indology. We are conscious of our difficulties and limitations in facing this stupendous task but we hope this will be minimized through the co-operation of those for whom we have undertaken this enterprize. After we had already gone ahead with the work of re-printing some of the books, we were able to get the advice and help of Professor A. K. Narain, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of Banaras Hindu University, who has kindly agreed to supervise such publications and to be the General Editor of such works which belong to his general field of studies.

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PREFACE.

JUST half a century ago, in 1837, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 663, Mr. James Prinsep, by whom the study of Indian archæology was first placed on a sound and critical basis, indicated the necessity of systematically arranging the epigraphical materials for the study of the ancient history of India, which were then being gradually found to exist in considerable numbers; and also suggested the name which the collective publication of them should bear, viz. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.

For nearly forty years, however, owing to the manner in which the collection and publication of these epigraphical materials was left almost entirely to private enterprise, the scheme lay dormant; until it was revived, about ten years ago, by General Sir Alexander Cunningham, C.S.I., K.C.I.E., who in 1870 was selected by the Government of India for the newly-created post of Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, and who, in 1877, brought out the first volume of this series, under the title of *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Volume I., containing the Inscriptions of Aśoka.

At the same time, he announced that, in the continuation of the series, Volume II. would contain the Inscriptions of the Indo-Scythians and of the Satraps of Saurāshtra, and Vol. III. the Inscriptions of the Guptas and of other contemporary dynasties of Northern India. And, with the special sanction of the Secretary of State for India, in 1882 I was selected for the newly-created post of Epigraphist to the Government of India, with the primary duty of preparing the volume that was to contain the Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings. I joined that appointment on the 17th January, 1883; and held it up to the 4th June, 1886, when it was abolished.

At first sight, the principal task that lay before me seemed neither lengthy nor laborious; it being understood that the necessary materials had already been fully collected, and merely required to be critically examined and published. And the only practical difficulty that then appeared to lie in my way, was, that, as the intended volume of Indo-Scythian inscriptions, which had been entrusted to other hands and ought, for a proper consideration in due chronological order of all the questions concerned, to have appeared first, had not been previously published,—and, in fact, it has not even yet been issued,—and their dates had not been determined beyond dispute, the all-important question of the exact historical period to which the Early Gupta dynasty must be referred, would probably still be left undecided, save by historical and other inferences and arguments which might at any future time be proved, by further discoveries, to be unsound and erroneous.

My task, however, quickly assumed more ample proportions ; for I found at once that hardly any of the materials previously collected, in the shape of ink-impressions of the original records on stone and copper, could be relied on for purposes of critical editing ; and much less for the reproduction in facsimile Plates, which must always be an inseparable part of such researches, in order that scholars who cannot examine the original records themselves, may nevertheless be in a position to check the published results that are submitted to them. I found, in fact, that, with only eleven or twelve exceptions, it was unavoidable that I should have fresh impressions prepared of all the materials throughout ; and also that, as far as might be practicable, I should examine the original stone-records *in situ*, and the original copper-records by collecting them together again from the various owners of them. The arrangements entailed much correspondence, and a great deal of travelling, than which nothing is more obstructive of continuous and successful literary work. And it was not until April, 1885, that I found myself in possession of the last of the materials required by me, *viz.* an ink-impression and estampage of the Gaṅgadhār inscription of Viśvavarman, No. 17, page 72.

Meanwhile, of course, a certain amount of progress had been made in the preparation of the Texts and Translations, and in the arrangement of the Plates and other subsidiary work ; subject always to the fact that no division of the work could be actually finished off, until it should be known that there were no more materials to come in. And the delay that was entailed by the necessity of collecting all the previously known materials afresh, has proved to be no matter for regret ; if only for the reason that it enabled me to obtain, amongst other perfectly new materials, the invaluable Mandasôr inscription, No. 18, page 79, which furnished the information that was required, to set at rest the long-disputed question of the epoch of the Gupta era. This inscription was only discovered, under my direction, in March, 1884 ; and even then the full value of it was not apparent, in consequence of some serious imperfections in the ink-impressions that were first brought to me. I myself visited Mandasôr at the end of February, 1885 ; and was then able to examine this record *in situ*, and to have proper ink-impressions of it made ; and thus to ascertain its full and conclusive bearing. And it was on this journey that, for the first time, by visiting Ujjain, I became aware of the almost equally important inscription of Yaśôdharman and Vishṇuvardhana, No. 35, page 150, which gave the key to the whole history of the period, by supplying a definite date for Yaśôdharman, who was known, from the Mandasôr inscription, No. 33, page 142, discovered under my direction in March, 1884, to have overthrown the well-known foreign invader and conqueror, Mihirakula, who, again, I had previously determined, must have effected the final downfall of the Early Gupta dynasty. Without these discoveries, the period of the Early Gupta supremacy would have still remained the subject of argument and doubt. Whereas, with them, I have been able now to set this question at rest, and thus to establish a starting-point from which we can work back in developing the Indo-Scythian history ; and, also, through fixing, for the first time,

the date of Mihirakula,—who, as we learn from the writings of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, played a most leading and important part in early Indian history,—to furnish the means of adjusting the chronology, before and after him, of the early history of Kaśmīr, as recorded in the *Rājataranginī*, and also of testing the accuracy of the Chinese accounts of the same early period.

The collection of the required materials having been at length completed, the next step was the preparation of the photo-lithographic facsimile Plates. And this was one of the most special divisions of the work. My object throughout has been, to place before my readers, in these Plates, as good substitutes, as can possibly be provided, for the original records; in order that they may be in a position to satisfy themselves as to the correctness or otherwise of my readings, and, on any doubtful points, to adopt any improvements which future researches may indicate. Any lithographs prepared from hand-tracings, eye-copies, or any similar materials, or even from mechanical impressions subsequently worked up by hand, are, of course, of absolutely no value whatever for critical purposes; for the reason that, no matter what amount of personal learning, skill, and care, may be brought to the work, the results are, not facsimiles of the original records as they really stand, but only facsimiles of those records as they have presented themselves to the eye of the individual reader of them; and, as long as such pseudo-facsimiles are the only substitutes available, so long there cannot cease to be varieties of opinion, and doubts and speculation, as to what the readings might be found to be, if the originals could be examined again *in situ*. To avoid anything of this kind, such of the ink-impressions as have been prepared under my own direction, *i.e.* all save eleven or twelve in the whole series, have been made with the most particular care, by purely mechanical means, by a man whom I have for a long time employed on such work, and who has attained considerable proficiency in it. And, by special sanction, the reproduction of them was made over to the well-known Photo-lithographic Establishment of Mr. W. Griggs, at Peckham, in which a good deal of work of the same kind had been previously turned out; and I was allowed to proceed to England, in order to superintend this part of the work in person. My own share here has simply been to see that the photo-lithographic reproduction was a faithful and mechanical process throughout; but this, of course, entailed the minute examination of two or three Proofs of each Plate, up to the final printing, in order to guard against the occasional distortion and blocking-up of letters, which is always liable to occur in reproducing such materials; and anyone, who has had practical experience, will know that careful supervision of such work takes up no little time. The results, however, have fully compensated for all the time and trouble that were spent in attaining them. And, with the valuable co-operation given by Mr. Griggs himself, through the personal interest which he takes in the reproduction of inscriptions, I am now able to submit to my readers a series of as absolutely faithful reduced facsimiles, as could possibly be prepared, of the original inscriptions and all their surroundings.

This part of the work was finished in December, 1885. I then returned to India, to complete the volume; and the Texts and Translations were ready for the Press at the end of May, 1886; though not quite in the same form throughout, in which they now appear. It was, however, then found that a number of accented types had to be prepared specially for this volume; and, owing to this and other causes, the first proofs were not fairly in hand till the following November. That they were so far started then, and that the work has progressed so quickly since then, is due to the friendly and earnest personal co-operation of Messrs. E. J. Dean and A. Sanderson, the Superintendent and Deputy-Superintendent of Government Printing, India, in whose office the volume has been printed; and I think I may fairly say that the volume gives a most excellent specimen of the style in which, under intelligent direction, the printing of large and important books can be done in India. I would also acknowledge here much assistance given by my friend, Mr. W. Rees Philipps, in reading the final proofs; as, since the commencement of the printing, I have never been less than five days distant from the Press by post, and have been part of the time in England, the assistance given by him on the spot, in Calcutta, has been most valuable in saving time. The printing of the Texts and Translations was completed in July, 1887. And the delay since then is due to the large amount of important matter, which, while they were being taken through the Press, I found myself in a position to include in the Introduction.

It will doubtless be remarked that, in the notes to my Texts, I have but seldom referred to the readings given in previously published versions of the same inscriptions. It soon became apparent to me that, to make any such references throughout, would increase the bulk of the book to at least twice what it now is, and encumber the pages of it with hundreds of footnotes of not the slightest practical value. I therefore abandoned, almost at starting, any idea of such a course; considering that the point was one which could interest only a very limited class of readers, and that, by giving in the introduction to each Text every reference that I could find to previous versions of it by other hands, I should afford those few special readers every facility for making any comparisons that might be necessary; and I have confined myself to noting previous mislections, only when they have had a bearing upon some historical name or other point of special importance. I offer my present versions of the Texts, not as absolutely final ones throughout, but as the most reliable ones that have as yet been produced; and as rendering possible now, for the first time, a thoroughly critical start in all the lines of research connected with the epigraphical materials of the period with which I have dealt. To take one special line as an instance,—it is only now that we are beginning to know properly the correct processes by which Hindu dates may be converted into their English equivalents. Much, in connection with this, still remains to be made known. And, as our knowledge advances, many improvements will undoubtedly be made in the interpretation, for instance, of numerical symbols, and of the other particular details of recorded dates. As an apposite instance, I would refer to note 2 on page 274. In this line, as in any other, I shall be only

too thankful for any suggestions that may be made to me, with a view to improvements in any future edition.

A serious obstacle, hitherto, in the prosecution of epigraphical researches, has been the want of full and systematic indexes. To the Index of the present volume, special attention has been given; in order that it shall include an easy reference to anything in this series of inscriptions that can bear on any of the lines of research connected with epigraphy. And, to this point, I trust that full attention will be paid, in future volumes of this series by other hands.

The original sanction for this volume, limited by the heavy cost of the Plates, was for two hundred and fifty copies. Towards the end of my work, however, many gratifying intimations came from England, the Continent, and India, that the book was likely to be far more popular, and a far more general subject of study, than even I myself had ever anticipated. Under these circumstances, there has now been printed an additional issue of two hundred and fifty copies, without Plates, and thus procurable at a moderate price. The copies of this issue, of course, contain everything that is essential for general readers. And the complete copy, with Plates, in the nearest Public Library, Society's Rooms, or College, will always furnish special students with the means of prosecuting inquiries on particular points of interpretation of the original texts.

As I have indicated above, the volume does not appear in quite the form in which it was originally prepared for the Press. It will not be thoroughly complete, without the Historical Chapters that should form the second part of it. These however could not be even drafted to any considerable extent, until the Texts and Translations were all in print, in order to facilitate constant reference and quotation. And the writing of the Historical Chapters will entail so enormous an amount of miscellaneous reading and annotation, for the purpose of tracing to their origin, in order to explain and completely refute, all the erroneous theories, in every connected line of inquiry, which have been started during the last fifty years in order to support any epoch rather than the correct one, that, having now again to give all my principal attention and energy to the ordinary duties of official life in the Revenue Department, I doubt much whether those chapters will ever be written by me. It has, in fact, been difficult enough for me to finish, to my satisfaction, even the present part of the volume. I have, therefore, taken advantage of the delay in printing, to incorporate in this part of the volume a variety of notes and remarks which I should have preferred keeping back for the Historical Chapters. They will, however, I think, be found to be not altogether misplaced; even if I may subsequently have to modify the views expressed in some of them.

Another point in which the delay in publication has been turned to even greater advantage, is in respect of the valuable matter which I have been able to include in the Introduction through the kind co-operation of Mr. Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit, of

the Bombay Educational Department. It was only at the end of December, 1886, that I made his acquaintance. But, since then, he has been most assiduous in making all the astronomical calculations, which were suggested by me to him as each new point developed itself in the special inquiries that, through his assistance, became possible. Two of his papers will be given in full in Appendices II. and III.; and the first of them will be found to explain thoroughly the process by which, with the late Professor Kero Lakshman Chhatre's Tables, anyone may now be able to calculate correctly the week-day, and the corresponding English date, for any given Hindu *tithi* or lunar day. The second point to which he has given his attention, is the elucidation of the system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, the years of which form so important a part in some of the records of the Early Gupta period. I find it impossible to over-estimate the work which he has done for me during the short period of our acquaintance. His assistance has been simply invaluable. Without it, I must have left all these subsidiary points for future determination; and must, of course, have left the all-important subject of the epoch of the Gupta era still open, within the limits of one year before and after the true date, to doubt and argument. With it, I am now able to prove everything that I have sought to establish, from the time when I first became aware of the full purport of the Mandasôr inscription that gives the date of Kumâragupta and Bandhuvarman; and to present my case, as will be seen, in a thoroughly complete and satisfactory form.

J. F. FLEET.

INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE entering on the leading subject of this Introduction,—the determination of the epoch of the so-called Gupta era,—I would give a brief account of the scope of the book, and the arrangement of its contents.

The leading records are, of course, those of the **Early Guptas** themselves;¹ from No. 1, the Allahâbâd posthumous stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta, down to No. 16, page 68, the Indôr copper-plate grant of Skandagupta, who, as far as we know at present, was the last of the direct line of the Early Gupta dynasty. The actual dates of these records extend from A.D. 401 to A.D. 466.

To the same period belong the two inscriptions of the **Rulers of Mâlava**; No. 17, page 72, the Gaṅgdhâr inscription of Viśvavarman, dated² in A.D. 424; and No. 18, page 79, the Mandasôr inscription, dated in A.D. 474, which gives us the date of A.D. 437 for Kumâragupta and his feudatory, Bandhuvarman; and, in doing so, has supplied what was always felt to be the most urgent desideratum, *viz.* a date, for any one of the Early Gupta kings, recorded in a standard era, capable of identification, other than the era which was habitually used by the Early Guptas themselves. With the exception of a few among the Miscellaneous Inscriptions, to be noticed hereafter, No. 17 is the last record that belongs specifically to the Early Gupta dynasty.

But, shortly after the time of Skandagupta, we meet with the two names of **Budhagupta** and **Bhânugupta**, with the dates of respectively A.D. 484, in No. 19, page 88, and A.D. 510, in No. 20, page 91. And, coupled with the fact that, in the inscriptions of the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâjas*, the Gupta sovereignty is distinctly stated to have continued down to A.D. 528, the termination of these names raises at least a presumption that these two kings were of the Early Gupta lineage, though possibly not connected by direct descent with Skandagupta. Budhagupta comes, chronologically, immediately after Skandagupta. Bhânugupta comes somewhat later; after Tôramâṇa, whose power meanwhile succeeded that of Budhagupta in Eastern Mâlwa. But, under all the circumstances,

¹ I call the members of this family the "Early Guptas," by way of easily distinguishing them from the later Guptas of Magadha, whose genealogy is given in the Aphaṣṭ inscription, No. 42, page 200, and in the Dêḍ-Baraṇâr inscription, No. 46, page 213.

² In respect of these three dates, I follow here the equivalents that I have given in my introductory remarks to the two inscriptions. But, when the proper value of expired years of the Mâlava or Vikrama era can be determined, perhaps it may be found that these three dates, and any others of the same series, are each one year earlier than as at present given by me.

of Gupta-Saṃvat 156 and 191; and for Śarvanātha, the extreme dates of the years 193 and 214, with the year 177 as the latest known date for his father Jayanātha. And, as it is unlikely that Hastin continued alive and in power for any length of time after Gupta-Saṃvat 191, it seemed, on the supposition that both the series of dates were to be referred to the Gupta era, that the Mahā-Māgha *saṃvatsara* in question was the one commencing in Gupta-Saṃvat 189, rather than that commencing in Gupta-Saṃvat 201; since, the former was easily obtained by adding only four years at the commencement of the period for Śarvanātha; whereas, to obtain the latter, we should have to add on ten years at the end of Hastin's already long enough period of thirty-six years. On the other hand, the Mahā-Māgha *saṃvatsara* occurred previously, in Hastin's period, in Gupta-Saṃvat 165 and 177. If the Uchchakalpa dates were referred to the Kalachuri era, with General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 249-50, Śarvanātha's latest date, the year 214, would be equivalent to A.D. 463-64, or Gupta-Saṃvat 144; and we should have to add on twenty-one years at the end of his known period, in order to make him the contemporary of Hastin in Gupta-Saṃvat 165. Whereas, if an epoch could be found for the Kalachuri era about twenty-five years later than that proposed by General Cunningham, the two *Mahārājas* would be naturally contemporaneous in Gupta-Saṃvat 165 or A.D. 484-85. By calculation, however, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit found that, though General Cunningham's proposed epoch might be very close to the real truth, yet it was certainly not the absolutely correct one. Also, though he found that nearly all of the ten Kalachuri or Chêḍi dates, given by General Cunningham,¹ would work out correctly with an epoch of A.D. 248-49, or just one year earlier than that proposed by General Cunningham, yet both he and I felt that the available data, in the shape of the published readings and lithographs of the dates, were not sufficiently reliable for any definite theory to be built up on the results obtained by him. Again, if the Kalachuri era really existed in that early time,²—in which case, of course, there were then actually kings of the Kalachuri dynasty,—it seemed strange that no distinct reference should be made to the dynasty in the Allahābād pillar inscription, which, with much minuteness of detail, claims for Samudragupta the conquest of the whole earth;³ especially since the Mahākūṭ pillar inscription of the Early Chalukya king

¹ *Indian Eras*, p. 61.

² I do not overlook the 'Pardi' grant of the Traikūṭaka *Mahārāja* Dahrasēna (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 346 ff.), which is dated in the year 207 of an unspecified era; or the Kāpheri plate (see No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, p. 57 ff.), which is dated "in two centuries of years, increased by forty-five, of the augmenting sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas." But it still has to be proved, either, on general grounds, that the era of these two records, is the Kalachuri era; or that the Triakūṭa whence these Traikūṭakas derived their name, is identical with Tripura or Tripurī, the capital of the Kalachuris of Central India.

³ Prinsep, indeed (see, for instance, *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. I. p. 237), found the possible mention of a Tripura in the Karttipura which is spoken of in line 22 of this inscription. But he would have identified it with the modern 'Tipperah.' And the immediate connection of Karttipura, in the inscription, with Samatāṭa or Lower Bengal, Ḍavāka (? 'Dacca,' if the correct spelling really is Ḍākā), Kāmarūpa or Assam, and Nêpāl, shews that the place was indeed very far away from India.

Maṅgaliśa¹ shews that the dynastic name was very well established in at least the sixth century A.D., and mentions it under the Sanskritised form of Kalatsûri. As, however, the Kalachuris, in their later records, represent themselves as descendants of Sahasra-Arjuna or Sahasrabâhu-Arjuna,² the required reference to them in the Allahâbâd inscription might be found in the Ârjunâyanas, who are mentioned in line 22; and no special objection need be taken on that ground. The real difficulty was to prove that the Kalachuri era, and, with it, sovereigns of the Kalachuri dynasty, really existed in early times; and that the era was not merely one of somewhat later invention, fitted to an early epoch. But, since the time when I first drafted the preceding remarks, Prof. Kielhorn has determined, quite recently,³ that, if we only take three of the ten dates in question as denoting expired years, all the dates will work out correctly with the epoch of A.D. 248-49. It is, therefore, really a question for consideration whether the *Mahârâjas* of Uchchakalpa were not indeed feudatories of early kings of the Kalachuri dynasty; and whether the dates of their records do not furnish the earliest instances of the use of the Kalachuri era. Unfortunately, these Uchchakalpa dates do not contain details for computation; and the question, accordingly, cannot at present be decided in that way.

The inscriptions contain various hints as to the causes which led to the downfall of the Early Gupta sovereignty. But, looking round on all these intimations, with the help of extraneous information, the person who accomplished their final extinction seems undoubtedly to have been the great king Mihirakula, of Śākala in the Pañjâb, and subsequently of Kaśmīr, whose career in India is so graphically described by the Chinese pilgrim Hsien Tsiang. Among epigraphical records, his name had long been extant, though it had not been recognised, in an inscription at Gwâlior, No. 37, page 161, where it occurs as the name of a son of Tōramāna. I myself, when I first recognised the word as a proper name, took it to be the appellation of a second Mihirakula, given in memory of his father Tōramāna's former lord and master. The first discovery that militated against this view, was, my finding that the great Mihirakula himself is mentioned in the Mandasôr duplicate pillar inscription, No. 33, page 142, and No. 34, page 149, as having been overthrown by a powerful king of Northern India named Yaśôdharman; shortly after which I obtained for Yaśôdharman the date of A.D. 533-34, in the Mandasôr inscription, No. 35, page 150. From certain details in their Êraṇ inscriptions, it was evident that Tōramāna came, in Eastern Mâlwa, very shortly after Budhagupta; the proof of this is that Budhagupta's inscription mentions a certain *Mahârâja* named Mâtrivishṇu, and his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu, as being both then alive; whereas Tōramāna's inscription mentions Dhanyavishṇu as still alive, but Mâtrivishṇu as deceased; and these statements shew that Tōramāna followed Budhagupta, in Eastern Mâlwa, within the remnant of the generation

¹ See my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 22, 58

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 250, line 16.

³ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 92, verse 7.

⁴ See the *Academy* of the 10th December, 1887, p. 394 f.

to which the brothers Mātrivishṇu and Dhanyavishṇu belonged. Putting everything together, in writing my paper on "The History and Date of Mihirakula,"¹ it soon became perfectly clear that the king who is mentioned in the Gwālior inscription, is the great Mihirakula himself; that he was the son of Tōramāṇa; and that his downfall was accomplished by Yaśôdharman within a very few years on either side of A.D. 533-34. In proper chronological order, therefore, Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula come next after Budhagupta; and Tōramāṇa certainly, and probably Mihirakula also, so far as Eastern Mālwa is concerned before Bhānugupta. Plate xxiii A. and B. should, therefore, properly have been placed next after Plate xx. To my present brief notice of these two kings,—who belonged to a foreign race, which, whether best and most properly known as Indo-Scythians, Sakas, Hūṇas, Turushkas, Shāhis, Shāhanushāhis, or Daivapūtras, had established itself in the Pañjāb at an early date, and continued in power down to at least the time of Samudragupta,—I will only add that, the first year of Tōramāṇa, which is recorded in his inscription, and which fell for certain after A.D. 484, which is Budhagupta's inscriptional date, and before A.D. 510, which is Bhānugupta's inscriptional date, is evidently only the first year of his possession of Eastern Mālwa. Coming down, as he did, from the extreme north-west corner of India, it is impossible that we should suddenly find him, fully established as the first of a new dynasty, in the very heart of the Gupta country, in absolutely the first year of his reign. His own dynastic date, which must correspond to just about the same year, is given in his silver coins, which follow the Early Gupta silver coins in general style, but differ from them in certain marked peculiarities that were evidently introduced for the express purpose of shewing that his power was hostile to theirs, and had superseded it. There are two excellent specimens of his coins, which I have examined, in the British Museum; and the date on them is the year 52 or 82, in numerical symbols. General Cunningham² has read the dates as 52 and 53; but the second symbol in each case is certainly 2; as regards the first symbol, I will not at present give a final opinion as to whether it is 50 or 80; since, though probably a 50, it is possibly an 80, turned half round on the die, so as to lie vertically, instead of horizontally, in order that it might not fall chiefly beyond the edge of the coin. Without doubt, it would make the case very simple indeed, if we could read the date as 182, as Mr. Thomas did,³—or even read it as 82, and, on the theory of "omitted hundreds," interpret it as 182,—and refer it to the Gupta era, with the result, now, of A.D. 501-502. But the date is either 52 or 82, and nothing else; without the slightest grounds for supposing that the symbol for 100 was stamped, but has now become obliterated, or was engraved on the die, but, in the stamping, fell beyond the edge of the coin; and, if it has to be interpreted as 152, on the theory of "omitted hundreds," then at any rate it cannot possibly be referred

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 245 ff.

² *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 26 f.; and see *id.* Plate v. Nos. i8, 19.

³ *Frinsep's Essays*, Vol. I. p. 340, and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 66; see also *id.* p. 36, Plate vii. Nos. 27, 28.

to the Gupta era. I have shewn elsewhere¹ that Mihirakula's fifteenth year, which is recorded in his Gwālior inscription, must fall somewhere very close to A.D. 533-34, which is the recorded date of Yaśódharman; and in all probability a year or two before it; so that we shall be very near the mark, if we select A.D. 515 for the commencement of his career. If, then, the date on Tōramāṇa's coins is 52, and if we apply it as his regnal date, about which there need be felt no special difficulty. Tōramāṇa's reign must have commenced, roughly, about A.D. 460. This falls very near the latest date, A.D. 466, that we have for Śkandagupta, who, up to A.D. 457-58, held the whole of Northern India, below the Pañjāb, from Kāthiāwād to the frontier of Nēpāl. And it was doubtless the death of Skandagupta, that enabled the Hūnas, who had been repulsed by him, to assume the aggressive again, under the leadership of Tōramāṇa; and, on this occasion, with such success as to hold even Central India for a short time. This view is also in perfect accordance with the statement of the Valabhī inscriptions,² that it was the founder of their family, the *Sēnāpati* Bhaṭārka: with the date of about A.D. 500, who successfully fought, in Kāthiāwād, against the Maitrakas, *i.e.* the Mihiras, *i.e.* the particular family or clan, among the Hūnas, to which Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula belonged. If, on the other hand, the date on Tōramāṇa's coins is 82, then it cannot be applied as a regnal date; and, though it must then run from the period at which his own branch of the Hūnas rose to power, it cannot be used to fix the commencement of his own accession. The general outline of the history of the period, which I have briefly indicated above, would, however, remain much the same.

To some time or other in this early period belongs the mysterious emperor Chandra, of whom we have a posthumous record in the iron pillar inscription at Mēharauli. No. 32, page 139. I call him mysterious, because, though the inscription speaks of him as a powerful supreme monarch, who conquered the whole of Northern India, from beyond the river Indus down to the plains of Bengal, yet it makes no mention of his lineage, and gives no clue by which we can determine exactly his period and surroundings. All that we know for certain, is, that his inscription belongs, on palæographical grounds, to a fairly early date. In the palæography of it, there is, in fact, no real obstacle to our allotting it to Chandragupta I., the first paramount sovereign in the Early Gupta family; and the only objection that I can see, is, that it contains no reference to the Indo-Scythian kings, unless they are here called Vāhlikas, by overthrowing whom Chandragupta I. must have established the power of his own family. But there is an interesting point in the fact that the name of the village at which this inscription stands, *viz.* Mēharauli or Mēmharauli, is an evident corruption of Mihirapuri, 'the city of the Sun, or of the Mihiras.' Mihira, as a proper name, is a Sanskritised form of the name of the family, clan, or tribe among the Hūnas, to which belonged Mihirakula and his father Tōramāṇa. And it is not

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 252.

² See page 167, and note 11.

impossible that this inscription may be shewn hereafter to be a record of the younger brother of Mihirakula, who, when Mihirakula was defeated by Balāditya of Magadha, usurped his throne in the Pañjāb, and whose own name is not mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.

As has been indicated above, the Mandasôr duplicate pillar inscriptions, No. 33, page 142, and No. 34, page 149, which are brand-new discoveries, introduce us to a powerful king of Northern India, named **Yaśôdharman**, who is of extreme interest from being mentioned in them as the conqueror of Mihirakula. And the remaining Mandasôr inscription, No. 35, page 150,—again a brand-new discovery,—is another record of this same **Yaśôdharman**, coupled in this case with a king named **Vishṇuvardhana**; and it is of extreme value from the fact that, by supplying for Yaśôdharman a specific date, A.D. 533-34, it has completed the clue to the whole history of the period. Who Vishṇuvardhana was, cannot at present be determined; but he is at any rate not the feudatory Vishṇuvardhana, the Varika, who is mentioned in No. 59, page 252.

Next in chronological sequence, but slightly overlapping some of the preceding records, come the inscriptions of the **Kings of Valabhî**, ranging, so far as absolutely definite dates are concerned, from A.D. 426 to A.D. 766. Of the numerous copper-plate inscriptions of this family that have been discovered, I have given two, as specimens; No. 38, page 164, and No. 39, page 171. Apart from the full genealogical tree which they give, including twelve generations, they are of interest chiefly because they make known the historical fact that the *Sēndapati* Bhaṭārka, the founder of the family, successfully waged war against, and overthrew, a dynasty, tribe, or clan, called Maitrakas, which has already been the subject of comment; and because they shew that the Gupta era continued in use, in Kāthiāwād and some neighbouring parts of Gujarāt, at least as late as A.D. 766, and thus explain, through its special connection with their own family, how it came to have, in later times, the name, in the same part of the country, of the Valabhî era. Otherwise, the inscriptions of this family contain but little of historical importance; though a full examination of them would throw much light on the ancient geography of the localities from which they come. It is a curious fact that no stone-inscriptions of this family,—at least, none that can be definitely attributed to them,—have as yet been discovered. Last year, it is true, Colonel J. W. Watson obtained at Walā, which is the modern representative of the ancient Valabhî, part of a stone-inscription, now in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the characters of which shewed me that it belonged to the earlier part of the Valabhî period. But it is the merest fragment; with no historical clue in it. It is, however, of interest, in shewing that the excavations at Walā are now reaching the level of stone-remains. When that level can be properly explored, discoveries of importance ought to follow; since, for some reason or other, inscriptions on stone nearly always contain much more historical information than copper-plate grants do.

. In the Ēraṇ posthumous pillar inscription of Gôparāja, No. 20, page 91, mention is made of the family of the Śarabha kings. Two inscriptions of the Râjas of Śarabhapura are given in No. 40, page 191, and No. 41, page 196. There is nothing to shew the exact period to which they belong ; much less to identify either of the Râjas mentioned in them with Gôparāja's maternal grandfather. But the characters indicate that they may perhaps be attributed to a period not far distant from that of Gôparāja ; and the present place has been found a convenient one for introducing them. At the same time, they may possibly be found hereafter to belong to a period later by a couple of centuries than the time of Gôparāja. Another inscription of the Râja Mahâ-Sudêvarāja has been published by Dr Rajendralala Mitra, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXV. page 195 ff. ; but the original plates have disappeared, with several other valuable copper-plate grants that were presented to the Bengal Asiatic Society ; and the published version is not sufficiently reliable to be reproduced. I have, therefore not been able to include that inscription in this collection.

In No. 42, page 200, to No. 46, page 213, we have some inscriptions of the **Guptas of Magadha**, a family of which one member at least, the great Âdityasêna, played an important part in the history of the seventh century A.D., when the Kanauj kingdom was broken up on the death of Harshavardhana. From the way in which, through the eleven generations of this family that are recorded, every name, except that of Âdityasêna, has the termination *gupta*, there can be little doubt that the family is an offshoot of the original Gupta stock. And, reckoning back from the time of Âdityasêna, for whom the date of A.D. 672-73 is supplied by the Shâhpur inscription, No. 43, page 208. Kṛishnagupta, from whom the descent is traced, has to be placed between A.D. 475 and 500. He was, therefore, a contemporary of Budhagupta or Bhânugupta, or of both of them, and came very shortly after Skandagupta. His exact connection, however, with any of these three kings, still remains to be determined.

The Aphaṣṭ inscription of Âdityasêna, No. 42, page 200, introduces us to two important contemporaneous families. The first of these is that of the **Maukharis**, or Mukharas, of whom we have inscriptions in No. 47, page 219, to No. 51, page 228. The great antiquity of this family is shewn by a clay seal in General Cunningham's possession, obtained at Gayâ, which has on it, in Aśôka characters, the Pâli legend *Môkhalinam*, "of the Môkhalis, Maukhalis, or Maukharis." No. 47, page 219, gives us the names of three feudatory *Mahârâjas*, followed by two paramount sovereigns, of one branch of this family ; and it is probably the *Mahârâja* Īśvaravarman, of this branch, of whom we have a record in No. 51, page 228. A connecting link between these maukharis and the Guptas of Magadha seems to be established in Âdityavarman's wife, Harshaguptâ, who was probably the sister of Harshagupta of Magadha. Subsequently, the relations between the two families were less friendly. Thus, it can hardly be doubted that the king Īśanavarman of this family is the one who, as recorded in line 6 f. of the Aphaṣṭ inscription, was conquered in battle by

Harshagupta's grandson, Kumâragupta. Dāmôdaragupta, again, in the same inscription, is mentioned as breaking-up the forces of the Maukhari king, which had previously overcome the army of the Hūṇas. And the Susthitavarman who was conquered in battle by Mahâsênagupta, doubtless belonged to the same lineage. Other references to the Maukharis are to be found in the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa, and in the Nêpâl inscriptions.¹ Nos. 48, 49, and 50, give us another minor branch of the Maukhari lineage, of evidently much less importance, belonging to the neighbourhood of Gayâ.

The second of the contemporaneous families introduced by the Apsad inscription, is that of the **Kings of Kanauj**, to which belonged the great Harshadêva or Harshavardhana. Of this king I am able to give a brand-new inscription, in the Sônpat seal, No. 52, page 231. This is the first epigraphical record of this family that has ever been obtained; and it is of extreme interest in carrying back the genealogy to two generations before Harshavardhana's well-known father, Prabhâkaravardhana; and in shewing that the latter was the first paramount sovereign in the family. The verse in the Apsad inscription which mentions Harshavardhana, under the name of Harshadêva, is partly obliterated; but it refers to Mâdhvagupta either as a feudatory of the Kanauj king, or as seeking an alliance with him. A connection between the two families appears to be established in Mahâsênaguptâ,² the wife of the *Mahârâja* Âdityavardhana, who was the grandfather of Harshavardhana; it can hardly be doubted that she was a sister of Mahâsênagupta of Magadha, the father of Mâdhvagupta. Another point of importance in this Sônpat seal, is, that it shews that the father of Prabhâkaravardhana was neither Pushpabhûti or Pushyabhûti, who is mentioned by Bāṇa, in his *Harshacharita*, in connection with this family; nor king Śîlâditya of Mâlava, who is spoken of by Hiuen Tsiang, but the feudatory *Mahârâja* Âdityavardhana. That Śîlâditya of Mâlava was the father of Prabhâkaravardhana, was assumed by Mr. Fergusson.³ And Prof. Max Müller has asserted the same relationship in respect of Pushpabhûti;⁴ but Dr. F. E. Hall⁵ only speaks of Pushpabhûti as an ancestor, more or less remote, of Harshavardhana; and Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji,⁶ who writes the name Pushyabhûti, only speaks of Harshavardhana as belonging to the Pushyabhûti dynasty.

No. 53, page 233, to No. 56, page 243, are inscriptions of the **Vâkâtaka Mahârâjas**. Their date is determined by the marriage of Rudrasêna II. with Prabhâvatiguptâ, the daughter of the paramount sovereign Dêvagupta, who, it can hardly be doubted, was Dêvagupta of Magadha,⁷ the son of Âdityasêna, mentioned in the Dêô-Baraṇârî inscription, No. 46, page 213, and belonging to the period of about A.D. 680 to 700. This brings

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 153 ff.

² See page 232, note 3.

³ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. IV. p. 87.

⁴ *India; What can it teach us?* p. 288.

⁵ *Vâsavadattâ*, Preface, p. 51; in his analysis of the *Harshacharita*.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 74.

⁷ See page 215, note 7.

the Vākāṭaka *Mahārājas* to a period later by fully two centuries than has hitherto been allotted to them; but there is nothing in the palæography of their grants to oppose this result, even if it does not actually prove it. A clear instance of the comparatively long preservation of antique characters for official purposes, is furnished by the Rājim grant of the Rāja Tīvaradēva, No. 81, page 291, which is undoubtedly almost, if not quite, the latest record in this volume, though at first sight its characters would seem to refer it to a much earlier period.

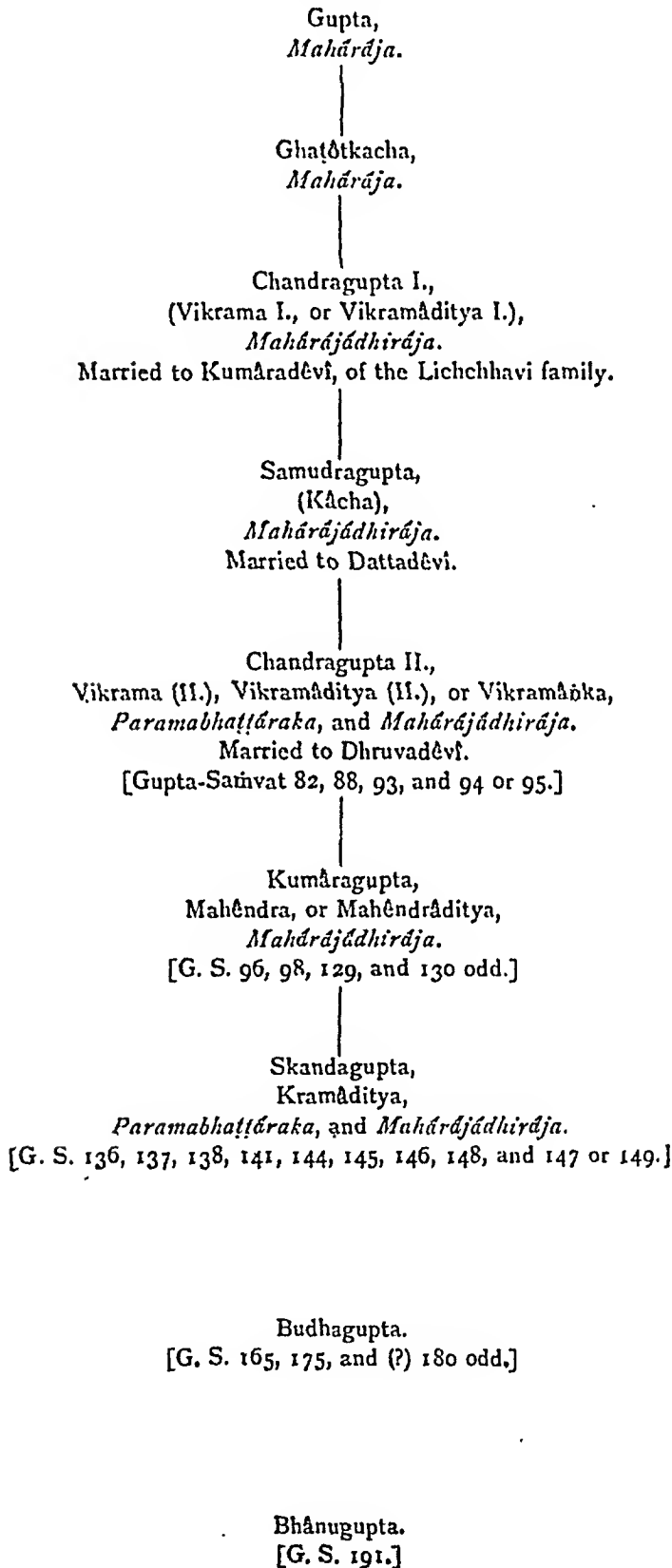
In No. 57, page 249, to No. 81, page 291, I have given a variety of **Miscellaneous Inscriptions**, which, either from their not mentioning the name of any particular king, or for other reasons, it was not convenient to introduce in other places in accordance with the chronological order that has been the chief basis of the arrangement of the volume. Of these, the most interesting are No. 60, page 254, which is a spurious grant purporting to have been issued by the Early Gupta king Samudragupta; No. 61, page 258, which, apart from its recorded date, expressly refers itself to the Early Gupta period, and which also, like No. 15, page 65, furnishes interesting proof of the existence of the Jain sect in the fourth century, A.D.; and No. 71, page 274, the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman, dated in A.D. 588. This is another brand-new discovery, made by General Cunningham. And its extreme interest lies in the fact that, as the Mahânâman, whose record it is, can hardly be any other than the well-known person of that name who wrote the more ancient part of the Pali *Mahāvamsa* or History of Ceylon, its date shews either that the details of the Ceylonese chronology, as hitherto accepted, are not as reliable as they have been supposed to be, or else that a wrong starting-point has been selected in working out those details; and it furnishes a definite point from which the chronology may now be adjusted backwards.

THE GUPTA ERA.

We come now to the question which, for the last forty years, has been at issue among all scholars who have been interested in the ancient history of India, and which, from the impossibility, until the discovery of the Mandasôr inscription of Kumâragupta and Bandhuvarman, of arriving at any sound and final settlement of it, has created the almost inextricable confusion that now prevails in every line of research connected with the Early Gupta period: *vis.* the determination of the exact chronological point to which we must refer the commencement of the era that was used, for the purpose of dating their records and coins, by the Early Gupta kings and some of their successors.

For reference in the following discussion, I give, in Table I. page 17 below, a **genealogy of the dynasty**, with the official titles and recorded dates of the members of it. And, below the unbroken succession, I insert the names of Budhagupta and Bhânugupta;

TABLE I.
Genealogy of the Early Gupta Kings.



because there is at least a strong possibility that they were descended from the same stock, though their connection with each other, and with Skandagupta, has not as yet been made clear; and because the date of Budhagupta, at least, has always been accepted as bearing on the chronological question. The dates are taken partly from the inscriptions, and partly from the silver coins, on which I have published a note in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 65 ff. Thus, the coins supply the dates of Gupta-Samvat 94 or 95, for Chandragupta II.; 130 odd, for Kumāragupta;¹ 144, 145, 148, and 147 or 149, for Skandagupta; and 175, and possibly also 180 odd, for Budhagupta. The secondary names of the kings are taken partly from the silver coins, and partly from the gold coins, on which a very exhaustive and valuable treatise has been published by Mr. V. A. Smith, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 119 ff., noticed by me in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 92 ff. The names of Vikramāditya, Mahēndrāditya, and Kramāditya, for respectively Chandragupta II., Kumāragupta, and Skandagupta, are supplied by the silver coins; and the first two, in the abbreviated forms of Vikrama and Mahēndra, occur also on some of the gold coins; as, also, perhaps does the full name Kramāditya, for Skandagupta. And Vikramānka, which is of constant occurrence as a synonym for Vikrama and Vikramāditya, occurs on a silver coin which seems undoubtedly to belong to Chandragupta II. As regards Chandragupta I., it is still a moot point whether certain gold coins, which bear the name of Vikrama and Vikramāditya, are to be allotted to him, or to his grandson; but I myself do not see any difficulty about allotting them to him, and in understanding, therefore, that he also had these same secondary names; I have, however, inserted them in brackets, as being open to the possibility of doubt. Kācha, as a possible second name of Samudragupta, is taken from some gold coins on which I have commented at page 27, note 4; this, however, is also bracketed, as being not yet quite certain. The coins, both gold and silver, present many other points of considerable interest, some of which I have briefly alluded to in my notes to the Texts and Translations; but the full consideration of them belongs to the Historical Chapters.

The genealogy, as given by Mr. Thomas in his edition of *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. I. p. 245, includes the name of Dēvī, a daughter of Mahādaitya, as one of the queens of Samudragupta; and, as a son of Skandagupta, a young prince, whose name is suggested to be Mahēndragupta. The entry of Dēvī and Mahādaitya, appears also in the same list as republished by Mr. Thomas in the *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 19, and again in the *Four. R. As. Soc. N. S.* Vol. XIII. p. 533; in each of which places we also find, as another wife of Samudragupta, a queen, name unknown, the daughter of an independent princess 'Sanhārikā.' The second list repeats the name of Mahēndragupta; but, in the third, there are substituted the words "royal issue expected at the date of this inscription," *i.e.* of the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta. The existence of the supposed

¹ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 24, and Plate v. No. 7.

Mahēndragupta, however, as pointed out by me on page 56, note 2, is due to nothing but Dr. Mill's original mislection of the Bhitari inscription, coupled with the real name of Mahēndrāditya on Kumāragupta's coins. And the existence of the independent princess 'Sanhārikā,' with her unnamed daughter, and of Mahādaitya, and his daughter Dēvi, is equally imaginary; being due, as indicated on page 1, only to early mislections of the Allahābād pillar inscription. In his first list, Mr. Thomas entered the *Mahārāja* Gupta, and his descendants, as belonging to the Solar lineage; and this mistake, though not repeated in his second and third lists, has not even yet been completely eradicated; but, as shewn on page 1, the statement rests on nothing but Dr. Mill's mislection of a passage in the Allahābād inscription.

The Nomenclature of the Era.

Before proceeding further, however, it is desirable now to draw attention pointedly to the fact that, though it is convenient to speak of the era in question as the Gupta era, yet we have no ancient authority whatever for connecting the name of the Guptas with it, as the establishers of it, and much less for accepting the early existence of any such technical appellation for it, as *Gupta-kāla*.

It is true that this term is used by Albêrûnî, who speaks of the *Gūbt-kāl* or *Gūbita-kāl*, i.e. *Gupta-kāla*. But, in just the same manner, he uses also the expression *Śaka-kāla* for the Śaka era. In each instance, his use of the word *kāla* is in perfect consonance with its meaning, 'time, or a space of time,' and 'with the application of it in the sense of 'an era.' And the Hindus who furnished him with the information that he recorded, but who can have known nothing certain about the origin of the era, save only that it had come down to them through the Gupta kings, would naturally speak of it as the *Gupta-kāla*. But Albêrûnî's statements belong to the eleventh century A.D.; and furnish no real authority, on such a point as this, for early times:

It is true, also, that the words *Guptasya kālād*, "from the era of Gupta," were supposed by Dr. Bhau Daji¹ to exist in line 15 of the **Junâgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta**. But the real reading there, as is quite clear even in the lithograph from which Dr. Bhau Daji worked, is not *Guptasya kālā[d]=gaṇanām vidhāya*, "counting from the era of Gupta," but *Gupta-prakālê gaṇanām vidhāya*, "making the calculation in the reckoning of the Guptas." And there can be little doubt that Dr. Bhau Daji's reading, and his translation, which was more or less unavoidable after the adoption of the reading, were suggested by M. Reinaud's previously published translation of the extract from Albêrûnî, in which, though translating *Śaka-kāla* by "the era of Śaka," he transliterated the original Arabic by *Gupta-kāla*, with the words "era of the Guptas" added in brackets.² Dr. Bhau Daji's

¹ *Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 207; Vol. VII. pp. 114, 123.

² *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 143.

reading was unfortunately accepted without further investigation; and has stood up to the present time. And, in particular, it was most emphatically endorsed by Mr. Thomas, who, in 1876, and again in 1881, stated that he had previously had doubts as to the correctness of the reading and translation, but had then become quite satisfied concerning it, from a personal comparison of Dr. Bhau Daji's materials with others.¹ It is undoubtedly only to this erroneous opinion, that we must attribute Mr. Thomas' later belief² that on certain coins of 'Syalapati,' he could read the syllables *Gu* and *Gupta*, with possible indications of even *Guptasya*, shewing, it was supposed, that the dates on these coins referred to an era of Gupta, or the era of the Guptas. These, however, are purely imaginary readings. And the fact remains that, in the Junâgaḍh inscription, the expression *Guptasya kâla* does not occur. And,—apart from the obvious meaning of the words; and from the fact, which will be insisted on more strongly further on, that the *Mahârâja* Gupta, the founder of the family, being only a feudatory *Mahârâja*, had not the power of establishing an era at all,—that, in the real reading *Gupta-prakâś*, we are to interpret the first member of the compound as representing the genitive plural, not singular, is expressly indicated by the use of the full genitive plural, *Guptânâm*, governed by *kâla*, in another date in line 27 of the same inscription. Of course, both these passages connect the era with the Guptas, as belonging to them, and as being used by them; which had then been the case, so far as their epigraphical records go, for at least three generations. But not either of them suffices to shew that it had been established by them; or even that it had, at that time, acquired the technical name of the "Gupta era." And what the first expression really shews, is, simply that the date was being recorded in an era which was new to Kâthiâwâd, and was not the customary era of that part of the country.

In dated records, the genitive plural, *Guptânâm*, occurs again in line 2 of the **Kahâum pillar inscription of Skandagupta**, No. 15, page 65. But there it is governed by *vaṃśa*, in *vaṃśa-jasya* "of Skandagupta, who is born in the lineage of the Guptas." So, also, we have *Gupt-ânvayânâm* in line 1 of the **Udayagiri cave inscription** of the year 106, No. 61, page 258. But it is governed by *kulasya*; "in the augmenting sovereignty of the family of those who belong to the lineage of the Guptas." These two passages, therefore, do not bear on the question at all.

Again, in the grants of the **Parivrâjaka Mahârâjas Hastin and Samkshôbha**, No. 21, page 93, to No. 23, page 106, and No. 25, page 112, we have the expression *Gupta-nripa-râjya-bhuktan*, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings." And this

¹ *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 22; and *Four. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 538.

² See Sir E. Clive Bayley's "Remarks on certain Dates occurring on the Coins of the Hind Kings of Kâbul," in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, Vol. II. p. 128 ff.

expression is of importance, in shewing clearly that the Gupta dynasty and sway were still continuing, and that the dates of these records are to be referred to the same era with the dates of the Early Guptas themselves. But there is nothing at all in the expression, tending to give the era the name of the "Gupta era."

In the **Môrbî grant of Jâinika**, again, as read by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar,¹ we are supposed to have a very clear intimation indeed, that the era was then known as the Gupta era; his reading and translation being,—*pañch-âśītyā yutê=tîtê samânâm śata-pañchakê* | *Gauptê dadāv=adô nṛipaḥ s-ôparâgê=rka-mamḍalê*,—of which a more literal translation than that given by him, would be "the Gupta fifth century of years, together with eighty-five (*years*), having elapsed, the king gave this, when the disc of the sun was eclipsed." There is a difficulty in disposing finally of the whole bearing of this inscription; for the reason that the first plate had been lost sight of, before the grant was obtained for examination at all; as the result of which, the genealogy of Jâinika is not known; and the second plate contains no name of a place, unless we are to find it in the verse that I have quoted. And now, even the second plate also, the published one, has been mislaid, and is not forthcoming. That the date refers in all probability to the Gupta era, I do not dispute. But the above reading of it, takes no notice of the fact that the real word, in line 17, is not *gauptê* at all, but *gôptê*; the *au* being arrived at only by applying again, as a component of the vowel, a perfectly distinct and separate sign, which is in reality nothing but the single mark of punctuation after *pañchakê*, at the end of the half-verse, and which had already been properly interpreted as such. It is only by the deliberate correction of *ô* into *au*,² that the name of the Guptas can be introduced into this passage; but even then the adjective occupies a very inconveniently detached position as regards the noun, *pañchaka*, which it qualifies. We might, with just as much reason, correct *gôptê* into *gôptrê*, 'to the protector, i.e. the local governor;' and this would be even more sustainable; for the word stands immediately before *dadau*, 'he gave,' in connection with which we have every reason to look for a dative, or some other case. Or, again, without any correction at all, we might translate "the king gave this (*charter*) at (*the village of*) Gôpta." And this, I expect, will be found to be the real meaning, if ever the first plate, which is said to be now at Gaṅgâsâgar in Bengal, can be obtained for examination. As matters stand, there is at least nothing in this passage that compels us to connect the name of the Guptas with the date. And, at the best, even if a future discovery of the first plate should force us to adopt the reading of *Gauptê* in the date, the grant belongs to rather a late period, when, in Kâthiâwâd and Gujarât, any knowledge of the real origin of the era must have been lost, and all that remained was that it was the Gupta kings who had introduced the era into those parts.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 258, line 16 f.

² The mistake of *ô* for *au* does occur in the word *svavbhânô*, for *svarbbhân* grant. But in line 9, in the word *paurvva*, the *au* is formed quite correctly.

And, finally, in a curious passage from the *Achâratîkâ*, which I give in full at page 32 below, note 3, we have the date "when there have gone by seven centuries of years of the Guptas, increased by seventy-two;" in which there is used again the genitive plural, *Guptânâm*. But the passage contains, as will be seen, a remarkable confusion, which cannot at present be cleared up, between the Gupta and the Śaka eras. And, like the Mōrbî grant, this record belongs to a late period, and furnishes no authority for early times.

In the **records of the Early Guptas** themselves, the date is always expressed simply by the word *saṃvatsara*, 'a year,' as in the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II., of the year 82, No. 3, page 25, line 2; or by the abbreviation *saṃ* as in the Sāñchi inscription of the same king, of the year 93, No. 5, page 32, line 11; or by the fuller abbreviation *saṃvat*, as in the Mankuâr image inscription of Kumâragupta, No. 11, page 47, line 2. And such of their coins as are dated at all, give simply the numerical symbols, without the accompaniment of any word meaning 'year,' and much less of any dynastic qualification of it. For a reason which I indicate in Appendix I. below, these methods of expression, which are exactly analogous to the usages of other dynasties also, do not necessarily prove that the era was not established by the Guptas. At the same time, they contain no proof that it was established by them; and nothing to connect their name with it.

The fact remains, therefore, that **in no early record can we find any indication that the era was founded by the Guptas**; and much less that there ever existed any technical expressions analogous to *Śaka-nṛîpa-kâla*, "the time or era of the Śaka king or kings;" *Śaka-nṛîpa-saṃvatsara*, "the years of the Śaka king;" *Śaka-kâla*, "the Śaka era;" *Vikrama-kâla*, "the Vikrama era;" *Vikramâditya-ôtpâdita-saṃvatsara*, "the years established by Vikramâditya," &c.;¹ or even analogous to the terms *Valabhî-saṃ* and *Valabhî-saṃvat*, which are of actual occurrence in later times. This fact will become of more importance, when we come to deal with the question of the probable origin of the era. Meanwhile, I have drawn attention to it, because it is a point that must be borne in mind throughout the whole discussion. It is necessary, however, in order to avoid periphrasis, to have some convenient name for the era; and therefore, as a simple matter

¹ See my notes "On the Nomenclature of the principal Hindu Eras, and the use of the word *Saṃvatsara* and its Abbreviations," in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 207 ff., 291 ff.; where, of course, owing to our advance in knowledge, my remarks on the Kaira grants (p. 208), and on the Kāvî grant, (p. 291 ff.) now require to be entirely recast.—I have shewn there that, as is now generally recognised, the use of the abbreviation *saṃvat* is in no way restricted, as was formerly held to be the case, to the Vikrama era; see also a pointed instance supplied by Dr. Bühler in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 63. It is simply an abbreviation of the base *saṃvatsara*, 'a year,' or of any declensional case of it that can be used in expressing a date (see No. 5, page 30, note 3). And, bearing this in mind, such expressions as Gupta-Saṃvat, Śaka-Saṃvat, Vikrama-Saṃvat, &c., of which the two latter actually occur in original records (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 213, 293), give a uniform, convenient, and unobjectionable method of quoting the years of the different eras.

of convenience, I follow the custom of the last forty years, and speak of it as "the Gupta era." Also, as the era did certainly in later times, in Kāthiāwāḍ, acquire the name of "the Valabhi era," I shall, according to the convenience of the moment, speak of it indifferently as "the Gupta era," "the Valabhī era," and "the Gupta-Valabhi era." Subject to the remarks that I have made above, this nomenclature needs no further apology, if I point out that, even by those who maintain that the Early Guptas were themselves anterior to A.D. 319, it is admitted that the Gupta era which has come down to us in the writings of Albêrûnî, had the same epoch with the Valabhi era; they only maintain that the Early Guptas used a Gupta era which was not this Gupta era.

Albêrûnî's Statements, as rendered by M. Reinaud.

Until the discovery of the Mandasôr inscription, No. 18, page 79, the only direct information available as to the epoch of the Gupta era, was the statement of Albêrûnî, who, writing in the period¹ between the 30th April and the 30th September, A.D. 1030, left on record the following notes, as taken from M. Reinaud's French translation in his *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, page 158 ff:—

"People employ ordinarily the eras of Śrī-Harsha,² of Vikramāditya, of Śaka, of "Ballaba,³ and of the Guptas. Ballaba, who also has given his name "to an era, was the prince of the town of Ballabha, to the south of Aṇhilwāra, at a "distance of about thirty *yôjanas*.⁴ The era of Ballaba is subsequent to that of Śaka "by 241 years. In order to make use of it, we set down the era of Śaka, and deduct at

¹ See Sachau's *Albêrûnî's India*, Preface, p. x.

² As is shewn by Albêrûnî's statement further on, this is not the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, commencing A.D. 606 or 607, of which we have an instance in this volume, in No. 43, page 208; but an earlier era, commencing B.C. 457, of which we have no epigraphical record, and, in fact, no information of its existence beyond Albêrûnî's statement, which is accompanied by the remark that, in a Kaśmīrī almanac, he had read that Śrī-Harsha was 664 years later than Vikramāditya, and that he could obtain no explanation of the discrepancy (Sachau's *Albêrûnî's India*, Translation Vol. II. p. 5).

³ Reinaud's Arabic text contains no authority for his use of the double *l* throughout, and of the aspirated *bh* in the name of the town. So, also, Sachau's text contains no authority for his use, once of the form *Ballabha*, and once of *Balabha*. These forms can only be attributed to some fancied connection between the name of the city of Valabhī and the Sanskrit word *vallabha*, 'lover, husband, friend, favourite,' which was very often used as a proper name, but not in the case of any of the rulers of Valabhī. The word *valabhī* itself means 'the wooden frame of a thatch, a roof; a turret or temporary building on the roof of a house.' It occurs in No. 18, line 6, page 81; and, in the form *vadabhī*, in No. 66, line 2, page 268.—Albêrûnî himself, in treating the name as that of a person, as well as of a town, possibly wrote under some similar misconception. But, setting aside any such mistake as this, which is rather like that of his treating Śaka as the name of an individual, instead of a tribe, he is of course speaking of the era that was used by the well-known Kings of Valabhī.

⁴ The *yôjana*, a measure of distance, seems to have varied from 2½ to 9, or even 18, English miles; but with an average length of between 4 and 5 miles.—Walā, the modern representative of the ancient Valabhī, is about one hundred and thirty-five miles almost due south of Aṇhil

"the same time the cube of 6 (216) and the square of 5 (25). The remainder is the era of **Ballaba**. This era will be discussed in its place. As to the **Gupta-kâla** (the era of the Guptas), we understand by the word *gupta* certain people who, it is said, were wicked and powerful; and the era which bears their name, is the epoch of their extermination. Apparently **Ballaba** followed the **Guptas** immediately; for, the era of the **Guptas** also commences the year 241 of the era of Śaka. The era of the astronomers commences the year 587 of the era of Śaka. It is to this era that the *Kandakhâtaka* Tables of Brahmagupta are referred. This work has among us the title of *Arkand*. Accordingly, placing ourselves in the year 400 of the era of Yazdajird,¹ we find ourselves in the year 1488 of the era of Śrî-Harsha; the year 1088 of the era of Vikramâditya; the year 953 of the era of Śaka; the year 712 of the era of **Ballaba** and of that of the **Guptas**."

Albêrûnî's Statements, as rendered by Prof. Sachau.

And to this we have now to add Prof. Sachau's English rendering of the same passages, in his *Albêrûnî's India*, Translation,² Vol. II. page 5 ff. :—

"For this reason, people have given up using them,³ and have adopted instead the eras of — (1) Śrî Harsha; (2) Vikramâditya; (3) Śaka; (4) **Ballabha**;⁴ and (5) **Gupta**. The era of **Balaba** is called so from **Balaba**, the ruler of the town **Balabha**,⁵ nearly 30 *yôjanas* south of Anhilvâra. The epoch of this era falls 241 years later than the epoch of the Śaka era. People use it in this way. They first put down the year of the Śakakâla, and then subtract from it the cube of 6 and the square of 5 ($216 + 25 = 241$). The remainder is the year of the **Balaba** era. The history of **Balaba** is given in its proper place.⁶ As regards the **Guptakâla**, people say that the **Guptas** were wicked powerful people, and that, when they ceased to exist, this date was used as the epoch of an era. It seems that **Balaba** was the last of them, because the epoch of the era of the **Guptas** falls, like that of the **Balaba** era, 241 years later than the Śakakâla. The era of the astronomers begins 587

¹ This era dates from the accession of Yazdajird III., a Sassanian king of Persia, in A.D. 632 (see *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 302 and note). The "gauge-year," 400, selected by Albêrûnî for the comparison of dates, is one year ahead of that in which he was writing.

² It is not certain whether Prof. Sachau's Translation will have been actually published before the issue of this volume. But, as it will be the standard translation, he has kindly allowed me to make the necessary references to it, from advanced proofs.

³ i.e. the eras of the Bhârata war and of the Kaliyuga, and certain other methods of reckoning time, just previously detailed by Albêrûnî, who states that they had been abandoned because of the very large numbers involved in the use of them.

⁴ and ⁵ See page 23 above, note 3.

⁶ The reference appears to be to the story of the fruit-seller Rañka and the king Vallabha; Translation, Vol. I. p. 192 f., in Chapter XVII., "on Hindu Sciences which prey on the Ignorance of People."

"years later than the Śakakāla. On this era is based the canon *Khaṇḍakhādya* by "Brahmagupta, which among Muhammadans is known as *Al-arkand*. Now, the year 400 "of Yazdajird, which we have chosen as a gauge, corresponds to the following years of "the Indian eras:—(1) to the year 1488 of the era of Śrī Harsha; (2) to the year 1088 "of the era of Vikramāditya; (3) to the year 953 of the Śakakāla; (4) to the year 712 "of the Balaba era, which is identical with the Guptakāla."

The Results of the above Renderings.

The passages given above mention an era, connected with the names both of the Guptas and of the Valabhī family, in respect of which we have to notice the following leading points.

In the first place, Albêrûnî calls this era, both "the Gupta era," and "the Valabhī era." As regards its connection with the Guptas, he tells us, according to the above renderings, that it commenced at the time of the cessation of the Gupta sway, and seems to imply that, as a matter of fact, it was that event which led to the establishment of it; and, of course, the result of this would be, that the dates recorded in the inscriptions of the Guptas themselves, could not be referred to this Gupta era, but must belong to some era with a considerably earlier starting-point. And, as regards its connection with the Valabhī family, from the fact that their era had the same starting-point with this Gupta era, he infers that the members of this family came after the Guptas in chronological sequence; but he does not indicate any connection between them and the establishment of the era.

And secondly, in respect of the initial point, he seems first to state, very clearly, that the epoch of the era, under either name, was when Śaka-Saṃvat $216 + 25 = 241$ had expired; which, taking the expired Śaka year in the way in which it has to be used for the purposes of the present Tables,¹ gives us A.D. 319-20 current² for the epoch or year 0 of the era, and A.D. 320-21 current for its commencement or first current year. This is shewn, first by the rule for subtracting 241 complete Śaka years; and secondly by Gupta-Valabhī-Saṃvat 712 being quoted as equivalent to Śaka-Saṃvat 953, which is known to be intended as an expired year, since Albêrûnî gives it as the equivalent of the year 400 of Yazdajird, which is A.D. 1031-32 current. In his next mention, however, as rendered by M. Reinaud, he apparently speaks of the era as commencing with, *i.e.* as having for its first current year, Śaka-Saṃvat 241, which must be understood as an expired year; according

¹ *e.g.* those in Gen. Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras*, and Prof. K. L. Chhatre's *Graha-sādhanaśikhā Kōshakēṃ*, or "Tables for calculating the Places of the Planets."

² Or, more accurately, the period from the 9th March, A.D. 319, to the 25th February, A.D. 320. —It is, perhaps, desirable to point out, for general readers, that the quotation of two years of the Christian era in this way, "A.D. 319-20," does not denote the whole period of the two years, but only the period from the commencement of the Śaka year in the first of them, to the end of it in the second.

to which its epoch would be when 240 years had expired. While, in a third passage, a little further on in the book,¹ in mentioning the "roundabout way" in which the Hindus computed the date (in January, A.D. 1026) of the destruction of Sômnâthpâtan by Mahmûd of Ghaznî, which event took place "in the year of the Hijra 416, or 947 Śakakâla," he tells us that they first wrote down 242, then 606 under it, and then, again, 99; with the result, by addition of the figures, of Śaka-Saṃvat 947, which, as an expired year, brings us to the period A.D. 1025-26 current, inclusive of the month of January, A.D. 1026. And here the first figures would seem, at first sight, to indicate that, in this calculation, the epoch of the era was treated as being when Śaka-Saṃvat 242 had expired.²

¹ *Albêrûnî's India*, Translation, Vol. II. p. 9.

² This last passage is introduced by Albêrûnî in connection with his remarks on the Lōkakâla or popular reckoning by cycles of a hundred years. And he expresses himself as being inclined to think that the number 242 indicates the years which preceded the time when the Hindus commenced to use the cycle of a hundred years, and that they adopted this cycle together with the Gupta era; also that the number 606 represents the completed cycles, *vis.* six, "each of which they must reckon as 101 years;" and that the number 99 gives the expired years of the current cycle. He goes on to say that the rule, as found by him in the writings of Durlabha of Multân, was, to write down 848, and add the Lōkakâla; the sum of which would give the Śaka year. But, in proceeding to apply this rule to Śaka-Saṃvat 953 (expired), as corresponding to the year of Yazdajird which he had already used as a "gauge-year," he points out that, subtracting 848, there remained 105 for the Lōkakâla, while the destruction of Sômnâthpâtan would fall in the 98th year of the cycle.—There are subsidiary difficulties here, which cannot at present be fully cleared up. One of them is, the reference of the destruction of Sômnâthpâtan to both the ninety-eighth and the ninety-ninth years of a Lōkakâla cycle; with the addition, moreover, that the ninety-eighth year is indicated as current, and the ninety-ninth is inferred to be expired.—Another is, that, according to the only Lōkakâla reckoning the nature of which has been fully explained (*Indian Eras*, p. 6 ff.), *vis.* that used in Kaśmîr,—which, Albêrûnî tells us, had been adopted by the people of Multân a few years before his own time,—the event in question would fall in the first current year of a cycle. Thus, Kalhaṇa, in the *Rājataranginî*, i. 52 (Calcutta edition, p. 3), makes a very explicit statement regarding the equation between the Śaka era and the Lōkakâla of Kaśmîr. His words are—*laukikê=bdê chatur-vimśê Śaka-kâlasya sâṃprataṃ saptaty=âtyadhikaṃ yâtaṃ sahasraṃ parivatsarâh*,—"at this present moment, in the twenty-fourth *laukika* (or popular) year, there have gone by one thousand years, increased by seventy, of the Śaka era." In this passage, he quotes the Śaka year as expired, in accordance with the practice of astronomers; but the Lōkakâla year as current, as would naturally be the case in using a popular reckoning of that kind. He was writing, therefore, in Lōkakâla 24 current, and when Śaka-Saṃvat 1070 had expired; which is equivalent to A.D. 1148-49 current. And this gives Lōkakâla 1 current of the same cycle, as corresponding to Śaka-Saṃvat 1047 expired; which is equivalent to A.D. 1025-26 current. Now, that the scheme of each year of the Kaśmîrî Lōkakâla cycle was identical with the scheme of the Śaka years of Northern India, commencing with the first day of the month Chaitra (March-April), is shewn by Albêrûnî's statements, and by the notes put together by Gen. Cunningham in his exposition of this reckoning. And it follows that the first year, current, of each Kaśmîrî Lōkakâla cycle coincides exactly with the forty-seventh year expired, and the forty-eighth current, of each century of the Śaka era, and with part of the twenty-fifth and part of the twenty-sixth years, current, of each century of the Christian era. The month of January, A.D. 1026, therefore, fell in Lōkakâla 1 current, of Kaśmîr, which coincided with Śaka-Saṃvat 947 expired, and extended (see *Indian Eras*, p. 171) from the 3rd March, A.D. 1025, to the 21st March, A.D. 1026. And it is difficult to see how, in the

Albêrûnî's Statements, as rendered by Prof. Wright.

The leading historical item of Albêrûnî's information, as rendered by M. Reinaud,—*vis.* that the Gupta era commemorated the epoch of the extermination of the Gupta dynasty,—naturally at once attracted special attention; because of the *primâ-facie* improbability of such a fact. And, as will be seen further on, various attempts were made, to find an explanation for it; and with very conflicting results.

application of a Lōkakāla reckoning introduced from Kāśmīr, an event occurring in that month can be correctly referred even to Lōkakāla 99 expired; and, much more so, to Lōkakāla 98 current. To suit the former case, we require a cycle commencing one year later than the Kāśmīrī cycle; and to suit the latter case, a cycle commencing three years later than the same. And, that there were varying starting-points of this kind, as well as a want of uniformity in respect of the scheme of the years, is indicated by Albêrûnî's remark that the totally different accounts of the Lōkakāla reckonings, given to him, rendered him unable to make out the truth about it.—One point, however, seems clear. As to the number 606, given by Albêrûnî in his first illustration, it is impossible that a centenary cycle can consist of a hundred and one years. And Albêrûnî himself had previously said distinctly (*Albêrûnî's India*, Translation, Vol. II. p. 8) "if a *centennium* is finished, they drop it, and simply begin to date by a new one." It is plain, in fact, that the odd six years do not belong to the cycles of the Lōkakāla. To that reckoning, only the six even centuries belong. I shall shew hereafter that the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhî era really was A.D. 319-20 current; which might be quoted either as Śāka-Saṃvat 241 expired or 242 current. If we add the odd six years to Śāka-Saṃvat 241 expired, we obtain Śāka-Saṃvat 247 expired, or 248 current, equivalent to A.D. 325-26 current; and this, as we have just seen, would coincide with the first current year of a Lōkakāla cycle, as reckoned in Kāśmīr. But it is one year too early for the first current year of any cycle of a reckoning, in a subsequent cycle of which the event in question belonged to the ninety-ninth year expired and the hundredth year current. Now, I suppose that we must assume that Albêrûnî has quoted Durlabha correctly. And, if so, then the first current year of each cycle in the Multān reckoning really was one year later than in the Kāśmīrī reckoning; and coincided with the forty-eighth year expired, and the forty-ninth current, of each century of the Śāka era, and with part of the twenty-sixth and part of the twenty-seventh years, current, of each century of the Christian era. And, if the introduction of the reckoning, at Multān, could be carried back so far, it commenced with Śāka-Saṃvat 248 expired, and 249 current. This year might have been obtained by adding seven to Śāka-Saṃvat 241 expired. But, as will be seen hereafter, the real use of Śāka-Saṃvat 241 expired is only for obtaining the basis with which Gupta-Valabhî dates have to be calculated; and it only brings us to the beginning of the Gupta epoch. The difference between Gupta-Valabhî and Śāka years, both treated as current for purposes of comparison, is 242. And Śāka-Saṃvat 242 expired brings us to the beginning of the first current Gupta year. This is the starting-point that was really wanted for a process of the kind shewn to Albêrûnî. And this is why that year was selected as the apparent basis of the computation; the true basis being Śāka-Saṃvat 848 expired.—It is evident, therefore, that the process illustrated by the figures given to Albêrûnî does involve a method of adapting the Lōkakāla reckoning to the Gupta era; or, more properly, of converting Lōkakāla dates into Śāka dates through the Gupta reckoning. So far, however, from the figures tending to support any inference that the Lōkakāla reckoning was introduced by, or in the time of, the Early Guptas, the fact that Durlabha of Multān would deduct 848, with a remainder, in the particular instance, of 105, or one complete Lōkakāla cycle and five years over, seems to indicate very clearly that the use of this reckoning in that part of the country commenced with Śāka-Saṃvat 848 expired, equivalent to A.D. 926-27 current; had it been otherwise, Durlabha's rule would surely have been worded in such a way

That the true solution was to be found, not in wrong information given to Albêrûnî or in a mistake made by him in reporting correct information, but in an erroneous interpretation of his meaning, was first indicated to me by Mr. Rehatsek, who, in December, 1886, gave me, from M. Reinaud's published text, the following literal rendering of the crucial passage,—“and (*as regards*) the Gupta era, it was, as is said, a nation wicked (*and*) strong; and when they perished, dating was made according to them.”¹ Such a rendering as this would enable us to give to Albêrûnî's words a meaning perfectly clear and consistent with the usual order of things; *viz.* that the Guptas, though wicked and inferentially unpopular, yet had exercised so powerful a sway that, even when their dynasty came to an end, the era, that had been used by them, still continued to be used.

So also, somewhat later, Mr. H. C. Kay, translating the words by “dating was made by (or, according to) them,” added the following remarks on the interpretation of them.—“The author's meaning is not clear. But, taking the words as they stand, I think they “can most consistently be understood as signifying an adoption or continuation of the “method of dating that had been used by the Guptas. The preceding words ‘when they “came to an end’ suggest the possible meaning that the dating ran from that event. But “it seems to me that this construction can be properly preferred, only if there be something “else in the context, or in the known facts of the case, that would make it obligatory; or, “at least, that clearly points to it.”

I had the hope that, before it came to my own turn to write finally on the subject, Prof. Sachau's translation of the Arabic text would have removed all doubt as to Albêrûnî's real meaning on this point. This, however, has not been the case; because of the introduction in his translation as in M. Reinaud's, of the word ‘epoch,’ which does not exist in the original text, and the use of which gives the translation a fixed obligatory meaning that, at any rate, a literal rendering of the original does not compel us to adopt.

that, in the particular instance, 948 must be deducted, with a remainder of only 5 years over.—Gen. Cunningham, in giving a somewhat similar explanation of the figures 606 (*Indian Eras*, p. 16), has assumed that in this process Śaka-Saṃvat 242 is a mistake for 241. But this, as I have now shewn, is not the case. And I do not agree with the manner in which he deals with the figures as a whole. Śaka-Saṃvat 241 expired or completed brings us to the end of A.D. 318-19 and the beginning of A.D. 319-20. If to this we add 6 and 600 and 99 complete years, it only brings us to Śaka-Saṃvat 946 expired, or to the end of A.D. 1023-24 and the beginning of A.D. 1024-25; and leaves us still one year short of that in which the event in question occurred.

¹ Similarly, some thirteen years ago, Mr. Blochmann (see the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLIII. Part I. p. 368) proposed to translate—“as regards the Guptakāl, they were, as is related, a people wicked and powerful; and when they were cut off, it was dated in them (the era commenced?).”—This translator, however, is spoilt by the bracketed words “(the era commenced?)”; the use of which shews why Mr. Blochmann, though giving a translation capable of a totally different meaning, expressed himself as not able to see any fault in Reinaud's translation.

I am, therefore, glad to be able now to publish the following transliteration, with interlinear word-for-word rendering, and translation, which Prof. William Wright, Cambridge, has recently been kind enough to give me, from Prof. Sachau's published text, of the original of the whole passages of which M. Reinaud's and Prof. Sachau's renderings have been printed above:—

Text and Literal Rendering.

{ Wa-li-dhālika		'a'radū		'an-hā		wa-jā'ū	'ilā
{ And for this		they have turned awa		from them		and have come	to
{ tawārīkh	Shri-Harish	wa-Bigarmādita		wa-Shaḡa		wa-Bilaba	
{ the eras of	[Śrī-Harsha]	and [Vikramāditya]		and [Śaka]		and [Valabhī]	
{ wa-Kūbita.	.....	Wa-'ammā		ta'rikh		Balba	
{ and [Gupta].	.....	And as regards		the era of		[Valabhī]	
{ wa-huwa	ṣāḡib	madinat	Balbah	wa-hiya	janūbiyah	'an	
{ and he	lord of	the city of	[Valabhī]	and it	south	from	
{ madinat	'Anhlwārah	bi-ḡarīb	min	thalāthīn	jozhan	fa-'inna	
{ the city of	[Anḡhīlvāḡa]	by near	to	thirty	[yōjana]	behold	
{ 'auwala-hu	muta'akhhir	'an	ta'rikh	Shḡ	bi-mi'atain		
{ the first of it	posterior	to	the era of	[Śaka]	by two hundred		
{ wa-iḡdā	wa-'arḡa'in	sanah.	Wa-musta'milū-hu	yada'un	Shḡ-kāl		
{ and one	and forty	years.	And the users of it	put down	[Śaka]-era		
{ wa-yanḡuṣūn	min-hu	majmū'	muka'ab	'as-sittah	wa-murabba'		
{ and lessen	from it	the sum of	the cube of	six	and the square of		
{ 'al-khamsah	fa-yabḡā	ta'rikh	Balba.	Wa-khabaru-hu	'atin		
{ five	and remains	the era of	[Valabhī].	And his history	is coming		
{ fi	mauḡi'i-hi.	Wa-'ammā	Gūbt-kāl	fa-kānū	kamā	ḡila	
{ in	its place.	And as regards	[Gupta]-era	they were	as	is said	
{ ḡauman	'ashrāran	'aḡwiya'a	fa-lammā	'inḡaraḡū	'urrikha		
{ a people	wicked	strong	and so after	they perished	it was dated		
{ bi-him.	Wa-ka-'anna	Bib	kān	'akhīra-hum.	Fa'inna		
{ by them.	And as if that	[Valabhī]	was	the last of them.	And behold		
{ 'auwala	ta'rikhi-him	'aidan	muta'akhhir	'an	Shḡ-kāl		
{ the first	of their era	also	posterior	to	[Śaka]-era		

{ 241.	Wa-ta'rikh	al-munajjimîn	yata'akhkhar	'an	Shg-kāl
{ 241.	And the era of	the astronomers	is posterior	to	[Śaka]-era
{ 587	wa-'alai-hi	buniya	zīj	Kndkāt	li-Brhmgūpt
{ 587	and on it	is built	the canon	[Khaṇḍakāṭaka]	by [Brahmagupta]
{ wa-huwa	'al-ma'rūf	'inda-nā		bi'l-Arknd.	
{ and it	the known	with us (<i>chez nous</i>)		by (the name of) Al-Arkand.	
{ Fa-'idhan	sinū	ta'rikh	Shrī-Harish	li-sanati-nā	
{ And so then	the years of	the era of	[Śrī-Harsha]	to our year	
{ 'al-mumaththal	bi-hā	1488	wa-ta'-rikh	Bkrmādt	1088
{ that is used as an example		1488	and the era of	[Vikramāditya]	1088
{ wa-Shg-kāl	953	wa-ta'rikh	Balba	'alladhī	huwa
{ and [Śaka]-era	953	and the era of	[Valabhī]	which	it
					also
{ Gūbita-kāl	712.				
{ [[Gupta]-era	712.				

Translation.

"And for this reason they have given them up, and have adopted the eras of Śrī-Harsha, Vikramāditya, Śaka, **Valabhī**, and the **Guptas**. And as regards the era of **Valabhī**,—who was the ruler of the city of **Valabhī**, which was south of the city of Aṇhilvāḍa by nearly thirty *yōjanas*,—its beginning was later than the Śaka era by two hundred and forty-one years. Those who use it put down (*the year of*) the Śaka era, and subtract from it the sum of the cube of six and the square of five; and there remains (*the year of*) the era of **Valabhī**. His history is coming in its proper place.¹ And as regards the **Gupta** era,—(*the members of this dynasty*) were, it is said, a race wicked (*and*) strong; and so, after they became extinct, people dated by them. And it seems as if **Valabhī** was the last of them. And so the beginning of their era also is later than the Śaka era (*by*) 241 (*years*). And the era of the astronomers is later than the Śaka era (*by*) 587 (*years*); and on it is based the astronomical canon (*named*) *Khaṇḍakāṭaka*, by Brahmagupta, which among us is known by (*the name of*) *Al-Arkand*. So, then, 1488 years of the era of Śrī-Harsha are in correspondence with the year (*of Yasḍajird*) that we have taken as a gauge; and 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya; and 953 of the Śaka era; and 712 of the era of **Valabhī**, which is also the **Gupta** era."

The essence of the whole matter, of course, lies in the precise meaning that is to be given to the words which follow the statement that the **Guptas** were wicked and powerful.

¹ See, however, page 24 above, note 6.

Prof. Wright states that, in the original, we have a vague impersonal passive, meaning "it was dated by them," "there was a dating by them," or "people dated by them;" but that this certainly does not expressly imply that this dating took place from the year of the extinction of the Gupta power, and in consequence of that event. That such an interpretation might, if found on other grounds to be justifiable, be given to this expression may be admitted. But it is at the least equally open to us to interpret the expression as meaning that the Guptas had been so powerful that, even when they were dead and gone, people still used their era to date by. And we shall have to determine hereafter, from an examination of the details of the recorded Gupta and Valabhi dates, which of these two possible interpretations is the one that must be adopted.

There is also one other point in the revised translations, to which special attention should be paid. Prof. Wright's rendering, "*(the year)* 712 of the era of Valabhi, which is also the Gupta era,"—and Prof. Sachau's, "the year 712 of the Balaba era, which is identical with the Guptakāla,"—are essentially different, in their ultimate bearing, from M. Reinaud's, "the year 712 of the era of Ballaba and of that of the Guptas." They shew very clearly that Albêrûni was speaking of absolutely one and the same era, under two names; not of two different eras, with the same, or almost the same, epoch.

The Theories based on M. Reinaud's rendering of Albêrûni's Statements.

Up to the present time, however, the only rendering of Albêrûni's statements that has been available, is that given by M. Reinaud. His translation has been taken as the basis of argument by all writers on the subject. And, for a full comprehension of the whole question, it will be necessary now to consider the matter from the light that was given by him.

According to his rendering, we had three years to choose between, for the epoch of the era,—Śaka-Samvat 240, 241, or 242, expired; involving a question, especially in respect of the exact determination of the corresponding date in the Christian era, that could only be settled by accurate calculations of the data available from the inscriptions, explained in detail, so that general readers might see that the processes were satisfactory.

But, whatever might be the final settlement of this point, the fact remained that Albêrûni had information given to him of the existence of an era, coupled with the name of the Guptas and of the city of Valabhi, which began at some point in A.D. 319, or within a year on either side of that date, and which it is convenient to speak of as the Gupta, the Valabhi, or the Gupta-Valabhi era. And, that this era was actually used in connection with the name of Valabhi, at any rate, was proved by the Verāwal inscription of the Chaulukya king Arjunadêva of Anhilwād,¹ in which the leading record of the year is

¹ Originally brought to notice, many years ago, by Tod, in his *Annals of Rājasthān*; but critically edited, for the first time, by Hultzsch, in 1882, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 241 ff.

Valabhî-Samvat 945, together with Vikrama-Samvat 1320, which is equivalent to A.D. 1263-64, and with the Hijra year 662, which ran¹ from the 4th November, A.D. 1263, to the 23rd October, A.D. 1264.

So much was certain. But it was felt to be highly improbable that the Gupta era should date from the extermination of the Guptas. And students of the subject divided themselves, almost at once, into two schools.

The first, represented most publicly and with undeviating tenacity up to the last by the late **Mr. J. Fergusson**, accepted Albêrûnî's statement as to the period of the commencement of the era, but,—on the analogy of the statement which, on the authority of Hindu tradition, he also makes, that the Śaka era, too, dated from the overthrow of the Śakas; a statement which is certainly wrong,²—rejected the addition that it dated from the downfall of the Guptas; and took A.D. 318 for the date of the rise of the dynasty, as well as the establishment of the era; selecting this particular year on the theory that the era did not date from the accession of a king, or from any particular historical event, but, for convenience of comparison, was simply regulated by the completion of four of the Sixty-Year Cycles of Jupiter from the commencement of the Śaka era.

The other school accepted A.D. 318, or thereabouts, for the downfall of the Guptas, and took the Valabhî era of Arjunadêva's inscription, which indisputably began at that period, as being separate altogether from the real Gupta era, and as having been established in commemoration of the overthrow of the Gupta power; and began then to look about for an earlier date for the rise of the Gupta dynasty, and for the starting-point of the era used by the Gupta kings, and also,—as was maintained, with some inconsistency, by the majority,—by the Kings of Valabhî, in preference to their own Valabhî era. The chief exponents of this school have been—the late **Mr. E. Thomas**, who held that the era was identical with that of the Śakas,³ with the epoch of A.D. 77-78;—**General Sir Alexander**

¹ See *Indian Eras*, p. 126.

² See Appendix I. below.

³ A curious instance of confusion between the Gupta and the Śaka eras, on the part of a Hindu writer, is furnished by the following two passages from the commentary named *Āchārāṅkikā*, by Śīlāchārya, on the Jain work called *Āchārāṅgasūtra*; I have taken them from a manuscript, supposed to be about three hundred years old, shewn to me in the early part of 1883 by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji.—This first passage, on pp. 207*b* and 208*a*, is in metre, and runs—*dvāsaptaty-adhikêshu hi śatêshu saptasu gatêshu Guptânâm | samvatsarêshu mâsi cha Bh[ā*]drapadê sukîlâ(kîla)-pañchamyâm || Śīlāchāryēṇa kṛitā Gambhūtāyām sthitēna | ik=aishā | samyag-upayujya śodhyā mātsarya-vinākṛitair=āryê (ryai) ||*. This passage gives Gupta-Samvat 772, expired, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhādrapada, as the date on which this portion of the Commentary was completed by Śīlāchārya, at Gambhūtā (? Cambay).—The second passage, on p. 256*b*, at the end of the whole book, is in prose, and runs — *Śaka-nṛipa-kāl-ātīta-samvatsara-śatêsashu(read śatêshu) saptasu | ashṭānavaty-adhikêshu Vaisākha-suddha-pañchamyâm Āchārāṅkikā kṛit=êti || Ba || Samvat (page 256*b* ends here; and the next page, containing the repetition of the date in figures, and the last final words of the author, is lost). This passage gives Śaka-Samvat 798, expired, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaisākha, as the date of the completion of the whole Commentary.—The two passages, indicating, ās*

Cunningham, who finally fixed on A.D. 166-67 as the epoch;—and the late Sir E. Clive Bayley, who selected A.D. 190-91.

Examination of the previous Theories.

Mr. Fergusson's theory of A.D. 318-19 for the epoch of the era, and A.D. 319-20 for its commencement, is easily disposed of. It was wrong; but by one year only. The reason is, that, as has been said, his assumption,—based apparently on a suggestion thrown out by Dr. Bhau Daji in 1864,—was, that the commencement of it was regulated only by the completion of four of Jupiter's Sixty-Year Cycles from the commencement of the Śaka era, in order that there might be always an even and convenient difference of two hundred and forty years between the Śaka and Gupta dates. This, however, could be arranged only by applying the Sixty-Year Cycle as used now in Southern India, where it is not in reality an astronomical cycle at all; since there the cyclic years run on in regular succession, without any adjustment of them to the motion of the planet, with reference to his sign-passing or his heliacal rising, by the omission of a year on certain occasions, and are taken as commencing and ending with the luni-solar years. According to the present southern system, Śaka-Saṃvat 1 current (A.D. 78-79) was the Bahudhānya saṃvatsara; and Śaka-Saṃvat 241 current (A.D. 318-19) was again the same cyclic year, Bahudhānya; and, by this means, some justification might be found for Mr. Fergusson's view. But I shall shew hereafter that the real epoch of the Gupta era was A.D. 319-20, which does not correspond to Śaka-Saṃvat 241 current; so that there was, in reality, a completion of four cycles and one year, even by the southern system; and this, alone, is fatal to

they stand, that Śīlāchārya treated the Gupta and Śaka eras as identical, contain a mistake of some kind or another, which must be attributed to a pedantic desire on his part to introduce a mention of an era,—whether the Gupta or the Śaka, as the case may be,—with which he was only imperfectly acquainted. And the mistake cannot be cleared away, unless we can obtain some independent record of the real date of Śīlāchārya, sufficient to shew whether the *Āchāraṇikā* was written during Gupta-Saṃvat 772 to 798 expired (A.D. 1092 to 1118), or during Śaka-Saṃvat 772 to 798 expired (A.D. 850 to 876). As to this, I can only say that the Śaka era was used so rarely, if at all, in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād, except by the Gujarāt branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family, that probably the Gupta era gives the real date for Śīlāchārya. And I would throw out a suggestion that possibly some mistake of the same kind may account for the dates, Śaka-Saṃvat 400 and 417, of the apparently spurious Umētā and Ilāḍ grants of Dadda II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 61 ff.; and Vol. XIII. p. 115 ff).—The passages, however, are of some interest, in shewing that, in Śīlāchārya's time, there was still a recollection of the fact that the era,—which must have been known best from its use by the rulers of Valabhī, and which came eventually, in Kāthiāwād, to be called the Valabhī era,—was connected originally and specially with the Gupta kings, by whom it was introduced into Kāthiāwād and the neighbouring parts.—After writing this note, which appeared originally in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 188, I found an allusion by Dr. Bhau Daji, in 1864, to what is evidently the same manuscript, though he quoted only the Gupta date. He wrote (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. p. 246) "I have a Jaina manuscript which is dated in the 772nd year of the Guptakāla; but unfortunately the corresponding Vikrama or Śālīvāhana's year is not given; nor is it possible at present to ascertain the exact date of the author from other sources."

the proposed epoch of A.D. 318-19. And, in addition to this, amongst other inscriptions, the Wanî grant of the Râshtrakûṭa king Gôvinda III., which records¹ that in Śaka-Saṃvat 730 the Vyaya *saṃvatsara* was current on the full-moon day of the month Vaiśākha (April-May), and the Râdhanpur grant of the same king, which records² that the Sarvajit *saṃvatsara*, the next in the cycle, was current on the new-moon day of the month Śrâvana (July-August) in the same year, shew very plainly that the present arrangement was not the original one, even in Southern India.

If the Sixty-Year Cycle was in use at all at the time of the commencement of the Gupta era, then, in Northern India, and in connection with a northern era,—which the Gupta era emphatically was,—the only system that can have been followed, is the regular northern system, according to which the cycle is truly an astronomical cycle, and the *saṃvatsaras* are regulated entirely and only by the passing of Jupiter from one sign of the zodiac into another. By Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculations, from the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṃvat 1 current (A.D. 78-79), the *saṃvatsara* was Śukla, the third in the cycle; and it was followed by Pramôda, the fourth, on the full-moon day of the month Pausha, in December, A.D. 78. And, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṃvat 241 current (A.D. 318-19), the *saṃvatsara* was Aṅgiras, the sixth in the cycle; which was followed by Śrîmukha, the seventh, on the ninth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Phâlguna, in February, A.D. 319. Thus, four complete cycles and three *saṃvatsaras* over passed between Śaka-Saṃvat 1 and 241; and the epoch of the Gupta era, unless it were placed three years earlier, in A.D. 315-16, could not be determined by any consideration of this kind.

Nor can it have been determined by the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, the years of which may be regulated either by the passing of Jupiter from one sign of the zodiac to another; or, as was the more ancient custom, by his heliacal rising in a particular lunar mansion.³ Taking first the sign-passing system, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṃvat 1 current (A.D. 78-79), the *saṃvatsara* was Mahâ-Âśvayuja, the twelfth in the cycle: which was followed by Mahâ-Kârttika, the first of the next cycle, on, as before, the full-moon day of the month Pausha, in December, A.D. 78. While, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṃvat 241 current (A.D. 318-19), the *saṃvatsara* was Mahâ-Pausha, the third in the cycle; which was followed by Mahâ-Mâgha, the fourth, on, as before, the ninth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Phâlguna, in February, A.D. 319. And, by the heliacal-rising system, at the commencement of Śaka-Saṃvat 1 current (A.D. 78-79), the *saṃvatsara* was Mahâ-Bhâdrapada, the eleventh in the cycle; which was followed by Mahâ-Âśvayuja, the twelfth, on the twelfth lunar day of

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 159, line 46 f.

² *id.* Vol. VI. p. 68, line 53 f.

³ For an explanation of the systems of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, see Appendix III. below.

the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha, in April, A.D. 78, soon after the commencement of the year. While, at the commencement of Śāka-Saṃvat 241 current (A.D. 318-19), the *saṃvatsara* was Mahā-Pausha, the third in the cycle; which was followed by Mahā-Māgha, the fourth, on the sixth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Śrāvaṇa, in July, A.D. 318. Thus, between Śāka-Saṃvat 1 and Śāka-Saṃvat 241, there had expired twenty complete cycles and three *saṃvatsaras* over, by the sign-passing system, and twenty cycles and four *saṃvatsaras* over, by the heliacal-rising system; and the epoch of the Gupta era could not be determined by any consideration connected with this cycle, unless it should be placed in A.D. 315-16 or A.D. 314-15.

The other three theories, however, are more complicated; and, in order to understand them properly, and estimate them at their right value, it will be necessary to run briefly through the facts and supposed discoveries on which they are based, and the arguments by which they have been built up, so far as those facts, discoveries, and arguments relate to the recorded dates themselves, and the interpretation of them. Our object is not now to enter into a lengthy discussion of extraneous questions of palæography, numismatics, architecture, contemporary history, &c., which, if a rational process is to be followed, have to be settled by the dates, instead of the dates by them; and which must be left for treatment at some future time, after the proper settlement of the Early Gupta chronology.

The first reference to the Gupta era that I can trace,—or, at any rate, the first suggestion of the existence of an era connected with the Guptas, apart from any general reference to the chronological period to which they might be referred,—is in Mr. James Prinsep's treatment of the Kaṇḍān pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 15, page 65, in 1838, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 36 ff. By his rendering of this record, it was dated (*id.* p. 37) "in the year one hundred and thirty-three after the decease of Skandagupta;" on which he remarked (*id.* p. 38) "the death of this prince is here employed as an epoch in a somewhat enigmatical way." The supposed enigma refers to the actual manner in which the total of 133,—or, more properly, 141,—is arrived at. As regards the other point, the reference of the years to the death of Skandagupta is due only to a mislection of the last word in line 2 of the text. The real reading there is *śāntē*, the locative singular of *śānta*, in apposition with *rājyē* in the same line; "in the tranquil reign (of Skandagupta)." Mr. Prinsep, however, read *śāntēh*, the ablative or genitive singular of *śānti*, 'quiet, tranquillity, calmness, rest, repose;' and, with this reading, it was, of course, hardly possible to do otherwise than translate it by "after the decease," "of the repose, *i.e.* death," and "after the death," of Skandagupta, and to make the years that were recorded run from that event. No discussion of the question was then entered into. But Skandagupta then was, and still is, the last known king of the direct succession of the Early Gupta dynasty. And it is evidently the above rendering which first suggested the idea of an era dating from the extermination of the Gupta power at the

death of Skandagupta. All else, serviceable for our present inquiry, that I can find in Mr. Prinsep's writings, is his statement in the same volume (p. 354), that the dates recorded in the Valabhî charters must be referred to the Vikrama era.

In 1845, M. Reinaud republished collectively, under the title of *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, certain extracts, with French translations, from works relating to India, which he had previously published separately in the *Journal Asiatique*, in September and October, 1844, and February-March, 1845. In this book, as we have already seen, he renders Albêrûnî (*id.* p. 143) as stating that the Gupta era dated from the extermination of the Guptas. I do not find that he makes any reference to Prinsep on this specific point. But he shews, throughout, so good an acquaintance with Prinsep's writings, as also with those of other English scholars, that he must certainly have read Prinsep's translation of, and comments on, the Kaśāurī inscription. And, though he may not have intentionally allowed himself to be guided by Prinsep's views, it can hardly be doubted that he had a reminiscence of the purport of them, when he was translating Albêrûnî's remarks. In fact, in the face of Mr. Blochmann's, Mr. Rehatsek's, and Prof. Wright's versions, it is difficult to see how M. Reinaud can have arrived at the exact words used in his translation, except under some such predisposing influence.

After this, in a paper read on the 15th April, 1848, and published in 1850 in the *Jour. R. As. Soc. F. S.* Vol. XII. p. 1 ff., Mr. Thomas entered into an extensive disquisition on the history connected with the dynasty of the so-called 'Sāh' kings¹ of Saurāshṭra or Kāthiāwāḍ; in the course of which, it became incumbent on him to consider the Early Gupta dates. Accepting it as proved by M. Reinaud's rendering

¹ As I have had occasion to remark elsewhere (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. pp. 65, 325), this name of 'Sāh,'—and, with it, also an idea that these princes were Śakas or Indo-Scythians,—owes its origin to nothing but the fact that, on the silver coins of this series, as also on the silver coins, and even some of the gold coins, of the Early Guptas, it was the custom, as a rule, not to cut on the dies such vowels as, if engraved, would fall on or above the top line of the writing of the marginal legend. The reason, of course, was, want of sufficient space. This custom was observed uniformly in the Gupta silver coins; and hence such legends as (*id.* p. 65 f.) *paramabhagavata-maharajadharaja-śra-Chandragupta-Vakramaditya*, which represents *paramabhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandra-gupta-Vikramāditya*; "the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta-Vikramāditya." On the Saurashṭra coins, the custom was observed almost uniformly, but not quite so; and hence, to select an instance of its partial observance, such legends as (*id.* p. 325) *rajñā mahākshatrapasa Rudradamna putrasa rajñā mahākshatrapasa Rudrasīhasa*, in which the superscript vowel *ī* is exceptionally introduced in the last word, and which represents *rājñō mahākshatrapasya Rudradāmanah putrasya rājñō mahākshatrapasya Rudrasīhasya*; "of the Rāja, the Mahākshatrāpa Rudrasīha, the son of the Rāja, the Mahākshatrāpa Rudradāman." The word *sīha*, i.e. *śimha*, 'a lion,' is the termination of the names of several of the Kshatrapas or Mahākshatrapas. And, because the long vowel *ī*, or the short vowel *i* with a following *anusvāra*, is usually omitted in the coins, thus giving the readings of *saha* and *sahasya*, these princes came to be invested with the imaginary family or dynastic name of 'Sah' or 'Sāh.' Owing to the same fact, also, the termination of some of the names in the list has occasionally been read as *sēna*.

of Albêrûnî's statements, and by the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Sarivat 945, that the Valabhî era commenced A.D. 319 (*id.* p. 4) or A.D. 318-19 (*id.* p. 4, note 1), and, by Albêrûnî's statements, that a family of Guptas reigned as paramount sovereigns in Gujarât shortly before that date, and were then exterminated, he arrived at the conclusions—(1) that this Valabhî era, commencing A.D. 319, may have been established by the *Mahârdja* Guhasêna of Valabhî, and may have dated from his accession, or from some striking event of his reign; (2) that there could scarcely be a doubt that these Guptas, who had reigned shortly before A.D. 319, were identical with the Guptas of the Allahâbâd, Junâgadh, and Bhitarî inscriptions; (3) that the Guptas were the immediate successors of the Indo-Scythians in Saurâshtra, though traces of the latter might be found, west of the Indus, down to the end of the fourth century A.D.; and (4) that the so-called Sâh kings preceded the Indo-Scythians. His chronological results are tabulated on p. 48 of the same volume. Anterior to B.C. 157 he placed "one or more Sâh kings," who are represented on p. 49 by "Îsvaradatta, son of Varsha."¹ He is followed by thirteen Sâh kings, whose coin-dates are interpreted as being all dated in the fourth century of an era which was assumed to be Albêrûnî's era of Harsha commencing B.C. 457; and the result for the thirteen kings was from B.C. 157 to B.C. 57. Then comes the Indo-Scythic conquest; to which is allotted the date of B.C. 26. Then the Guptas. And then the Valabhî era, commencing A.D. 319. In this Table, curiously enough, no date is entered opposite the Guptas. But this was probably a printer's omission. For, referring to the note commencing on p. 4, we find it distinctly stated (*id.* p. 5) that the dates in the Gupta inscriptions, and in the Valabhî charters, are to be referred to the Śaka era. These results contained the first intimation that the rulers of Valabhî acted with such inconsistency as to invent an era of their own, dating from the extermination of the Guptas, and yet to continue to use the Gupta era in preference to their own; and also the first intimation of the exact epoch, anterior to A.D. 319, to which the Gupta dates were to be referred. One point on which Mr. Thomas was evidently inclined to lay some stress (*id.* p. 13 ff.), is Albêrûnî's statement,—based on, but in its application different from, Hindu tradition,—that the Śaka era commemorated the defeat and slaughter of a Śaka or Scythian king by a king named Vikramâditya, who, as Albêrûnî points out, is evidently not identical with the supposed founder of the Vikrama era; coupled with the occurrence of this last name, Vikramâditya, as a secondary title, on some of the Early Gupta coins.²

¹ *i.e.*, literally, "Îsvaradatta, son of a year"!! The legend on his coin is given, on *id.* p. 50, as ending with *Varsha putra*, in which *putra* is taken (*id.* p. 51) as a Zend substitute for the Sanskrit *putra*, 'a son'!! The two *aksharas* are in reality the first two syllables of the Sanskrit word *prathamê*,—*varshê prathamê*, "in the first year;" see Newton, in *Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 8, and Plate, No. 8; see also Plate i. No. 1, accompanying Thomas' paper, where the legend is almost equally clear.

² I myself think it not at all improbable that, hereafter, it may be shewn that the name of Vikrama, or Vikramâditya, came to be connected with the Mâlava era of B.C. 57, in consequence of some confused reminiscence of a conquest of the Indo-Scythians by Chandragupta I. or II. But the establishment of the Śaka era is not concerned in this question at all.

And, in general corroboration of his views, he (*id.* p. 12, note 4) quoted some remarks by Major Kittoe to Colonel Sykes, that the grant of the *Mahārāja* Hastin of the year 163, No. 22, page 100, shewed,—on the supposed identity of this *Mahārāja* with the Hastivarman, king of Veṅgi in the south, who is mentioned in line 20 of the Allahābād pillar inscription,—that one hundred and sixty-three years of the Gupta dynasty had passed in the time of Samudragupta, and thus proved that the Guptas reigned from the second to the fifth century A.D. This, however, hardly fits in with Mr. Thomas' reference to A.D. 172 (*id.* p. 5, note) of a Chandragupta whose date in the Gupta era is the year 93, and who could only be the father or the son of Samudragupta.

In 1854, General Cunningham published his *Bhilsa Topes*, in which, on p. 138 ff., he drew particular attention to the fact that Albêrûnî three times mentions the Gupta and Valabhi eras, and identifies them with each other; and on each occasion specifies them as starting from the same date, A.D. 319. He proceeded to remark—"but it appears to me that the most important of these passages must be either corrupt or obscure; for the translation given by M. Reinaud makes the epoch of the Guptas commence from the date of their extermination! If this is a correct translation, there can be little doubt that the text of Abu Rihân must be erroneous; for we know positively that the Guptas were reigning during the fifth and sixth centuries of our era. The statement made in M. Reinaud's version is so extraordinary, that, even without any direct proofs of its inaccuracy, I would have set it aside as erroneous. The era of the Seleukidæ began with the foundation of the Syrian empire by Seleukos; the Christian era is dated from the establishment of Christianity; and the era of the Guptas without doubt commenced with the settlement of their own dynasty. For the Guptas, as I have mentioned before, date their inscriptions in an era of their own; which, though not so named by them, was actually a *Gupta-Kāl*, and must, therefore, have been called such by the people." And he suggested a different translation of Albêrûnî's statement; to the effect that the Gupta era became extinct with the Gupta dynasty, instead of dating from the extermination of it; and throughout the rest of his book, he applied the epoch of A.D. 319 to the Gupta dates. If General Cunningham, our leader in Indian archaeology since the death of Prinsep, had continued to hold these views, and had worked out his other researches in accordance with them, we should probably have heard but little more of any theory assigning to the Guptas an earlier period. But, as we shall see, he soon adopted other opinions.

In 1855, in his paper "On the Epoch of the Gupta Dynasty," published in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXIV. p. 371 ff., Mr. Thomas made a special reply to General Cunningham's views and arguments as set forth in *Bhilsa Topes*. This paper, however, contains nothing at all worth quoting. And we pass on to 1858, when, under his own editing, he published a collection of the works of Mr. James Prinsep, then deceased, under the title of *Essays on Indian Antiquities*. Prinsep, in his account of

Hindu eras, had mentioned the Valabhi era (*id.* Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 158), to which, on the authority of the Sômnâthpâtan or Verâwal inscription of Valabhi-Samvat 945, he allotted the epoch of A.D. 318. But he had made no mention of a Gupta era. Mr. Thomas, however (*id.* Vol. I. p. 270 ff.), introduced his own previously expressed opinion that the Gupta dates had to be referred to the Śaka era; and supplied some further facts which seemed to give additional corroboration to this view. And, on this occasion, he wound up with the general conclusions (*id.* Vol. I. p. 276) that the dates in the Valabhi grants, if applied to the Valabhi era of A.D. 318-19, would give far too modern a period; that these dates did not appear to belong to the same consecutive series with the numbers employed by the Guptas themselves; and that, while still applying the Śaka era to the Gupta dates, the Vikrama era was probably the one which, "in spite of any apparent inconsistency involved," should apply preferentially to the Valabhi grants. Curiously enough he quoted (*id.* Vol. I. p. 271, note 1) a modification of meaning which one portion of Albérini's original words would bear; *viz.* "again, the Kûbat-Kâl (Gupta era), "that was, as is said, a wicked and powerful family; when it ceased, it was dated from; "and, as it were (it would seem that), *Balab was the last of them*, for the first of their era "also is 241 years after the Śaka-Kâl." But, he still had not arrived at the absolutely literal translation of the words which he rendered by "when it ceased, it was dated from;" and, partly through this, partly through having his attention directed principally to the connection between the Kings of Valabhi and the Guptas, as described in the words italicised by him, he still failed to see the real bearing of this passage on the epoch of both the Gupta and the Valabhi eras. In this treatment of the question, he quoted Prof. Lassen's views (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. II.), to the effect that the rise of the Guptas took place between A.D. 150 to 160; but I have not had the opportunity of examining that theory.

Meanwhile, in 1853, 1857, and 1858, there had been published M. Stanislas Julien's French translation of the Life and Travels of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, in which there is contained the important statement that, when the pilgrim visited Valabhi,—which was in or about A.D. 640,—the reigning king there, a nephew of Śilāditya of Mâlava, a son-in-law of Śilāditya of Kanauj, and a member of the Kshatriya caste, was named *Tou-lou-p'o-po-l'o* (*id.* Vol. I. p. 206), *Tou-lou-po-pha-tch'a* (*id.* Vol. I. p. 254), or *T'ou-lou-p'o-po-tou* (*id.* Vol. III. p. 163). Such were M. Julien's renderings of the Chinese transliteration of the original Sanskrit name; which latter he restored as 'Dhrouvapaṭu,' *i.e.* Dhruvapaṭu. And it had already been suggested that this name represented that of one of the Dhruvasēnas of the Valabhi family. Mr. Thomas himself (*Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. I. p. 267, note 4) had attached no value to this supposed identification. But Hiuen Tsiang's statement had begun to be looked on, and very properly, as an important factor in the

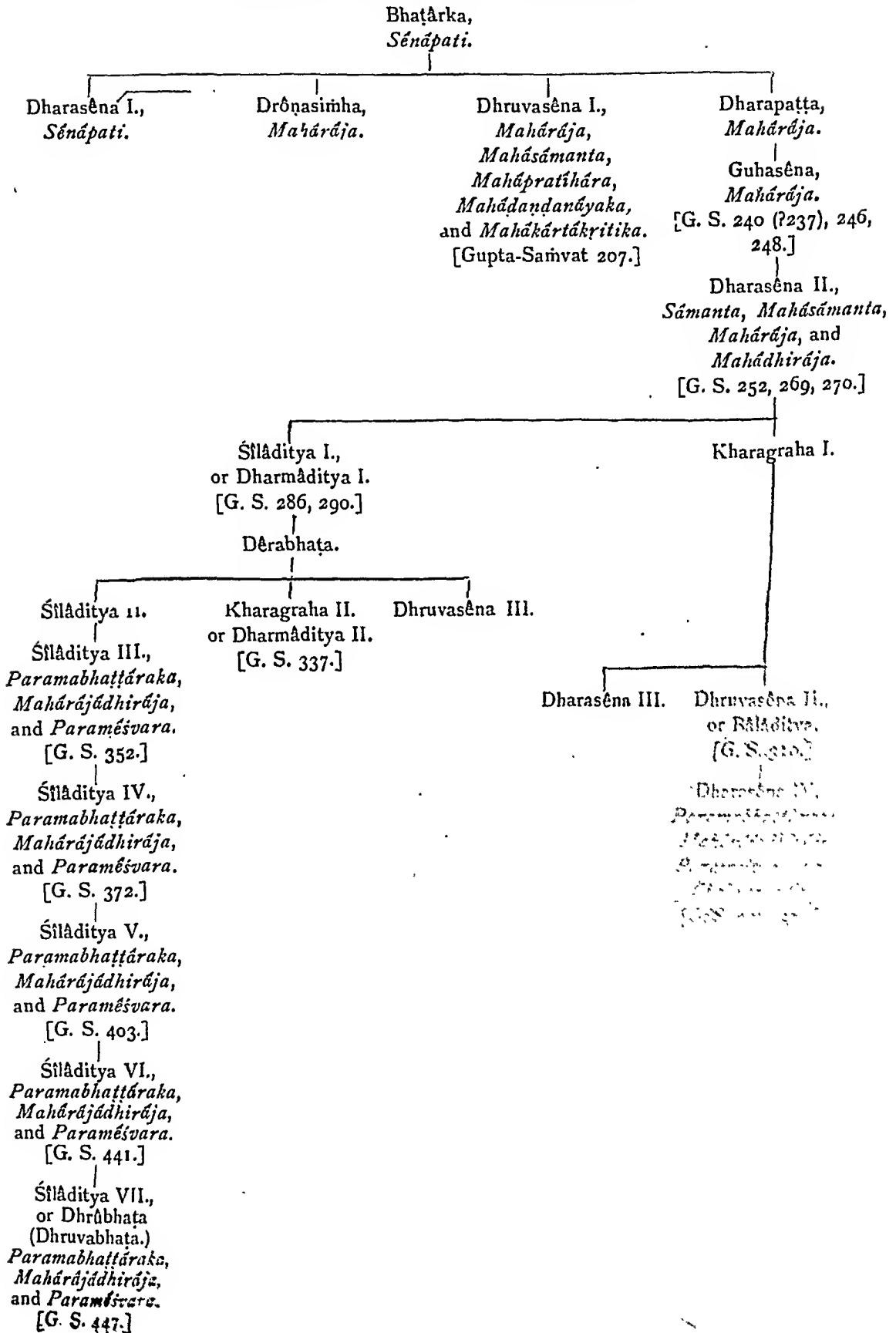
general inquiry. And I, therefore, now give, for ready reference, in Table II. on page 41 below, a complete genealogy of the Valabhî family, with the official titles of the members of it, and their dates as far as I have been able to verify them. Here, however, in connection with Hiuen Tsiang's statements, I have to draw attention to one or two points which still remain to be cleared up. In his general account of the Life and Travels of the Chinese pilgrim, M. Julien (*id.* Vol. I. p. 206) represents him as telling us, in respect of the kingdom of Valabhî, that "the present king is of the race of the Kshatriyas (*Tsa-ti-li*); he is the son-in-law of Śīlāditya (*Chi-lo-'o-tie-to*), king of Kanyākubja (*Kie-jo-'kio-che*); his name is Dhruvapaṭu (*Tou-lou-p'o-po-t'o*)."

Whereas, in the more detailed account of the Travels, M. Julien renders the pilgrim as speaking, in the same connection, of not one king only, but more than one, and as saying (*id.* Vol. III. p. 163) "the kings of the present period are of the race of the Kshatriyas (*T'sa-ti-li*); they all are nephews of king Śīlāditya (*Chi-lo-'o-t'ie-to*), of the kingdom of Mālava (*Mo-la-p'o*). Now the son of king Śīlāditya (*Chi-lo-'o-t'ie-to*), of the kingdom of Kanyākubja (*Kie-jo-ko-che*), has a son-in-law named Dhruvapaṭu (*T'ou-lou-p'o-po-tou*)."

While, in Mr. Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, published in 1884, Vol. II. p. 267, this latter passage appears in the singular again,—“the present king is of the Kshatriya caste, as they all are. He is the nephew of Śīlādityarāja of Mālava, and son-in-law of the son of Śīlāditya, the present king of Kanyākubja. His name is Dhruvapaṭa (*T'u-lu-h'o-po-tu*),”—without any comment explaining the important difference between his rendering and that given by M. Julien. And again, according to M. Julien (*id.* Vol. I. pp. 254 f., 260), the pilgrim speaks of a Dhruvapaṭu (*Tou-lou-po-pa-tch'a*, and also simply *Pa-tch'a*), king of Southern India; but the kingdom of Valabhî can hardly be included in, and much less can it include, Southern India; and the statement is inconsistent with the fact that, at that time, the king of the greater part, if not of the whole, of Southern India, was Pulikēśin II., of the Western Chalukya dynasty, for whom we have on record no title that at all resembles the Chinese transliteration, unless it can be found in the second component of the name of Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman, the supreme lord or governor of four *vishayas* and *maṇḍalas*, stationed or resident at Rēvatīdvīpa, who is mentioned in line 4 f. of the Goa grant of Maṅgalīśa,¹ the uncle of Pulikēśin II., and the wielder of sovereignty during the minority of the latter. These passages present points which must be carefully considered, before any final opinion is arrived at in respect of the identity of the person, or persons, intended by Hiuen Tsiang; the more especially because the dates render it impossible that he should be Śīlāditya VII. of Valabhî, the only one in the family for whom as yet we have obtained the second name of Dhruvabhāṭa; and because M. Julien tells us (*id.* Vol. III. p. 163, note) that the Chinese translation of the name of Dhruvapaṭu of Valabhî was Tch'ang-jouī, 'constantly intelligent,' which of course supports the supposition that

¹ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 365.—This person, however, may be a son of Maṅgalīśa; see my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 22.

TABLE II.
Genealogy of the Kings of Valabhi.



the termination of the Sanskrit name, the first part of which, *dhruta*, means 'constant,' really was *paśu*, 'smart, dexterous, intellectual,' rather than *bhaṭa*, 'a warrior.' It is to be hoped that some light will be thrown on these points by Mr. Beal's forthcoming translation of the Life of Hiuen Tsiang, corresponding to the first of M. Julien's three volumes.

In 1861 the question was taken up by the late Dr. Bhau Daji, in connection with his paper "On the Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa," published in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. pp. 19 ff., 207 ff. As regards the Gupta era, he here only expressed his opinion that it commenced, with the Valabhi era, in A.D. 319. But he brought to notice an important point (*id.* p. 207, note), in the fact that the Kāhāurn pillar inscription, of which he seems to have then had the opportunity of examining a more reliable version prepared for him by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī, was dated in the 141st year of the Gupta dynasty, and in the reign of Skandagupta; not after his death, as rendered by Prinsep. And he also announced his opinion (*id.* p. 208, note) that the *Tou-lou-p'o-po-t'o* or *Tu-lu-h'o-po-tu* of Hiuen Tsiang was to be identified with the *Mahārāja* Dharapatta, the fourth and youngest son of the *Sēnāpati* Bhaṭārka who founded the Valabhi family.

Also in 1861, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 1 ff., Dr. FitzEdward Hall edited the two grants of the Parivrajaka *Mahārāja* Hastin, dated in the years 156 and 163, No. 21, page 93, and No. 22, page 100, which, now that the *samvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter that are quoted in them can be calculated with certainty, are of such extreme importance, because the records also state that they are dated "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings." They had been previously brought to notice, in 1858, in Mr. Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. n. 251 f., by Prof. H. H. Wilson's combined translation of the two inscriptions from Mr. Thomas' reading of the texts; but they were first published in full by Dr. Hall. The crucial expression in them is *Gupta-nriṣa-rājya-bhuktan*, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta Kings," which had been read correctly by Mr. Thomas, and had been suitably rendered by Prof. Wilson in the words "(in the 163rd year) of the occupation of the kingdom by the Gupta kings." The same reading was adopted by Dr. Hall. But, without quoting any authority in support, he laid down the dictum (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 3 ff., note) that *bhukti*, which means literally 'the act of enjoying or eating; enjoyment, eating; fruition, possession, usufruct,' "if unqualified by a temporal particle, denotes 'possession' or 'fruition' only as a thing of the past;" and he translated the phrase (*id.* p. 7) by "(in the "year one hundred and fifty-six) of the extinction of the sovereignty of the Gupta kings;" and, again (*id.* p. 12), "(one hundred and sixty-three years) after the domination of the "Guptas had been laid to rest;" thus producing apparently conclusive evidence of an era that dated from the extermination of the Gupta kings; in support of which he quoted (*id.* p. 5, note) the Hindu tradition referred to by Al-Bīrūnī, now completely refuted, that the Śaka era dates from the discomfiture of the Śakas. In the course of his remarks, he introduced his reading and revised translation of the first verse of the Kāhāurn pillar:

inscription, in which, though he adopted the correct reading, *śānté*, at the end of line 2, he followed the general tenor of Prinsep's translation, and rendered the date (*id.* p. 3, note) by "the empire of Skandagupta being extinct for the hundred and forty-first year." To this he appended the remark, "in supersession of a proposal formerly put forth, and from which my present state of information would have withheld me, I now accede to the view that the Kāshān inscription is dated from the overthrow of the Guptas, of whom Skanda must have been virtually the last." These words referred to his previous treatment of the verse in 1859, in the *Four. Amer. Or. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 530, when he had rendered the date by "in the one hundred and forty-first year; the empire of Skandagupta being quiescent;" with the remark "there is, then, nothing here recorded concerning the death of Skandagupta, as Mr. Prinsep supposes. Being neither the first ruler of the Gupta dynasty, nor the last, nor of special note, it would be extraordinary indeed, if time had been computed from his decease." As regards the expression in the grants of the *Mahārāja* Hastin, it seems almost needless to comment further on its meaning; because any unbiassed Sanskrit scholar will see at once what the real purport of it is. But it is curious what vitality some mistakes possess. The suggestion has been made to me, quite recently, that possibly even Albérūnī's own apparent statement, as to the Gupta era dating from the extermination of the Gupta kings, may have originated in a misunderstanding, by the Hindus who supplied him with information, of this same expression *Gupta-nriṣa-rājya-bhuktau*. I can only say that it is absolutely and utterly impossible that any Hindu, acquainted with Sanskrit, could interpret this expression as meaning anything except that, at the date connected with it, the sovereignty of the Guptas was still continuing. And it is equally impossible for any European Sanskritist to give it any other meaning; unless, as I have said elsewhere, under the influence of a preconceived bias, so strong as to preclude entirely the critical consideration which would at once shew the error.—In the same volume, page 14 ff., Dr. Hall published his own versions of the Êran inscriptions of Budhagupta and Tōramāṇa, No. 19, page 88, and No. 20, page 91; and, in the course of his remarks, announced (*id.* p. 15, note) that the details of the date of Budhagupta's record were correct if referred to the Vikrama era, the English equivalent being Thursday, the 7th June, A.D. 108, New Style.—And the general question was taken up by him again in his "Note on Budhagupta," published in the same volume (p. 139 ff.); with the conclusion (*id.* p. 148 ff.) that Budhagupta was probably the first sovereign of a more ancient branch of the Gupta family which ended with himself; and that the dates in the records of Skandagupta and his ancestors possibly ran from an epoch in A.D. 278, which Pandit Bapu Deva Shastri of Benares had found, by actual calculation, to suit the details of the Bhêra Ghaut inscription of the Kalachuri king Narasimhadêva, dated in the year 907 (of the era used by his dynasty), and the Têwar inscription of the same king, dated in the year 928.

In 1862, in the *Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 1 ff., Mr. Newton published a lengthy disquisition "On the Sâh, Gupta, and other Ancient Dynasties of Kāthiāwâd

and Gujarât," based on their coins, which, in respect at any rate of the so-called Sâh coins, were then properly examined for the first time. And his conclusions were (*id.* p. 30) that the dates on the Sâh coins were to be referred to the Vikrama era, with the result that the kings of this dynasty extended from A.D. 30 or 40 to A.D. 240 or 250; (*id.* p. 36) that they were immediately succeeded, in Gujarât, by Kumâragupta and Skandagupta, without any intervention of the Indo-Scythians there; and that these two were followed by the Valabhî dynasty, in A.D. 319. His conclusions, however, were chiefly founded on the basis (*id.* p. 31) that "Mr. Prinsep, Mr. Thomas, and Prof. Wilson, agree that the "Sâhs preceded the Guptas; and it seems clear that the Guptas preceded the Valabhî "dynasty;" coupled with his acceptance of the fact that the Valabhî era,—and with it I conclude, the rise of the family after the last of the Guptas,—had been satisfactorily fixed at A.D. 319; though he also held the opinion (*id.* p. 30) that the dates in the Valabhî grants were probably to be referred to the Vikrama era.

In the same volume, p. 113 ff., Dr. Bhau Daji published his readings and translations of the Junâgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta, No. 14, page 56, and of the so-called Sâh inscription of the *Mahâkshatrâpa* Rudradâman on the same boulder. For our present purpose, this paper is chiefly of importance because, in line 15 of Skandagupta's inscription, instead of *Gupta-prakâlê ganânâm vidhâya*, "making the calculation in the reckoning of the Guptas," Dr. Bhau Daji read (*id.* pp. 123, 129) *Guptasya kâlâ[d*]=ganânâm vidhâya*, "counting from the era of Gupta." It is upon this mislection that we are entirely dependent in any supposition that the era dates from the time of the *Mahârâja* Gupta, who is given in the inscriptions as the founder of the family; and it is to this mislection alone that we have to attribute the supposition that the era had the technical name of *Guptasya kâlâ*, "the era of Gupta." Attached to Dr. Bhau Daji's rendering of these two inscriptions, there are a few general observations, promising a more ample inquiry afterwards; from which we learn that his views then were (*id.* p. 115) that the Gupta dates were evidently dated in the Gupta era and should be referred to the Valabhî epoch, which was known, from the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Samvat 945, to be A.D. 318; that accordingly, with his revised translation of the Kahâum inscription, Skandagupta must be placed in the period A.D. 448 to 459, with a margin of five or ten years on either side; that the dates in the Valabhî grants themselves were to be referred to the Śaka era, with the result that such of them as were then known, belonged to the period A.D. 388 to 443; and that, accordingly, the Valabhî family, founded by the *Sênâpati* Bhaṭarka, had its rise shortly before Skandagupta.

In 1864, in the *Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. p. 236 ff., Dr. Bhau Daji took the matter up again, in his "Brief Survey of Indian Chronology, from the first century of the Christian era to the fifth;" giving, on this occasion, the more ample inquiry that he had previously promised. In this paper he brought to notice the spurious grant of the *Mahârâja* Dharasêna II. of Valabhî, dated Śaka-Samvat 400, which has now been edited by Dr. Bühler in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 277 ff. Dr. Bhau Daji fully recognised the spuri-

ous nature of the grant. But, treating the date as being in the fourth century of the Śaka era,—not in specifically the Śaka year 400,—and expressing his belief that the grant though a forgery, was an ancient one, and was forged within fifty years of the latest of the Valabhî grants discovered up to that time, he recorded his opinion (*id.* p. 244) that “whether the grant be genuine or not, the evidence in regard to the name of the era does “not materially lose its value; as the forger has been careful not to give the exact year, “but simply to state the century of the era, which we must accept as correct, as this “forger may naturally be expected to avoid an error in date, which would vitiate the “document more than any other single error.” His general conclusions were much the same as those arrived at on the previous occasion; *viz.* (*id.* p. 247) that the dates in the Valabhî grants refer to the Śaka era, which, he held (*id.* p. 238), was the era “of Naha-pâṇa, in all likelihood a Parthian monarch, and a descendant of Phrahates;” (*id.* p. 246) that the Gupta era commenced A.D. 318, and Kumâragupta and Skandagupta succeeded the last of the kings of Valabhî; and consequently (*id.* p. 247 f.) that the Valabhî era of Albêrûnî, if identical with the Gupta era, was certainly not the era used by the Kings of Valabhî themselves, but was the Gupta era, introduced into Kâthiâwâḍ by Kumâragupta and Skandagupta. His results led him also to the conclusion (*id.* p. 249 ff.) that Hiuen Tsiang’s visit to India, must really be placed about sixty years earlier than the accepted and well-established period, about A.D. 630 to 643; a proposition which in itself almost ought to have shewn him that there was some radical error in his deductions. And on this occasion (*id.* p. 246) he put forward the suggestion, afterwards accepted and endorsed by Mr. Fergusson,—or at least he drew pointed attention to the apparent fact,—that the Gupta era commenced on the completion of four of the Sixty-Year Cycles of Jupiter after the commencement of the Śaka era; to suit this suggestion, however, he had to distinctly put aside Albêrûnî’s statement that the difference between the two eras is two-hundred and forty-one years, which, of course, by any arrangement, is one year over and above four cycles of sixty years each. These conclusions are, of course, about as good a sample as could well be sought, of the general state of confusion into which the question had then fallen.

Meanwhile, in 1863, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXII. pp. ii. to cxix., **General Cunningham** had published his Archæological Report for 1861-62, which was subsequently reprinted in 1871 in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. pp. 1 to 130, and which I shall notice again further on. In this, he laid aside his original opinion of A.D. 319 for the commencement of the Gupta era; and adopted, instead of it, the view that this year was really the date of the extermination of the dynasty, and that their recorded dates should be referred, as proposed by Mr. Thomas, to the Śaka era. Again, in 1865, in his paper on the “Coins of the nine Nâgas,” in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIV. p. 115 ff., he stated that, from a comparison of the Gupta gold coins with their Indo-Scythian prototypes, and of the Gupta silver coins with the Sâh coins of Saurâshṭra, he had seen (*id.* p. 118) “that the first Guptas must certainly have been contemporary with the earlier princes of the

"Kushân Scythians, and consequently that their date could not possibly be later than the "first century of the Christian era." And, on the grounds that the only scheme, as far as he could see, that would suit all the known dates and other conditions of the dynasty, was to make Chandragupta I. the founder of the era; that Albêrûnî's information was that the Śaka era was established by a king named Vikramāditya, after a victory over the Śakas; that the name of Vikramāditya was found on coins which were properly assigned to Chandragupta I.; and that the Allahâbâd pillar inscription mentions Samudragupta, the son of Chandragupta I., as receiving tribute from the Śakas,—he expressed himself (*id.* p. 119) as "inclined to adopt the Śaka era, which began in A.D. 79, "as the actual era of the Gupta dynasty and to attribute its establishment to Chandra-gupta I."

In 1870, in the *Four. R. As. Soc. N. S.* Vol. IV. p. 81 ff., Mr. Fergusson published his paper "On Indian Chronology," which had been read before the Society two years earlier, in February, 1869. In this paper, the facts were dealt with in considerable detail, and with a good deal of soundness, except for one serious and radical error, *viz.* that the Early and Western Chalukyas and the Kings of Valabhî belonged to one and the same family, of which the Chalukyas were the southern branch (*id.* pp. 89, 91); the grounds for this assumption seem to be nothing except the supposition that (*id.* p. 94) it was Dharasêna IV., the first paramount sovereign in the Valabhî family,¹ who overthrew the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya II., the son of Pulikêśin II.; but this, again, is a purely mistaken supposition, in support of which there is not the slightest evidence whatever, and against which there is plenty, of the most conclusive kind. Setting aside this, and other important mistakes,—such as his endorsement of Dr. Bhau Daji's reading of *Guptasya kâlât* in the Junâgaḍh inscription of Skandagupta, but his variation of the translation, so as to make it mean, not "from the era of Gupta," but (*id.* p. 112) "from the era of the Guptas;" such as his assumption (*id.* pp. 108, 126) that the Udayagiri cave inscription of the year 82, and the Sâñchi inscription of the year 93, belong to the time of Chandragupta I., with the result that his son Samudragupta could not have ascended the throne before A.D. 411; and such as (*id.* p. 118) his identification of the Budhagupta of the Êraṇ pillar inscription with the Buddhagupta of Magadha, mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang,²—there is a good deal that is sound in the arguments employed and the results

¹ Mr. Fergusson says Dharasêna III.; but this is an evident mistake.

² On this point, Mr. Fergusson wrote—"I do not think the difference of spelling here indicated, of any importance. Hiuen Tsiang's name was translated first from Sanskrit into Chinese, and from Chinese into French; and might easily have been more changed in the process."—The same mistake has been made in more recent times. And I will, therefore, now point out that the two names are utterly distinct, and belong to totally different persons. In respect of the king mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang (*Beal's Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 168 ff.; Julien's *Hiuen Tsiang*, Vol. I. p. 149 f., Vol. III. p. 41 ff.), we are not dependent on the correctness of the restoration in the French or English translation. Hiuen Tsiang gives, as the first component of this name, the well-known *Fo-lo*, which he uses so habitually for Buddha, the teacher, the holy Śākya-Tathâgata, and in respect of which he could not possibly be

arrived at ; but, of course, they were established only as matters of argument, and not by means of any definite proof. On the grounds that (*id.* p. 90) it was inconceivable that the Valabhî era should not have been used by the Kings of Valabhî themselves ; that (*id.* p. 89 f.), by applying the Valabhî dates to A.D. 318, we obtained a Dhruvasêna, who would answer to the Dhruvapaṭu who was on the throne at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit to India; that (*id.* p. 104), in addition to the inherent improbability in Albêrûnî's statement about the Gupta era dating from the extermination of the dynasty, there was no battle, massacre, or other important event that could be placed in A.D. 318; that (*id.* p. 104), the latest date of the Guptas themselves being that of Budhagupta in the year 165, this, if referred to the Śaka era, with the result of A.D. 243, still left a gap of seventy-five years, with no names to fill it, before we arrived at the last of the Guptas in A.D. 318, and (*id.* p. 107) a still longer interval if referred to the Vikrama era ; on the general admission that (*id.* p. 121) the order of succession was, first the so-called Sâhs, then the Guptas, and then the Kings of Valabhî ; and on architectural grounds, and general historical and numismatic arguments which are not within the scope of my present remarks, Mr. Fergusson arrived at the conclusions that (*id.* p. 128 ff.) the Vikrama era of B.C. 57 was founded by the so-called Sâh dynasty ; that this dynasty continued down to A.D. 235 : that there then rose the Andhra dynasty, in which Gôtamiputra was the king of Western India in A.D. 318-19; that the Valabhî era was established then, probably on the building of the city of Valabhî ; that the *Mahārāja* Gupta, the founder of the Gupta family, must have been the viceroy of one of the Andhra kings, but not necessarily at the time of the building of Valabhî ; and that the Early Guptas and the Kings of Valabhî thus derived the era which afterwards came to be known by the names of both of them. And, in the course of this paper, Mr. Fergusson first broached the theory (*id.* p. 131 ff.) that no such person as Vikramāditya, the traditional enemy of the Śakas and founder of the Vikrama era, existed anterior to the Christian era, or within some centuries of that time ; but that, "some time after Vikramāditya of Mālwa," whom he placed (*id.* p. 90) about A.D. 490 to 530, "had rendered the name so celebrated, the Hindus, on the revival of Brâhmanism, wished to possess an era which should, at least, be older than the Buddhist era of Śālivāhana," *i.e.* the Śaka era. "At that time, the Sâh era, established by Nahapāna, was vacant, having fallen into disuse on the destruction of that dynasty and its supersession by the era of Valabhî ; and that the Hindus then appropriated it, by attaching to it the name that it now bears, and inventing the history requisite to render its adoption feasible." This adaptation of the era was then allotted by him either to the time of Bhôja of Dhārā, about A.D. 993, or to the restoration of the Western Chālukya dynasty, in A.D. 973.

mistaken. Whereas, in respect of the king mentioned in the Êraṇ inscription, the metre, as well as the perfect clearness of the reading, shews as conclusively that the first component of that name is Budha, the planet Mercury. Sanskrit scholars will recognise at once the thorough difference between the two names.—For my own remarks on the date of Budhagupta of Magadha, see the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 251 f.

In 1871, in the *Four. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 193 ff.*, General Cunningham attached a note to Professor Dowson's paper on "Ancient Inscriptions from Mathurā;" in which (*id.* p. 196), on the grounds that both Kanishka and Huvishka must have preceded the establishment of the Śaka era, he referred the dates of their inscriptions to the Vikrama era; and he quoted the reference, in the Allahābād pillar inscription, to the Daivaputras and Shāhānushāhis, "who must have been the Turushka kings of the Pañjāb," as shewing that Samudragupta was "a contemporary of the Turushka kings, whose dominion, according to the Chinese authorities, had already passed away in the beginning of "the third century after Christ." As to this last point, I will only say that what we have in reality, in the Allahābād inscription, is, not the means of fixing the date of Samudragupta through the Chinese accounts, but the means of correcting the Chinese accounts by the date of Samudragupta.

In the same year, 1871, General Cunningham published his *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I., containing, in the first part of it, his Archæological Report for the season 1861-62, which, as already noted, had appeared originally in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXII. pp. iii to cix. In this (*id.* p. 94), he expressed the opinion that the Śaka era, for the Early Gupta dates, would accord best with the then general acceptance of the fact that the Gupta dynasty was overthrown in A.D. 319; and he consequently now interpreted the date of the year 141, in the Kālāsurī pillar inscription of Skandagupta, as equivalent to A.D. 219. And, incidentally, (*id.* p. 139 f.) in connection with the question of the Vikrama and Śaka eras, he identified the Vikramāditya, mentioned by Albérūnī,—in commemoration of whose victory over the Śakas at Karūr, between Multān and Lōnī, one hundred and thirty-five years after the establishment of the Vikrama era of B.C. 57, the Śaka era was supposed to have been founded,¹—with the Śālivāhana, whose name came subsequently to be connected by the Hindus with the Śaka era, as the founder of it. The same opinion, as to the dominion of the Guptas having probably commenced about A.D. 78, was also expressed by him in 1873, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 4; in which volume he also (*id.* p. 41 ff.) referred the dates of Kanishka and Huvishka to the Vikrama era; proposed to take the three kings Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka, of the *Rājatarāṅginī*, i. 168-73, as being represented by the Vikramāditya who, according to Mērutuṅga, reigned for sixty years; and fixed the Indo-Scythian rule, in India, as commencing B.C. 57 and ending A.D. 79, "at which latter date, according to Hindu belief, the dynasty of "Vikramāditya was finally overthrown by Śālivāhana."

In 1872, in the *Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 72 ff., Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar threw in his adherence to the opinion held by Mr. Thomas and Dr. Bhau Daji, that the era to which the dates in the Valabhī grants refer, is the Śaka era, as affording "an intelligible starting-point for the Valabhī era, ascertained by Colonel Tod to have commenced in A.D. 319;" his own opinion as to the establishment of this Valabhī era

being that it commemorated the coronation, as *Mahārāja*, of Dr̥ṇasimha, the second son of the *Sēnāpati* Bhaṭārka, by a sovereign who, in the Valabhī grants, *e.g.* No. 38, line 5, page 168, is described as “the paramount master, the sole lord of the circumference of the “territory of the whole earth;” from the date of this event, he held, the members of the Valabhī family were independent kings. In 1874, however, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. III. p. 303 f., on the grounds that the alphabet used in the Valabhī grants resembles very much that used in the Western Chalukya grants belonging to the early part of the eighth century, and for other reasons not fully specified, he modified this opinion, so far as “to think “that the Valabhī dates must be referred to an era other than the Śaka;” and he proceeded to join Mr. Fergusson in referring them to an era commencing A.D. 318. But he still maintained a verbal difference with Mr. Fergusson, to the effect that, since in the Valabhī family there was no individual named ‘Ballaba,’ or Valabhī, “it is doubtful whether the “era was really of Bhaṭārka’s family. If the era was not the era of the dynasty, but was “in use in Surāshṭra before the foundation of the dynasty, the Valabhī dates may be referred “to it. Or, more likely, since the Guptas, who preceded that dynasty, introduced their “era into the country, the grants must have been dated in that era. But there is no difference in effect; since the initial dates of both are the same.”

In 1873, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 313, **Col. J. W. Watson** published the following tradition, attributed to the bards of Kāthiāwāḍ:—“The bards relate that Vāḷā Rāma “Rājā, son of Vāḷā Warsingji, reigned at Junāgaḍh and Vanthali. He was famed for his “munificence; and it is told of him that, when his beard was shaved for the first time, he “gave in charity twenty-one villages, and distributed fifty *lakhs* of rupees¹ as alms to the “poor. Rāma Rājā was of the Vāḷā race. It is said in Saurāshṭra that, previous to the “rise of the kingdom of Junāgaḍh-Vanthali, Valabhīnagara was the capital of Gujarāt. “The rise of Valabhī is thus told by the bards. The Gupta kings reigned between the “Ganges and Jamnā rivers. One of these kings sent his son, Kumārapālagupta, to “conquer Saurāshṭra; and placed his viceroy Chakrapāṇi, son of Prānadatta, one of his “*Amīrs*, to reign as a provincial Governor in the city of Wāmanasthali (the modern Van- “thali). Kumārapāla now returned to his father’s kingdom. His father reigned twenty- “three years after the conquest of Saurāshṭra, and then died; and Kumārapāla ascended “the throne. Kumārapālagupta reigned twenty years, and then died, and was succeeded “by Skandagupta; but this king was of weak intellect. His *Sēnāpati* Bhaṭṭāraka, who “was of the Gehloti race, taking a strong army, came into Saurāshṭra, and made his rule “firm there. Two years after this, Skandagupta died. The *Sēnāpati* now assumed the “title of King of Saurāshṭra; and, having placed a Governor at Wāmanasthali, founded “the city of Valabhīnagara. At this time, the Gupta race were dethroned by foreign in- “vaders. The *Sēnāpati* was a Gehlot, and his forefathers reigned at Ayōdhyānagari, “until displaced by the Gupta dynasty. After founding Valabhī, he established his rule

¹ Nominally, half a million pounds sterling.

"in Saurāshtra, Kachehh, Lāṭadēsa, and Mālava. The Vājās were a branch of the Gehlots. After the fall of Valabhi, the Vāja governor of Wāmanasthali became independent. Rāma Rājā had no son; but his sister was married to the Rājā of Nagar Thāṭha," &c. This story was criticised by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. III. p. 303; his opinion being that "the tradition itself, though interesting, as giving the truth generally, cannot be considered to be true in the particulars; it simply gives us what was known before, that the Valabhis succeeded the Guptas." In reply to this, and in defence of the supposed tradition, Mr. Thomas¹ said that it "may be imperfect, as such old-world tales are liable to become; but there is an instructive confirmation of one obscure portion of the earlier history given by the Muhammadan inquirer,² and a clear explanation of the causes of the local transfer of power, combined with an important reference to the conventional imperial delegation of authority to a son, as well as an indication of the length of the reigns of two kings, to be found nowhere else; and, to complete the tale, we trace in its details, a fully reasonable accord with the more precise data furnished by inscriptions and coins." Of course, this supposed tradition is of that half-perfect kind which carries its own confirmation with it; if we could but accept it. Nothing is more natural, for instance, than the introduction of the termination *pāla* into the middle of the name of Kumāragupta; and than the substitution of Prānadatta and Chakrapāni for the Parnadatta, and his son Chakrapālita, of the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta, and of Bhaṭṭāraka for Bhaṭārka, as the name of the upstart *Sēnāpati*. But no further attention need be paid to the matter; since I have it on the best possible authority,—that of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji himself,—that the supposed tradition has only sprung into existence within the last fifteen or twenty years, and owes its origin only to certain speculations of his, which found their way to the bards through an educational treatise! It simply furnishes an instance of the extreme suspicion with which we must view every Hindu historical legend.

In 1874, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLIII. Part I. p. 363 ff., the question was considered by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, in then bringing to notice the Indōr grant of Skandagupta, No. 16, page 68. He introduced (*id.* p. 369 ff.) a new, and perfectly gratuitous, point in the Kālāuri pillar inscription, by connecting the word *sāntē*, in line 3, with *varshē*, in line 4; and, hankering after the meanings given by Mr. Prinsep and Dr. Hall, to the word *sānta* in particular, though he aimed also at giving to the whole verse a purport which should be more correct than that made out by them, and should be an improvement even on Dr. Bhau Daji's translation, he translated (*id.* p. 371) "in the empire of Skandagupta; the year one hundred and forty-one having passed away." The paper adds nothing of any value to the general discussion; beyond (*id.* p. 371) following, in contradiction to Dr. F. E. Hall, Prof. H. H. Wilson's rendering of the expression in the *Mahā-*

¹ *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 30.

² *i.e.* Albérūnī.

rāja Hastin's grants as shewing that the supremacy of the Gupta kings was still continuing in his time; and beyond introducing (*id.* p. 368) Mr. Blochmann's proposed emendation of the translation of Albêrûnî's statement, which I have quoted at page 28 above, note 1. But Dr. R. Mitra failed to see the interpretation that might be put upon the emended rendering; and he expressed his own conviction (*id.* p. 372) that the Early Gupta dates, and those of Budhagupta and of the *Mahārāja* Hastin, are recorded in the Śāka era; and that Albêrûnî's Gupta era commemorates the expulsion of the Guptas from Gujarāt by the Kings of Valabhî.

In 1876, in the *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 18 ff., Mr. Thomas published a chapter on the "Sāh and Gupta Coins, &c.," in which, as already noted, he included some strong remarks in support of the authenticity of the supposed bardic tradition from Kāthiāwād, that had been brought to notice by Col. Watson. In his tabular statement of the Early Gupta dynasty (*id.* p. 70), he referred the Gupta dates, as before, to the Saka era, and, with them, the date on Tōramāṇa's coin, which he interpreted (*id.* p. 66) as 182; on the authority of the supposed tradition, he placed the *Sēnāpati* Bhaṭārka, the founder of the Valabhî family, specifically two years before the death of Skandagupta; and he added a remark indicating apparently that his opinion was, that the Valabhî era, commencing A.D. 319, was established by the *Mahārāja* Dharasēna II., "who seems "to have been the earliest monarch of any real pretensions."

In 1878, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 79 ff., Dr. Bühler brought to notice the newly discovered Alinā grant of Śīlāditya VII. of Valabhî, No. 39, page 171, which gives for him the date of Gupta-Samvat 447 (A.D. 766-67), and the *birūda*, or title or second name, of Dhrūbhāṭa or Dhruvabhāṭa. Drawing attention (*id.* p. 80) to the pointed similarity of this name with the *T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu* of Hiuen Tsiang's account, and suggesting that Hiuen Tsiang's translation of the name by 'constantly intelligent' might be due to incorrect information, or to some confusion between *bhaṭa*, 'a warrior,' and *bhaṭṭa*, 'a learned man,' Dr. Bühler expressed himself as inclined to believe that Śīlāditya VII. was Hiuen Tsiang's contemporary; the result of which would be that the era used in the Valabhî grants must have commenced either shortly before or shortly after A.D. 200. He pointed out, however, (*id.* p. 81) that the occurrence of the title of Dhrūbhāṭa or Dhruvabhāṭa in this grant, was in reality only one point among many, requiring careful consideration, in connection with a question that was by no means a simple one.

In 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 9 ff., General Cunningham brought to notice the grant of the *Mahārāja* Hastin, of the year 191, No. 23, page 106; the Bhumarā pillar inscription, No. 24, page 110; the *Mahārāja* Saṃkshōbha's grant, of the year 209, No. 25, page 112; and, with the exception of No. 28, page 125, the grants of the *Mahārājas* of Uchchakalpa, No. 26, page 117, to No. 31, page 135, ranging from the year 174 to the year 214. And, in the grants of Hastin and Saṃkshōbha, he followed Prof. Wilson in giving to the expression *Gupta-nrīpa-rājya-bhuktau* interpretations which, though

not grammatically, were substantially correct, in shewing that it indicated that the Gupta sovereignty was still continuing when the grants in question were issued. To his notice of these inscriptions he annexed some remarks (*id.* p. 16 ff.) on the "Date of the Guptas," in which he arrived at the conclusion that the probable epoch of the Gupta era was A.D. 194-95, and its commencement A.D. 195-96. Starting with accepting it to be almost certain that Śīlāditya VII. was the king of Valabhî who was reigning at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit in A.D. 640, he pointed out (*id.* p. 17) that, as the year 447 of the grant might fall twenty-five or thirty years either earlier or later than the pilgrim's visit, the initial point of the Gupta era might lie anywhere between A.D. 163 and 223. Within this period, he found, the only year which would suit the conditions of the record in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta and the Mōrbî grant of Jāṅkadêva, was A.D. 194-95 as the epoch of the era. Applying this epoch to the Êraṇ date, the result (*id.* p. 18) was A.D. 359; in which year the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha, according to his calculation, was, as required, a Thursday; *viz.* the 24th June. And applying it to the solar eclipse mentioned in the Mōrbî grant, which he assumed to have occurred on the new-moon day of the month Māgha, five days before the writing of the grant, the result was the 10th February, A.D. 780, "on which very day there was an eclipse of the sun, "visible in Eastern Asia."¹ The fourth test, which, he indicated, should be applied, was the mention of some of the *samvatsaras* of Jupiter's Twelve-Year Cycle in the grants of the *Mahārājas* Hastin and Samkshōbha. Exact information about this cycle, however, was not then forthcoming; and, in making the Mahā-Vaiśākha *samvatsara* correspond (*id.* p. 19) with A.D. 350, which, with the epoch of A.D. 194-95, would be the equivalent of Gupta-Samvat 156, recorded in the *Mahārāja* Hastin's grant, No. 21, page 93, he seems to have acted on pure assumption; while, in order to make the Mahā-Āśvayuja *samvatsara*, recorded in the same *Mahārāja's* grant of Gupta-Samvat 163, No. 22, page 100, fit in with his view of the cycle, he had to alter² the original date from 163 to 173, with the result of A.D. 367. On this occasion, General Cunningham (*id.* p. 21) again referred the establishment of the Gupta era to Chandragupta I.; and he placed the foundation of the Valabhî era of A.D. 319 in the twentieth year of the reign of Kumāragupta. And, in connection with this Valabhî era, he expressed the opinion (*id.* p. 20) that it could have no connection whatever with the downfall of the Gupta dynasty; for the reason that, applied to the epoch of A.D. 194-95, the dates of 138 and 139 in the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta, No. 14, page 56, shewed that the Gupta dominion was still intact, in Saurāshtra or Kāthiāwād, up to³ A.D. 333. And he expressed the opinion that the apparent incon-

¹ For the full details of this eclipse, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 308.

² See page 102, note 1, below my introductory remarks to this inscription, where I have shewn that a very material obstacle exists in the way of this alteration of the text. Also, as will be seen further on, from the correct point of view as regards the Gupta era, any alteration is quite unnecessary.

³ This is with the supposed date of 139. But the real dates in the record are 136, 137, and 138: they do not include 139.

sistencies in Albêrûnî's statements arose from his finding that the Guptas and the Kings of Valabhi had actually used one and the same era, and from his taking it for granted that that era must have been the era which he found to be called the Valabhi era, and to have commenced in A.D. 319. He placed the *Sēndpātī* Bhaṭārka of Valabhi in A.D. 339 (*id.* p. 21), twenty years after the establishment of the Valabhi era of 319. And, interpreting the coin-dates of Tōramāṇa as 52 and 53 (*id.* p. 27), he referred them (*id.* p. 21) to the Valabhi era of A.D. 319.

The subject was taken up again by General Cunningham in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 111 ff., in his Appendix on "The Gupta Era;" and on this occasion he arrived at the final conclusion, that (*id.* p. 126) the commencement of the era was probably in A.D. 167 and, therefore, its epoch was A.D. 166-67. Of the leading general facts on which he relied (*id.* p. 116), the first was that Samudragupta's date seemed to be fixed approximately, within rather narrow limits, by two facts; *vis.*—(1) "his own mention" (in the Allahābād pillar inscription) "of the tribute received from "the Daivaputra, Shāhi, Shāhānushāhi, which we now know to be the titles of the Yue-chi "Indo-Scythians, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva, and their successors, shews him to "have been a contemporary of some prince of this race;" and (2) "according to "Chinese authority, the Yue-chi, during the period between A.D. 220-80, put their kings "to death, and established military chiefs." From a comparison of these two statements, General Cunningham inferred that Samudragupta must have reigned before the time when the Yue-chi put their kings to death, or not later than some time between A.D. 200 and 250; and that his father, Chandragupta I., must be placed towards the end of the second century A.D. But, with regard to this, I have only to repeat a remark which I have already had occasion to make; *vis.* that what we really have, is, not the means of fixing the period of Samudragupta through the Chinese accounts, but the means of correcting the Chinese accounts through the Early Gupta chronology. The second leading point was that, as already indicated by him, the Alinā grant of Śīlāditya VII. shewed that the initial point of the Gupta era must fall between A.D. 164 and 224. Putting these two approximate results together, he inferred that the beginning of the Gupta era must have been not very far from A.D. 180 to 200. Meanwhile, he had obtained certain information regarding the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, from Bapu Deva Shastri, Professor of Mathematics in the Benares College, which enabled him now to take this into consideration; with the result that, subject to the approximate limits which he had already arrived at on general grounds, and having regard also to the week-day mentioned in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, the only date that would satisfy the requirements of the case were A.D. 166-67 as the epoch and A.D. 167-68 as the commencement, of the Gupta era. In order, however, to make all the dates of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, mentioned in the grant of the Alinā, tally with this epoch, he had to assume that the era of the

Gupta-Samvat 163 into 173. Accepting this alteration, his theory and arrangement of the *saṃvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle, and his general results, have seemed sound, consistent, and reliable. But it is now known that his process for determining the *saṃvatsaras* is wrong, and cannot give satisfactory results. This part of the subject will be explained fully further on. Meanwhile I will only state here that General Cunningham's theory of the Twelve-Year Cycle is based on the assumption, the incorrectness of which can now be proved, that the *saṃvatsaras* of it begin and end with the luni-solar years; and that his process for determining the *saṃvatsaras* (*id.* pp. vi. 114 f., and *Indian Eras*, p. 27 f.) only gives the *saṃvatsara* that is current, according to the sign-passing system, at the commencement of any given luni-solar year; it does not provide for the really essential point, even of this system, which is the determination of the *saṃvatsara* that is current on any given date in a given year after the commencement of it. On this occasion (*id.* p. 112) General Cunningham fully accepted Albêrûnî's apparent statement regarding the extinction of the Gupta sovereignty, in the Valabhî country, in A.D. 319, in which year he now placed the *Sēnāpati* Bhaṭārka of Valabhî. And he recorded the opinion (*id.* p. 126) that the foundation of the Valabhî era of A.D. 319 might very probably have been brought about by the opportunity afforded by the death of Skandagupta, for whom the latest recorded date, supplied by a coin of the year 149, would be, according to his new theory, A.D. 315. In general support of his results, he also quoted certain numismatic facts, such as (*id.* p. 112) that a comparison of the gold coins of the Guptas with those of the Indo-Scythian king Vāsudêva, shewed that they must have followed him very closely; while a comparison of their silver coins with those of the Satraps of Saurāshṭra,—formerly called the Sāh kings,—and those of the Valabhî family, proved distinctly that the Guptas must have followed the Satraps of Saurāshṭra and preceded the Valabhî family; but this is a line of study with which we are not concerned in the present inquiry.

In the same year, in the *Four. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. XII. p. 259 ff., **Mr. Fergusson** issued his paper "On the Śāka, Samvat, and Gupta Eras," as a supplement to his original paper "On Indian Chronology," which has been noticed at page 46 f. above. In his previous paper, he had adopted General Cunningham's view that Kanishka died A.D. 24. Now, however, on arguments based (*id.* p. 264) on the comparative state of decay exhibited by coins of Kanishka and by some belonging to the Roman Consular period, found in Kanishka's *Stûpa* at 'Manikyala;' on the understanding (*id.* p. 265) that the legend of St. Thomas having visited the East in the reign of a certain king Gondophares,—which visit, if it really occurred, must have been after A.D. 33 and probably before A.D. 50,—is at any rate admissible so far as to shew that the inventors of the legend must have known that the king of 'Taxila' at that time was Gondophares, whose name occurs, on coins, among a series of kings "who reigned in the north-west of India, certainly subsequent to the fall of the Greek dynasties, and as certainly anterior to Kanishka;" and

on similar grounds, he arrived at the conclusion (*id.* p. 261) that the Śaka era was established by Kanishka, and took the name of the Śālivāhana era from having been introduced into India in the reign of Śātakarṇi II. of the Andhra dynasty, the "chief of the Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana race." As regards the Gupta era, Mr. Fergusson took this opportunity of recording his impression (*id.* p. 285) that his view of it "would never have been considered doubtful, had it not been that the chronology of that period had hitherto been based almost exclusively on numismatic researches." And, in repeating his conviction (*id.* p. 281) that the commencement of the era was in A.D. 319, and (*id.* p. 270) that it was established in the reign of the Andhra king Gôtamiputra, he also now maintained (*id.* p. 271) that the era did not necessarily date from the accession of the king, or from his death, or from any specific event in his reign, but that, in order that dates in the new era might be easily convertible into the old era, the commencement of the new era was simply fixed by the expiration of four of Jupiter's Sixty-Year Cycles from the commencement of the Śaka era. In respect of his theory that the Śaka era was established by Kanishka, and of some others of his general results, I see no reason, at present, to dispute them, apart from the arguments on which they were based. But a few words seem necessary in connection with the key-note to his whole paper, which is plainly to be recognised in his desire to find for the Vikrama era some origin other than its actual establishment in B.C. 57, and, according to tradition, by a king Vikrama or Vikramāditya, actually reigning at that time. He had already thrown out this suggestion in his previous paper. And now he claimed that, granting the correctness of his other conclusions, there could be found (*id.* p. 271) no direct evidence for the existence of a Vikrama era in the first century B.C., nor for a very long time afterwards; for so long, in fact, that it was impossible to establish any connection between a king Vikrama and the original establishment of the era. Referring to two passages in the *Rājataranginī*, one of which¹ speaks of Pratāpāditya, who was brought from another country to be crowned king of Kaśmīr, as a kinsman of a king Vikramāditya who, the book states, was wrongly thought by some to be the Śakāri or 'enemy of the Śakas,' and the other of which² states that, at the time of the death of Hiraṇya of Kaśmīr, there reigned at Ujjain a powerful king Vikramāditya, who had the second name of Harsha, and who also had destroyed the Śakas; and quoting also Albérūnī's explanation that the Vikramāditya who, according to the tradition given to him, conquered the Śakas a hundred and thirty-five years after the establishment of the Vikrama era, could not be identical with the founder of that era,—the conclusions at which he arrived were (*id.* p. 274) that the Vikramāditya who conquered the Śakas at the battle of Karūr, was Harsha-Vikramāditya of Ujjain; that his death took place about A.D. 550, and the battle of Karūr, in A.D. 544; that, about or before A.D. 1000, when "the struggle with the Buddhists was over, and a new era was opening for the Hindu religion," the Hindus sought to establish some new method of marking time, to

¹ Calcutta edition, ii. line 6; page 15.

² Calcutta edition, iii. lines 125, 128; page 26.

supersede the Buddhist Saka era of Kanishka ; that, the Guptas and the Kings of Valabhi having then passed away, and having also been insignificant and of doubtful orthodoxy, in looking back for some name and event of sufficient importance to mark the commencement of a new era, they hit on the name of Vikramāditya, as the most illustrious known to them, and his victory at Karūr as the most important event of his reign ; and that then, since the date of that victory, A.D. 544, was too recent to be adopted, they antedated the epoch by ten cycles of sixty years, thus arriving at B.C. 56 for their Vikrama era, and also, not content with this, devised another era, which they called the Harsha era, from the other part of his name, and the epoch of which was fixed in B.C. 456, by placing it ten even centuries before the date of the battle of Karūr. It is an actual fact, that the name of Vikrama does not occur in connection with the era of B.C. 57 until a comparatively late date.¹ But Mr. Fergusson's arguments are vitiated throughout by the undue reliance which he placed on the quasi-historical records of the *Rājataranginī*. The early chronology of Kaśmīr has still to be fixed ; and the means of adjusting it are to be found in A.D. 533 as the date of Mihirakula, who, according to the book itself, reigned in the eighth century B.C. And, if the date of Harsha-Vikramāditya of Ujjain is really dependent on the date of Hiranya of Kaśmīr, it certainly cannot be placed as early as the sixth century A.D.

In 1881, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 213 ff., Dr. Oldenberg published his paper "On the Dates of ancient Indian Inscriptions and Coins," the whole of which well deserves careful study. Holding (*id.* p. 214) as the result of Herr von Sallet's numismatic researches, that Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudēva, cannot be placed earlier than the first century A.D., and must be placed before A.D. 200 ; quoting the Bādāmi cave inscription of the Western Chalukya king Maṅgalisa,² dated Śāka-Samvat 500 expired, as proving conclusively that the Śāka era ran from the coronation, not the defeat or death, of a Śāka king (or kings); finding (*id.* p. 214 f.), from the coins, that Kanishka belonged undoubtedly to the Śāka tribe ; and finding also (*id.* p. 215) that, at the time to which Kanishka must be referred, there was no Indian king who at all equalled him in power and fame, he arrived at the primary conclusion that the era used in the inscriptions of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudēva, is the Śāka era, and that the event from which it dates, is the accession of Kanishka. Working from this starting-point, after indicating very correctly (*id.* p. 217) that the fundamental mistake which vitiates the researches of Mr. Thomas and others "consists in their touching only incidentally upon the direct "and very clear ancient tradition," preserved by Albērūnī, "which we possess regarding "the Gupta era, instead of placing distinctly this tradition in the foreground, and of "systematically discussing the question whether any serious objections can be opposed

¹ I am not prepared at present to specify the exact date. But the 'Gyāraspur' or 'Gyārispur' inscription (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. X. p. 33, and Plate xi.) shews that the era was still known as the MALAVA era, in Central India, down to about A.D. 880.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI. p. 363 f. and Vol. X. p. 57 ff.

"to it," he arrived, by a series of historical, numismatic, and palæographical arguments, at the conclusion that the rise of the Early Guptas must be placed in A.D. 319, and their downfall about A.D. 480. In the course of the paper, he suggested (*id.* p. 219) that the *T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu* of Hiuen Tsiang may be Dêrabhaṭa of Valabhî, or may indicate one of the Dharasênas or one of the earlier Śîlādityas of that family; and that, at any rate, the occurrence of the title Dhrûbhaṭa in the Alînâ grant, as only a secondary title, furnishes no conclusive evidence against the commencement of the era in A.D. 319. He announces (*id.* p. 220) that, with the epoch of A.D. 319, the record of the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, that the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Âshâḍha of Gupta-Samvat¹ 165 was a Thursday, was quite correct by the Tables and formulæ in Warren's *Kala-Sankalita*. And (*id.* p. 222), referring to the supposed tradition of the bards of Kâthiâwâḍ, he gave perfectly good reasons for holding, even without further proof, that it was nothing but "a very poor compilation, pieced up of what those "' bards ' knew by hearsay of the results of modern epigraphical and numismatical investigation."

In the same year, the general question was taken up again by Mr. Thomas, in his paper on "The Epoch of the Guptas," published in the *Four. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 524 ff. On this occasion (*id.* p. 524) he abandoned the opinion that the dates on the Sâh coins were to be referred to the supposed Harsha era commencing B.C. 456; and expressed himself as inclined to accept Mr. Newton's theory that they are recorded in the Vikrama era of B.C. 57. But, as regards the Gupta era, he still (*id.* p. 549) adhered to the view that it was identical with the Śaka era, or, at any rate, that the Gupta dates were to be referred to the Śaka epoch. In this paper (*id.* p. 529 f.) he introduced some other passages from Albêrûnî, shewing that eras had been established from the death of 'Alexander the Founder' and of 'Yazdajird ben Shahryâr,' which were used by him as indicating that Albêrûnî must have exercised due deliberation before making the (supposed) statement that the Gupta era dated from the extermination of the Guptas; and he brought forward a discovery (*id.* p. 545) that certain signs in front of the horse's head on the reverse of some coins of 'Syalapati,' Sâmantadêva, 'Khadavayaka,' and Bhîmadêva, of Kâbul, represented, in various degrees of legibility, the syllables *Gu*, *Gup*, and *Gupta*, which were consequently held to refer to the Gupta era the conventional date, 617, which these signs introduced. He had previously suggested A.D. 935 for the accession of Sâmantadêva.² And, pointing out that the conventional

¹ Or, rather, of Gupta-Samvat 166; since he treated the record as meaning the year 165 expired and 166 current. But the epoch would then be A.D. 318, not 319. It was probably through an oversight that Dr. Oldenberg spoke in this connection of A.D. 319 as the epoch. Elsewhere (*id.* pp. 215, 227) he distinctly specifies A.D. 319 as the beginning of the Gupta era; according to which, A.D. 318 would be the epoch selected by him.

² *Four. R. As. Soc.* F. S. Vol. IX. p. 179.

date of 617, if added to A.D. 319, gave A.D. 936,—within one year of his date for Sāmantadēva,—he quoted these coins (*id.* p. 544) as proof of “the practical survival of “the method of dating from the extinction of the Gupta rule.”


Closely connected with the preceding, is Sir E. Clive Bayley's paper “On certain Dates occurring on the Coins of the Hindu kings of Kābul, expressed in the Gupta Era and in Arabic (or quasi-Arabic) numerals,” published in 1882, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, Vol. II. p. 128 ff. This paper was issued in support of his theory of A.D. 189-(90) or 190-(91) for the epoch of the Gupta era; which was based to a great extent on the apparent deduction from the Alinā grant of Śilāditya VII., noted at page 51 above, that the era cannot have commenced later than A.D. 200; coupled with his reading of “698 Gupta” on the earliest of the coins of ‘Syalapati,’ which, as he placed ‘Syalapati’ between A.D. 887 and 916, would shew that the Gupta era commenced after A.D. 180. As regards the era of A.D. 319, his suggestion, based on the weakness attributed to Skandagupta in the supposed tradition of the Kāthiāvād bards, was (*id.* p. 155 f.) that it might date from the death of Kumāragupta, and might memorialise a rebellion against Skandagupta by the members of the Valabhī family. The latter dynasty, he held, still continued, in spite of any such circumstances, to use the Gupta era. The key-note to the whole theory is to be found in Sir E. Clive Bayley's agreement with Mr. Thomas, that the specified abbreviations of a full legend, which must be taken as ‘*Guptasya Kāl*,’ were really to be found in the dates on the Kābul coins. But in details he differed widely from Mr. Thomas. Thus (*id.* p. 145) he read the signs in the opposite way to that in which Mr. Thomas would read them; and, instead of accepting the conventional date of 617, he found in the figures various values, to suit the period, A.D. 887 to 916, which he assigned to ‘Syalapati.’ The question of the true interpretation of the dates on the coins in question, depends chiefly on the real period, still to be proved, that is to be assigned to ‘Syalapati’¹ and the other kings in ques-

¹ In connection with this, I would draw special attention to the coin of ‘Syalapati’ figured in *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. I. p. 304, Pl. xxv. No. 2, which, as now explained by Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table, gives the unmistakable date of 814, traces of which are also discernible in No. 1 on the same Plate. This No. 2 has behind the horseman the same monogram, *u u*, (not *ḥ ḥ*), as Sir E. Clive Bayley's Nos. 25, 26, and 27 have; also, as explained by No. 1, it has in the upper corner, in front of the horseman, the same symbol (interpreted by Sir E. Clive Bayley on his No. 20 as a rude imitation of *adal*, ‘just [weight or value]’) that appears in the same position on others of these coins, and resembles a crescent moon on the top of a short staff with a cross-handle. These points of similarity suggest that possibly Sir E. Clive Bayley's Nos. 25, 26, and 27 (and others) belong really to ‘Syalapati,’ though his name is not on the obverse. And the unmistakable date of 814 on at any rate *Prinsep's Essays*, Pl. xxv. No. 2, further suggests that the figures on Sir E. Clive Bayley's Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10, should not be read as 707 and 727.—Sir E. Clive Bayley placed ‘Syalapati’ in A.D. 887 to 916; which would agree very satisfactorily with the date of 814 on Prinsep's coin, if we might refer it to the Śaka era, with the result of A.D. 891-92. Mr. Thomas (*Four. R. As. Soc. F. S.* Vol. IX. p. 179) placed him about the same time; *vis.* “early in the tenth century.” On the other hand, General Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XIV. p. 45) has placed him rather earlier, about A.D. 800; but he quoted no authority for this. I have not been able to find any other information as to the probable date of ‘Syalapati.’

tion. And, without attempting any full discussion of the matter here, where it would be out of place, I will only bring forward a few points to shew that, at any rate, Sir E. Clive Bayley's interpretation of the dates is quite untenable. Of the coins in question, those that have the clearest dates on them (*id.* Plate vii. Nos. 24 to 27), belong to some unnamed king. They are not attributed to 'Syalapati;' but are considered to be rather more recent. It is admitted, however, that they belong to the same series; and I take them first, because they are so very clear. If we examine them with the help of Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table of Numerals (*id.* Plate vii.), it is evident at once that No. 24 reads, not "802 Gu," but simply "804," with nothing after it; and that Nos. 25, 26, and 27 read, not "812 Gu," but simply "814," again with nothing after it; the figures being, in fact, absolutely identical with those which Sir E. Clive Bayley himself read as simply "814" on Nos. 19 to 23, 29 to 31, and 34. In these instances, the supposed *Gu* is nothing but the sign that makes the difference in these numerals between a 2 and a 4. And Sir E. Clive Bayley's reading further involves the peculiar anomaly that the figures have to be read in one direction, from the rim of the coin, and the supposed *Gu* in the opposite direction, from the inside of the coin; which results in the curious arrangement of "802 nɔ̃" and "812 nɔ̃." We have here to note that Sir E. Clive Bayley reported (*id.* p. 145 f.) that Mr. Thomas, reading the signs that were supposed to mean *Gu*, *Gup*, and *Gupta*, in the opposite way to that in which he himself read them, read the whole date in one direction, from the inside of the coins, and interpreted all the figures as giving only one uniform and conventional date, *viz.* "Gu 617," denoting the initial date of Sāmanta's dynasty according to the Gupta era. Allowing for the possibility of the first sign being capable of meaning *Gu*, this way of interpreting the figures seems to be equally well borne out by Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table. But the first sign cannot mean *Gu*, and does not mean *Gu*. And a reference to the Table will shew immediately that the figures have to be read, as Sir E. Clive Bayley read them, from the rims of the coins; and that the dates are in reality nothing but 804 and 814, as I have pointed out above. Of the coins of 'Syalapati' himself (Plate i. Nos. 3 to 5, and 7 to 10), No. 7 is read as "707," and Nos. 8, 9, and 10 as "727," without any supposed reference at all to the Gupta era; and these readings are in accordance with the Table of Numerals, if the dates are read from the rim of the coins, like the dates of Nos. 19 to 27, 29 to 31, and 34, referred to above. On the other hand, if we might read the figures on these seven coins from the inside, there appears no particular objection to interpreting them as respectively "808" and "868." There remain Nos. 3, 4, and 5, which are read respectively as "Gupta" with two doubtful figures, "98 Gu," and "99 Gu;" meaning (6)98 and (6)99 on the principle of "omitted hundreds." And these, unfortunately, are not so easy to deal with; since,—though the signs that are supposed to mean *Gupta* must be in reality numerals of some kind or another,—there is nothing in Sir E. Clive Bayley's Table, and I can obtain nothing elsewhere, to explain their value as numerals. But, in attempting to find a proper reading of them, we must in the first place notice that the sign which,

on Nos. 4 and 5, Sir E. Clive Bayley interpreted as the figure 9, and entered as such in his Table, occupies exactly the position which is filled in Prinsep's coin No. 1, referred to on page 58 above, note 1, by a symbol resembling a crescent moon on the top of a short staff with a cross-handle; and this suggests that the sign in question is not a figure at all. I give here a reproduction of Sir E. Clive Bayley's representation (*id.*

Plate vi. No. 6) of the signs in question, which were supposed by him, and by Mr. Thomas, to represent the word *Gupta*, and were claimed by him (*id.* p. 127) to be "a fair rendering of the usual form of the word." What they really



Gu-pta.

mean, I will not attempt to decide; beyond pointing out that, as I have said above, they must be numerals of some kind or another. But it will be admitted at once, by any qualified palæographer, that they answer in no way whatever to the usual form of the word *Gupta*, and cannot be so interpreted in accordance with any known alphabet; even though we should follow Mr. Thomas (*id.* p. 128) in looking upon them as "a degraded and contracted form of the word," or Sir E. Clive Bayley (*id.* p. 145) in holding them to be "a gross corruption of it." And to these remarks I will only add that, as I have shewn at page 19 ff. above, the very expression *Guptasya kâla* or *Gupta-kâla* is a purely imaginary one, without any real epigraphical existence; and, therefore, abbreviations of it cannot possibly exist on the Kâbul coins, or on any others. As a Postscript to his paper, Sir E. Clive Bayley shortly afterwards issued some remarks on the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, as used in the grants of the *Mahârâjas* Hastin and Samkshôbha. His views on this point, however, were radically vitiated, in the first place, by his following General Cunningham's mistaken assumption that the *samvatsaras* of this cycle always begin and end with the luni-solar years; and, further, by a series of mistakes which it is really difficult to know how to criticise properly. He took the *samvatsara* that is mentioned in the Bhumarâ pillar inscription, No. 24, page 110, to be Mahâ-Mârgasîra, instead of Mahâ-Mâgha; a mistake which threw this record out by two *samvatsaras*. He proved General Cunningham's results to be right only in one instance out of the five, *viz.* in the case of this supposed Mahâ-Mârgasîra *samvatsara* of the Bhumarâ record, by himself making them gratuitously wrong, in assuming that General Cunningham's epoch for the era was A.D. 107-68, instead of A.D. 166-67. And he entirely overlooked the fact that, as there are ordinarily twelve years in each cycle, and as his own proposed epoch was exactly twenty-four years later than that proposed by General Cunningham, his own results could be neither any more nor any less correct than General Cunningham's under ordinary circumstances; but would, in the particular case, be less correct than General Cunningham's, because, by General Cunningham's Table, which he accepted as correct, there was an expunction of a *samvatsara* between A.D. 394 and 395, which, while it did not affect General Cunningham's results, did affect his own, in making Gupta-Samvat 209 coincide with the Mahâ-Kârttika *samvatsara*, instead of Mahâ-Âśvayuja (for which, by the way, Sir E. Clive Bayley again wrote Mahâ-Mârgasîra) as recorded in the grant itself, No. 25, page 112. In fact, a full examination of the original

paper and its Postscript, will shew that, for the proposed epoch of A.D. 190, there are absolutely no grounds whatever; and that the theory has no importance at all, except in introducing one of the side-issues which, endorsed by a name that carries authority, have to be disposed of, before any settlement of the main question will be accepted as final by general readers.

In 1883, General Cunningham published his *Book of Indian Eras*, in which he recast, with some additions, his treatise on the Gupta era and the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, that had appeared in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 111 ff.; and with the same results as on the former occasion. He admitted (*id.* p. x.) that the question of the Gupta era had still not been quite finally settled. But, of the two dates, A.D. 167-68 and 262-63, to which his investigations seemed to limit him for the commencement of the era, he still (*id.* p. 57) much preferred the earlier date, both as contrasted specially with A.D. 262, and also as having (*id.* p. 58) "a better claim for acceptance than any other that has yet been proposed." And, accordingly, in the column for the Gupta era in his Table XVII., we find (*id.* p. 142) the epoch entered as A.D. 166-67, and the commencement as A.D. 167-68. The *samvatsaras* of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter are shewn in another column of the same Table; and, from his detailed remarks on this cycle (*id.* p. 26 ff.), we find that his method of determining the *samvatsaras* was the same as that applied on the previous occasion. In respect of the Valabhî era, he still held (*id.* pp. 53, 63) that the Verāwal inscription of Valabhî-Samvat 945 proves that A.D. 319 was its commencement; not its epoch. And he also (*id.* p. 50) seems to indicate very clearly that, in his opinion, the scheme of the years of this era was identical with that of the years of the southern Vikrama era, commencing with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November). He also held (*id.* p. 57) "that the era used by the Valabhî kings "was that of the Guptas, seems to be almost certain; as the *Sēndpati* Bhaṭārka, the founder "of the Valabhî dynasty, is said," in the supposed tradition of the bards of Kāthiāwāḍ, "to have been the governor of Surāshṭra during the last two years of Skandagupta's reign." And he suggested (*id.* p. 53) that it is to this use by the Valabhî family, of the Gupta era of A.D. 166-67, instead of the Valabhî era itself, that we must attribute all the existing confusion. Of the new points brought forward on this occasion, the most important is (*id.* pp. x f., 47 ff., 58) the reference to the Dhiniki copper-plate grant of king Jāikadēva of Saurāshṭra, published by Dr. Bühler in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 151. This grant is dated in Vikrama-Samvat 794, equivalent to A.D. 736-37; and, on the assumption that it is genuine, and that this Jāikadēva is identical with the Jāinka of the Mōrbi grant, the date of which, (Gupta)-Samvat 585 expired, by General Cunningham's view would represent A.D. 751-52, the synchronism established by the two grants would, of course, lend strong support to his theory. Upon a full examination, however, of the details of the date, which from the first evidently contained elements of doubt, I think that this Dhiniki

grant must certainly be rejected as spurious.¹ If not so, then it can only be held that Jāinka and Jāikadēva were distinct and separate persons. Under any circumstances, this grant is of no use in connection with the question of the Gupta era.

¹ In this grant, the date (from the published lithograph; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 155, and Plate, line 1 ff.) runs—*Vikrama-saṃvatsara-śatēshu saptasu chatur-navaty-adhikēshu=aṃkatnḥ 974 Kārttikamās-āpara-pakshē amāvāsyāyām Ādityavārē Jyēṣṭhā-nakshatrē ravigrahaṇa-parvaṇi asyām saṃvatsara-māsa-paksha-divasa-pūrvāyām tithāv=ady=ēha Bhūmilikāyām &c.*—"in seven centuries, increased by ninety-four, of the years of Vikrama, (or) in figures, 974 [the interpretation of the figures, however, with the exception of the 4, depends purely on the preceding expression in words; the first two of them present anything but the appearance of 7 and 9]; in the latter fortnight of the month Kārttika; on the new-moon *tithi*; on Sunday; under the Jyēṣṭhā *nakshatra*; on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun; on this lunar day, (*specified*) as above by the year, and month, and fortnight, and (solar) day; to-day; here, at Bhūmilikā," &c.—This gives us for calculation, Vikrama-Saṃvat 794, current according to the literal meaning of the text; the month Kārttika (October-November); the second, and as shewn by the following mention of the new-moon day and a solar eclipse, the dark fortnight; the new-moon *tithi*; Sunday; an eclipse of the sun; and the Jyēṣṭhā *nakshatra* or lunar mansion. And, as the details of the inscription connect it specifically with Saurāshṭra or Kāṭhiāwād, we have to understand that the Vikrama year quoted is the southern Vikrama year, commencing with Kārttika śukla 1, and having the *Amānta* southern arrangement of the months (see Table III., page 71 below), in which the second fortnight of each month is the dark fortnight. This is, in fact, proved by the record itself, in allotting to the second fortnight of the month the new-moon *tithi*, which of course belongs to the dark fortnight. And, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit tells me, it is also shewn by the mention of the Jyēṣṭhā *nakshatra*, which can never occur on the new-moon *tithi* of the *Pūrṇimānta* northern Kārttika.—As belonging to southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 794, the given *tithi* belonged, according to the Tables, to Śaka-Saṃvat 659, expired; and, if it belonged to southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 795, it would belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 660, expired. With the basis of these two Śaka years, taken as expired, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit gives me the following English equivalents of the recorded date;—for Vikrama-Saṃvat 794, Monday, the 28th October, A.D. 737, when there was the Anurādhā *nakshatra*, and most probably no eclipse of the sun (none, at least, is recorded in *Indian Eras*, p. 211);—and for Vikrama-Saṃvat 795, Sunday, the 16th November, A.D. 738, when there was the Jyēṣṭhā *nakshatra*; but there cannot have been an eclipse of the sun, since there was one on the preceding new-moon *tithi*, on Friday, the 17th October, A.D. 738, or, by the English Tables (*Indian Eras*, p. 211) Saturday, the 18th October (the difference in the day is because the conjunction of the sun and the moon occurred late towards sunrise; and, for the same reason, the eclipse was not visible in India). This, of course, was the new-moon *tithi* of the *Pūrṇimānta* northern Kārttika that fell in A.D. 738; but the supposition that this is the day intended, is barred by the facts that I have mentioned above, which prevent our understanding that the month recorded is the *Pūrṇimānta* northern month at all; and also by the fact, ascertained by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, that on the 17th October, A.D. 738, the *nakshatras* were Svāti and Viśākhā. To complete the details, I would add that he finds that the English equivalent of the new-moon *tithi* of the *Pūrṇimānta* northern Kārttika, which fell in A.D. 737, was Saturday, the 28th September, A.D. 737, when the *nakshatras* were Chitrā and Svāti, and there was no solar eclipse.—The only English date, therefore, which at all answers to the record, is Sunday, the 16th November, A.D. 738; and this is the date that was accepted by Dr. Bühler, in publishing the inscription, on calculations made by Prof. Jacobi. In order to arrive at it, however, he translated the record as meaning Vikrama-Saṃvat 794 expired and 795 current. And in dealing with the eclipse, which, according to the same *Amānta* reckoning, occurred one lunation earlier, on the new-moon *tithi* of the preceding month Āśvina, he arrived at the conclusions, that the

In 1884, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar issued a note on the question in his *Early History of the Dekkan*, Appendix A. p. 97 ff.; and announced his acceptance of the theory of A.D.

grant was actually made on the new-moon *tithi* of Âśvina, because, though the eclipse was not visible, yet the occurrence of it was known, and therefore the occasion was one of special merit; but that the actual drafting of the charter was done a month later, on the new-moon *tithi* of Kârttika, and the person who drafted it was careless, and omitted to draw a distinction between the two occasions.—This date has also been discussed by Gen. Cunningham, in his *Indian Eras*, p. 48 f. His conclusions were, that the date belongs to Vikrama-Saṁvat 794, not 795; but that the eclipse intended really is that of the (17th or) 18th October, A.D. 738. In order, however, to arrive at these conflicting results, he assumed that the year commenced, not with the month Kârttika, but with the month Mârgaśīrsha (November-December), in accordance with a custom which Albêrûnî tells us, was current among the people of Sindh and Kanauj and other localities, and had been followed at Multân up to a few years before his own time. By this arrangement, of course, the month Kârttika of Vikrama-Saṁvat 794 would belong to the end of the year, and would therefore fall in A.D. 738, not 737. But, by the southern reckoning, the new-moon day of Kârttika in A.D. 738 would be the 16th November, which was not the day of the eclipse. Accordingly, there remained something still to be explained; and Gen. Cunningham proposed to complete the arrangement by reading Âśvina, instead of Kârttika; which would agree with the real eclipse-day, *viz.* the (17th or) 18th October, A.D. 738. "But, as that day was a Saturday, a very inauspicious day, the writing of the grant was probably made on the following day, or Sunday, which was the first day of Kârttika; and this might have led to the substitution of the name of Kârttika, for that of Âśvina, as the actual day of the eclipse." There was, really, no reason at all for proposing this alteration of the text; for, from the localities mentioned by Albêrûnî, a year commencing with Mârgaśīrsha could only be coupled with the *Pûrṇimānta* northern arrangement of the months; and, by that arrangement, the 17th October, A.D. 738, on which day, as we have seen, the eclipse occurred for India, actually was the new-moon day of Kârttika. The *Pûrṇimānta* northern arrangement, however, is barred in the present case by the points to which I have drawn attention above.—Gen. Cunningham's proposals, therefore, will not do, Nor will Dr. Bühler's interpretation of the date. For, though it remains to be finally decided whether the given date in the southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 794, current, or expired, belongs to Śaka-Saṁvat 659 expired, or to 660 expired, yet the eclipse selected by him, as by General Cunningham, was not visible in India; and the assumption that it is the one referred to, also entails a greater variation between the facts and the recorded statements than could possibly occur in a genuine charter.—I confess that from the first, I have thought that the Dhiniki grant is not genuine; partly from the type of the Dêvanâgarî characters used in it, which, though they present some apparently antique characteristic, are much inferior to those used in certain early palm-leaf MSS., and are also rude, even as compared with the characters of the Sâmaṅgaḍ grant of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Dantidurga, of Śaka-Saṁvat 675 expired (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 108 ff. and Plate), which belongs to just about the alleged period; and partly from its giving so much earlier an instance than can be found anywhere else, of the use of the name of Vikrama in connection with the era. My impression has been that the grant was made spurious by substituting the word Vikrama for Valabhî. This view, I find, cannot be upheld; as the recorded details are not correct for Valabhî-Saṁvat 794 (A.D. 1113-14), or a year before or after. But, that the grant really is spurious, is, I think, now certain, from all the results that I have recited above. And judging by the characters, I should be inclined to refer the fabrication of it to about the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. As the Jyêshthâ *nakshatra* appears to occur always on, or within two days after, the new-moon *tithi* of Kârttika, this detail was probably selected as a fairly safe one; the others being purely fictitious.

318-19 for the epoch of the Gupta era.¹ He held (*id.* p. 97) that Albêrûnî's statement regarding the era dating from the extermination of the Guptas, was to be attributed to nothing but the fact that, as in the case also of the Śaka era, the Hindus had repeated to him a mistaken tradition; and that the only reasonable course was, while accepting his initial date for the era, to reject his explanation of the circumstances under which it was established; and he held (*id.* p. 98) that the fact that this era came to be known in later times by the name of the Valabhî era, was due only to its having been introduced into Saurâshtra by the Valabhî family, who were originally dependents of the Guptas, and the dates in whose grants could, at any rate, plainly not be referred to the rise of the family under the *Sēndapati* Bhatârka. The principal tests applied by him were, the record of the week-day in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta; and the names of the *samvatsaras* of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, as recorded in the grants of the *Mahârâjas* Hastin and Samkshôbha. In respect of the Êraṇ record, he announced (*id.* p. 99) that Prof. K. L. Chhatre had found that it was correct for Śaka-Samvat 406, as an expired year,² and equivalent to A.D. 484-85, *i.e.* for the Śaka year for which it should be correct according to the initial date given by Albêrûnî; and his grounds so far were correct. In respect, however, of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter (*id.* p. 99) he went quite astray; partly through accepting the view that the *samvatsaras* of the cycle begin and end with the luni-solar years; partly through assuming, evidently in order to apply General Cunningham's Tables of the *samvatsaras*, that the Gupta dates denoted expired years, with current *samvatsaras*, which led to the result that Gupta-Samvat 156 should be the Mahâ-Chaitra *samvatsara*, instead of Mahâ-Vaiśākha as recorded; and partly through his acceptance of General Cunningham's alteration of the date of No. 22, page 100, from Gupta-Samvat 163 to 173. In the course of the arguments which occupy the rest of his paper, he suggested that the *T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu* of Hiuen Tsiang was Dhruvasēna II. of Valabhî. But on this point it is hardly possible to endorse any part of his statement (*id.* p. 100) that "nothing important is involved in the suffix *bhaṭa*. It was a mere title or honorific termination, as *pant* and *râv* are among us, the Marâthâs. *Sēna*, *simha*, and *bhaṭa* were the Valabhî honorific endings; and they could be used promiscuously. The king spoken of in the plates as Dhruvasimha, may have been called Dhruvabhata by ordinary people, from whom Hiuen Tsiang must have got the name." But the name of Dhruvasimha does not

¹ He seems to quote A.D. 319-20 as the epoch (*e.g.* p. 99, line 15). But, since he treated the Gupta years as expired years, the epoch that he apparently proved is A.D. 318-19.

² It was from this that he inferred that the Gupta-Samvat 165 of the record, was itself an expired year. But this does not follow at all. The equation between the Gupta date and the corresponding English date, is not intrinsically dependent on the Śaka date at all; only, in using Hindu Tables, we have to arrive at it through a Śaka year, and to use as the basis of the calculation, the last Śaka year expired before the current Śaka year corresponding to Gupta-Samvat 165 current.—A most curious confusion between current and expired years of the Śaka era runs through his remarks. Thus though quite rightly taking Śaka-Samvat 406 expired to be equivalent to A.D. 484-85, with a difference of 78-79, he also, with the same difference, took, *e.g.*, A.D. 511-12 as the equivalent of Śaka-Samvat 433 current.

occur at all in any of the numerous Valabhî grants that have come to light; nor does any one of them furnish the slightest grounds for the assertion that there was ever any confusion between the terminations *sêna*, *simha*, and *bhaṭa*. And, though Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar pointed out that Hiuen Tsiang seems to be referring to more than one king of Valabhî, whom he held to be the two brothers Dharasêna III. and Dhruvasêna II., yet I cannot find any authority, either in M. Stanislas Julien's translation, or in Mr. Beal's, for his assertion that Hiuen Tsiang was speaking of only two kings, and that it was the younger of them whom he denoted by the name of *T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu*. This, however, as I have indicated at page 40 f. above, is a point which cannot be finally cleared up, until we have some more explicit and reliable exposition of the words actually used by Hiuen Tsiang.

And finally, in 1885, in the *Centenary Review* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from 1784 to 1883, Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, after a brief résumé of the results of the work of preceding investigators, arrived at the opinion (*id.* Part II. p. 111) that "the terminal "date," A.D. 319, "of the Gupta empire, as determined by Mr. Thomas, may now be considered as one of those great historical landmarks, the truth of which is admittedly no "more open to question;" and (*id.* 113) that General Cunningham's theory of A.D. 166-67 for the epoch¹ of the Gupta era, "has every prospect of ultimately meeting with universal assent, and being the final verdict of the historic researches regarding the Gupta "dynasty."

The Mandasôr Inscription of Mâlava-Samvat 529.

The summary that I have given above will shew sufficiently well the curious ingenuity that was displayed from time to time, in aiming at any settlement of the question rather than the correct one; and also the insufficiency of the arguments used in support of the true solution, even by those who perceived it.

But of course it may be claimed that, as long as M. Reinaud's translation of the statement regarding the circumstances under which the era of A.D. 319-20 or thereabouts was established, remained without correction, there was something to be said from the point of view that we had to deal with a mistake made by Albêrûnî, lying in a confusion between a true Gupta era, anterior to A.D. 319, used by the Early Gupta kings themselves, and another Gupta era, or more properly a Valabhî era, with an epoch of A.D. 319-20 or thereabouts, established, whether used or not, by some member of the Valabhî family; and that he was right in respect of the historical event, from which, as he appeared to assert, this latter era took its origin. And, in default of definite evidence, settling the question one way or the other, perhaps the strongest argument against the views held by Mr. Thomas, General Cunningham, and Sir E. Clive Bayley, was to be found in the fol-

¹ Dr. Hoernle called A.D. 166 the initial year of the era; but this is not an exact representation of Gen. Cunningham's results.

lowing anomalous position, which had occasionally been noticed more or less directly, but had never been disposed of. It was held by all that the Valabhî family came immediately after the Guptas. It was also held that in A.D. 318 or 319, some member of this family founded the city of Valabhî; and, in commemoration partly of that event, and partly of the Gupta rule having then ceased and the power having passed into his own hands, established the Valabhî era dating from then. And yet,—as is proved by, amongst other things, the fact that Bhaṭārka, the founder of the family, came only one generation before the year 207, the earliest date that we have in the era used in their own charters, —the founder of this era, and his successors, did not allow this era of their own, established under such memorable circumstances, to supersede the Gupta era; but continued the use of the Gupta era for, in accordance with the three earlier starting-points given on page 32 f. above, respectively 205, 294, and 318 years at least, (as is shewn by the Alinâ grant of Śilāditya VII., dated in the year 447), after the establishment of their own era! This surely involves an improbability far greater than any other, of whatever kind, that can be imagined in connection with the whole subject.

In order to arrive at any prospect of a final settlement of the question, what was wanted was a date for one of the Early Gupta kings, recorded in some era, capable of identification, other than that which was specially used by them in their own inscriptions. This has now, at length, been found in my new **Mandasôr inscription**, which, composed and engraved when the year 529 had expired from the tribal constitution of the Mālavas gives us, through his feudatory Bandhuvarman, the date of the year 493, expired, of the same era, for Kumāragupta.

This was not the first instance that had been obtained of the use of this era, which may for convenience be called the Mālava era. For, it is obviously identical with the era which is alluded to in the Kanaswa inscription¹ dated when the 795th year of the Mālava lords had expired; and is also mentioned, under the specific name of the Mālava-kāla, *i.e.* 'the Mālava era,' or 'the time of the Mālavas,' in a fragmentary inscription at 'Gyāraspur' or 'Gyārispur' in Central India, dated when the 936th year had expired.² But

¹ Edited by Dr. Kielhorn, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 162 ff. The date (from the published text; p. 164 f.; line 14 f.) runs—*samvatsara-śatair=yātaiḥ sa-pañcha-navaty-argalaiḥ saptabhir=Mālav-ēśānām mandiraṁ Dhurjaṭēḥ kṛitam*,—" (in the year that is denoted) by seven expired centuries of " years, coupled with ninety-five, of the Mālava lords, (this) temple of (the god) Dhurjaṭi has been " made."

² *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 33 f., and Plate xi. The date, part of which is broken away, (from the Plate) runs — *Mālava-kālāch=chharadām śaṭ-trimsat-samyutēḥ=atitēḥ navasu-śatēḥ*,—"when nine centuries of autumns, joined with thirty-six, have gone by, from (the com-mencement of) the Mālava era (or, from the time of the Mālavas)." —The counting of the era by autumns is followed also in line 21 of the Mandasôr inscription of Yaśôdharman and Vishnuvardhana, of Mālava-Samvat 589 expired, No. 35, page 150. And it is worth noting, as being one of the points which identify the Mālava era with the Vikrama era. It can hardly be doubted, that the

though, in commenting on this latter inscription, General Cunningham expressed the opinion¹ that this Mālava era must be the same as the era of Vikramāditya of Ujjain, commencing in B.C. 57, this point has not hitherto been capable of proof; for the reason that neither of these two dates gave sufficient details for actual computation, or any other available grounds for historical identification. Nor does the Mandasôr inscription, now brought to notice, furnish any details for calculation. But, in its mention of Kumāragupta, it answers the purpose equally well.

Turning to the Gupta inscriptions and coins, the earliest and latest dates that we have for Kumāragupta, are, respectively, Gupta-Saṃvat 96 and 130 odd. The first is established by his well-known Bilsāḍ pillar inscription, No. 10, page 42; and the latter, by one of General Cunningham's coins.² Lest, however, the coin-date should be looked upon as at all doubtful, we must note also his Mankuwar inscription, No. 11, page 45, dated Gupta-Saṃvat 129. And, of these extreme dates, we may take Gupta-Saṃvat 113 as the mean.

Applying this mean year to the various theories regarding the epoch of the Gupta era, it represents—(1) according to Mr. Thomas, A.D. 190-91; (2) according to General Cunningham, A.D. 279-80; (3) according to Sir E. Clive Bayley, A.D. 303-304; and (4) according to my own view, A.D. 432-33.

Next, applying to these figures the date of Mālava-Saṃvat 493 expired, recorded for Kumāragupta in the inscription under notice, we find that the initial point of the Mālava era must lie within a few years on either side of—(1) B.C. 301; (2) B.C. 214; (3) B.C. 190; and (4) B.C. 61-60.

The first three results, however, each entail the supposition of a brand-new era, hitherto unheard-of, and entirely unexpected. At the same time, as regards the second possible result of about B.C. 214, we must not overlook the existence of certain coins, found in large numbers at Nāgar in the north of Mālwa, about forty-five miles north of Kōṭā, and originally brought to notice by Mr. Carlleyle,³ which have on them the legend *Mālavānām jayah*, "the victory of the Mālavas," in characters ranging, in General Cunningham's opinion, "from perhaps B.C. 250 to A.D. 250." These coins shew that the Mālavas existed, as a recognised and important clan, long before the time when, as I consider, their "tribal

original scheme of the Vikrama years is the one commencing with the first day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika (October-November). And Kārttika is still the second month in the Hindu autumn, according to the usual division of the six seasons. It seems, however, to be more properly the first autumn month, according to the true southern division of the seasons. And it appears also to have been the first month of a season, when the year was divided, in ancient times, into only three seasons,

¹ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 34.

² *id.* Vol. IX. p. 24, and Plate v. No. 7.

id. Vol. VI. pp. 165 f., and 174 ff. see also *id.* Vol. XIV. p. 149 ff., and Pl. xxxi. Nos. 19 to 25

constitution," which led to the establishment of their era, took place; and so also, in the other direction, does the mention of them in the Allahâbâd pillar inscription, among the tribes subjugated by Samudragupta, shew that, down to his time at least, they maintained their tribal constitution and importance. And, if we were compelled to have recourse to a new era, these coins might justifiably induce us to select, as its epoch, B.C. 223, the date fixed by General Cunningham for the death of Aśoka;¹ which would make the date of Mālava-Saṃvat 493 correspond with A.D. 270, or well on into the first decade of Kumāragupta's reign according to General Cunningham's theory. But this entails, as I have said, the supposition of the existence of an era, of which not the slightest indication has ever yet been afforded by the very numerous inscriptions that have now been examined from all parts of the country; and this is an expedient that must by all possible means be avoided. And, further, it forces the Kaṇaswa inscription of Mālava-Saṃvat 795, and the 'Gyāras-pur' inscription of Mālava-Saṃvat 936, back to respectively A.D. 572 and 713; periods to which, from their alphabets, they cannot possibly belong. And thus,—since, within certain limits, palæographical evidence must be followed,—it creates a palæographical difficulty that is insuperable. So also does the third result, to practically the same extent; and the first, to a still more marked degree.

The fourth result, on the contrary, satisfies all the palæographical requirements of the case. And it brings us so very close to B.C. 57, the commencement of the well-known Vikrama era,—which, by the tradition of later times, is closely connected with the country of the Mālavas, through the name of its supposed founder, king Vikramāditya, whose capital, Ujjain, was the principal city in Mālwa,—that we are compelled to find in it the solution of the question, and to adjust the equation of the dates thus,—Gupta-Saṃvat 113 (the mean date for Kumāragupta) + A.D. 319-20 = A.D. 432-33; and Mālava-Saṃvat 493 — B.C. 57-56 = A.D. 436-37; which, of course, falls well within the seventeen years of Kumāragupta's reign, remaining after his mean date.

My new Mandasôr inscription, therefore, proves — (1) that any statement by Albêrûnî that the Early Gupta power came to an end in or about A.D. 319, must certainly be wrong;—(2) that, on the contrary, Kumāragupta's dynastic dates,—and, with them, those of his father Chandragupta II., and his son Skandagupta, which belong undeniably to the same series; and also any others which can be shewn to run uniformly with them,—must be referred to the epoch of A.D. 319-20, or thereabouts, brought to notice by Albêrûnî and substantiated by the Verāwal inscription of Valabhi-Saṃvat 945 :—and (3) incidentally, that, under another name, connecting it with the Mālava tribe, the Vikrama era did undoubtedly exist anterior to A.D. 544, which, as we have seen, at page 55 above, was held by Mr. Fergusson to be the year in which it was invented. These results are, of course, independent of the question whether the Early Guptas established an era of their own, with the above-mentioned epoch, or whether they only adopted the era of some other dynasty.

The Determination of the Exact Epoch of the Era.

I have shewn, so far, that the Early Gupta dates, and, with them, any others that can be proved to belong to the same uniform series, are to be referred to the epoch of A.D. 319-20, or thereabouts, brought to notice by Albêrûnî and substantiated by the Verāwal inscription of Valabhi-Saṁvat 945.

It now remains to be shewn why, out of the three possible epochs of A.D. 318-19, 319-20, and 320-21, current, which appear, at first sight, to be deducible from Albêrûnî's statements, we have to select, as the true and exact epoch, that of A.D. 319-20, equivalent to Śaka-Saṁvat 241 expired.

This point is one that can be settled only by accurate calculations of the recorded dates, explained in detail, so that it may be seen that the process applied is satisfactory, and that the inferences drawn are correct. And, as a preliminary matter, we must determine what was the nature of the years of the Gupta-Valabhi era.

The Scheme of the Gupta-Valabhi Year.

Bearing in mind that, in all cases in which the notation and computation of *tithis* or lunar days are concerned, as also of solar days connected with lunar months, the years of the Kaliyuga era¹ and of the northern Vikrama era have to be treated as commencing, like the years of the Śaka era, with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April); and also that the decision as to the order of the dark and bright lunar fortnights of the months must of necessity go with the decision as to the general northern or southern nature of the era and its years, since we cannot have a northern year coupled with the southern arrangement of the fortnights, or a southern year coupled with the northern arrangement,—the question now before us is, whether the years of the Gupta-Valabhi era had a distinct scheme and initial day of their own, or whether they followed the scheme and initial day of the years of the Śaka era, according to either the northern or the southern arrangement, or the scheme and initial day of the years of the southern Vikrama era.

¹ This era is also of extremely exceptional use in epigraphical records. The only instances that I can quote are (1) the Aihole inscription of the Western Chalukya king Pulikêśin II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 237 ff.), which is dated when three thousand seven hundred and thirty-five years had elapsed from the Bhārata war, supplemented by the statement that, at the same time, five hundred and fifty-six years of the Śaka kings also had gone by, in (their own era as a sub-division of) the Kali age, the figures of which are marked by those of the Bhārata war; and (2) some of the inscriptions of the Kādambās of Goa, ranging from A.D. 1167 to 1247 (*Four. Bo. Br. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. pp. 241 f., 262 ff., and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 288 ff.), which, for some capricious reason, are dated in the Kaliyuga, without any reference to the Śaka era at all, though other records of the same family (see my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 90 ff.) are dated in the Śaka era, and in that alone.

A reference to Table III. on page 71 below, will explain at once the difference in the schemes of these years, and the necessity for determining the question that we have under consideration.¹

The Śaka years of both Northern and Southern India commence with the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, immediately after the new-moon conjunction. But, in the scheme of the year, there is the important difference that, in the northern arrangement, the dark fortnight of each month precedes the bright;² whereas in the southern year, it is the bright fortnight that stands first. Popularly, and in *Pañchāṅgs* or Hindu almanacs, the northern arrangement is called *Pārṇimānta*, or 'ending with the full-moon,' and the southern arrangement is called *Amānta*, or 'ending with the conjunction (of the sun and the moon), i.e. with the new-moon;' and these terms will be found very convenient for practical use. The result of this difference of arrangement, is, that, in the northern year, the dark fortnight of Chaitra stands at the end of the year, instead of in the place of the second fortnight, which it occupies in the southern year; and that the dark half of the southern Chaitra is the same lunar period as the dark half of the northern Vaiśākha; and so on all through the year. For dates in the bright fortnights of Śaka years, it obviously is immaterial whether we follow the northern or the southern scheme. But, for dates in the dark fortnights, it is as obviously essential, in order to compute them correctly, that we should know exactly which scheme they conform to; since, for instance, the thirteenth lunar or solar day of the dark fortnight of the lunar month Āshāḍha represents, if treated as a southern date, an English day later by one complete lunation, or practically a month, than the English equivalent of it as a northern date.

In the southern Vikrama year, the arrangement of the fortnights is the regular *Amānta* southern arrangement. But the year commences seven lunations later than the equivalent Śaka year, and corresponding northern Vikrama year;³ viz. with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November). Here, again, for purposes of computation, any date in a southern Vikrama year has to be treated as the same date in the equivalent Śaka year. And a reference to the right-hand columns in Table III. on page 71, will shew at once the way in which the years overlap; and will explain fully the

¹ Contrary to the hitherto prevalent custom, I enter the current Hindu years in the Table. It is, under any circumstances, quite illogical to speak of, for instance, "Chaitra śukla 1 of, in, or belonging to, Śaka-Samvat 500," when the Śaka year is intended as an expired year. And it is particularly necessary to use the current Hindu years, when the object is to compare them with years of the Christian era, of which the current years are always quoted; leaving it to any one who has to calculate a date by Hindu Tables, to take the preceding expired year as the basis of the calculation.

² See Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 71, where Hiuen Tsiang's account shews that the arrangement was just the same twelve centuries ago.

³ This is the customary way of putting it. But the more correct statement would be, that the Vikrama year of Northern India now commences, with the equivalent Śaka year, seven lunations earlier than the corresponding southern Vikrama year (see page 66 above, note 2.)

TABLE III.

Comparative Table of the Vikrama, Śaka, and Gupta-Valabhī Years.

Northern India. <i>Purnimanta.</i>	Months and Fortnights.				Southern India. <i>Amanta.</i>	
Saka-Samvat 1186. Vikrama-Samvat 1321. Gupta-Valabhi-Samvat 944. A.D. 1263-64.	Chaitra	bright	}	Chaitra	Saka-Samvat 1186. A.D. 1263-64.	Vikrama-Samvat 1320 A.D. 1262-63.
	Vaisākha	{ dark		Vaisākha		
	Jyēshṭha	{ bright	}	Jyēshṭha		
		{ dark		Jyēshṭha		
	Āshāḍha	{ bright	}	Āshāḍha		
		{ dark		Āshāḍha		
	Śrāvaṇa	{ bright	}	Śrāvaṇa		
		{ dark		Śrāvaṇa		
	Bhādrapada	{ bright	}	Bhādrapada		
		{ dark		Bhādrapada		
	Āṣvina	{ bright	}	Āṣvina		
		{ dark		Āṣvina		
	Kārttika	{ bright	}	Kārttika		
		{ dark		Kārttika		
	Mārgaśrsha	{ bright	}	Mārgaśrsha		
{ dark		Mārgaśrsha				
(Yerawāl Inscription. Ashāḍha; the dark fortnight; the 13th solar day; Sunday.) Saka-Samvat 1187. Vikrama-Samvat 1322. Gupta-Valabhi-Samvat 945. A.D. 1264-65.	Pauṣa	{ bright	}	Pauṣa	Saka-Samvat 1187. A.D. 1264-65.	Vikrama-Samvat 1321. A.D. 1263-64.
	Māgha	{ dark		Māgha		
	Phālguna	{ bright	}	Phālguna		
		{ dark		Phālguna		
	Chaitra	{ bright	}	Chaitra		
		{ dark		Chaitra		
	Vaisākha	{ bright	}	Vaisākha		
		{ dark		Vaisākha		
	Jyēshṭha	{ bright	}	Jyēshṭha		
		{ dark		Jyēshṭha		
	Āshāḍha	{ bright	}	Āshāḍha		
		{ dark		Āshāḍha		
	Śrāvaṇa	{ bright	}	Śrāvaṇa		
		{ dark		Śrāvaṇa		
	Bhādrapada	{ bright	}	Bhādrapada		
{ dark		Bhādrapada				
Āṣvina	{ bright	}	Āṣvina			
	{ dark		Āṣvina			
Kārttika	{ bright	}	Kārttika			
	{ dark		Kārttika			
Mārgaśrsha	{ bright	}	Mārgaśrsha			
	{ dark		Mārgaśrsha			
Pauṣa	{ bright	}	Pauṣa	Vikrama-Samvat 1322. A.D. 1264-65.		
Māgha	{ dark		Māgha			
Phālguna	{ bright	}	Phālguna			
	{ dark		Phālguna			
Chaitra	dark	}	Chaitra			

necessity of determining the question with which we are concerned. By the epochs of the two eras, the nearest equivalent of, for instance, southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1321 current is Śaka-Saṃvat 1186 current; and this is also its actual equivalent for any date from Kārttika śukla 1 up to Phālguna kṛishṇa 15, both included; but, for any date from the following Chaitra śukla 1 up to Āśvina kṛishṇa 15, both included, the actual equivalent of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1321 current is the following Śaka-Saṃvat 1187 current. Consequently, if the Gupta-Valabhî year is to be treated as a southern Vikrama year, any such date as Gupta-Valabhî-Saṃvat 944, Chaitra śukla 1, up to Āśvina kṛishṇa 15, will give an English equivalent later by twelve complete lunations, or practically a year,¹ or else any such date as Gupta-Valabhî-Saṃvat 944, Kārttika śukla 1, up to Phālguna kṛishṇa 15, will give an English equivalent earlier by twelve complete lunations, than the English equivalents if the year is to be treated as a Śaka year.

The question, whether by any chance we can be concerned, in the Gupta-Valabhî era, at any period, with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, is, if possible, still more an essential point, because the dates that we have in the era, under its later name of the Valabhî era, come from Kāthiāwāḍ, where, as in the neighbouring provinces of Gujarāt and the Northern Koṅkaṇ, the national era is the Vikrama era, in the southern arrangement. In those parts there would of course be a tendency, sooner or later, to adapt the original scheme of the Gupta-Valabhî year to the scheme of the years of the local national era. And a distinct instance of this adaptation having been actually made in Gujarāt, is furnished by the Kaira (Khêḍā) grant of Dharasēna IV. of Valabhî, published by Dr. Bühler in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 335 ff. Its date is the year 330; the "second" month Mārgaśira (November-December); the bright fortnight; and the second *tithi* or lunar day. And the interest and importance of it result from its shewing that, in that year, there was an intercalation of a month, which, according to this record, was Mārgaśira or Mārgaśirsha. Now, allowing for the moment, what I shall shortly prove, as closely as absolute certainty can be obtained, *viz.* that the true original scheme of the Gupta-Valabhî year is the scheme of the northern Śaka year, the month Mārgaśirsha of this record should belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 572 current, and should fall in A.D. 649. The detailed consideration of this date, however, at page 93 ff. below, shews that the intercalation in question can only have occurred in A.D. 648, and belonged to Śaka-Saṃvat 571 current, or, according to the popular usage of Gujarāt, to the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 706 current. And, since the localities mentioned in the charter connect it absolutely with a district in Gujarāt, the year 330 of this record must have commenced, like the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 706, with the month Kārttika that preceded the true commencement of Gupta-Saṃvat 330, with Chaitra śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṃvat 572 current, according to the original scheme of the years of the era. Bearing in mind, however, that this record belongs to Gujarāt, we have

¹ Or, in the case of certain intercalations, later here, and in the other case earlier, by thirteen lunations, or practically a year and a month.

not to seek far for the explanation of this discrepancy. When once the Gupta-Valabhî era had been fairly introduced in Gujarât, the natural tendency, as I have said, would soon be to disregard the original scheme of its years, and to substitute for it the scheme of the southern Vikrama years. Let us assume that this substitution took place in Gupta-Valabhî-Saṃvat¹ 303, which commenced, approximately, on the 19th March, A.D. 622, about half-way through southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 679 current. Then, if the change of scheme was effected in the first seven lunations of the Gupta-Valabhî year, the Gujarâtis would make the new year, Gupta-Valabhî-Saṃvat 304, commence with their own new year, southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 680, on the next Kârttika śukla 1, or approximately the 12th October, A.D. 622; and Gupta-Valabhî-Saṃvat 303, as thus adapted and shortened by them, would contain only seven lunations, from Chaitra śukla 1 up to Āśvina kṛishṇa 15. If, on the other hand, the change was effected in the last five lunations of the Gupta-Valabhî year, when southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 680 current had already commenced, then the Gujarâtis would defer the commencement of the new year, Gupta-Valabhî-Saṃvat 304, until the commencement of their own new year, southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 681, on again the next Kârttika śukla 1, or approximately the 1st October, A.D. 623; and Gupta-Valabhî-Saṃvat 303, as thus adapted and prolonged, would contain nineteen lunations. The years of the era would, for the future, always commence, in Gujarât, with the years of the southern Vikrama era, on the first day of the bright fortnight of Kârttika. Under the second condition, every subsequent year in Gujarât would commence seven lunations later than it would in Kâthiāwāḍ, as long as the true original reckoning was preserved in the latter country; which was the case up to at least Gupta-Valabhî-Saṃvat 945. Under the first condition, every subsequent year in Gujarât would commence five lunations earlier than in Kâthiāwāḍ. And the grant of Dharasēna IV., now under notice, shews that this latter was the manner in which the change of scheme, which had already been accomplished, was effected; since this is the only method by which the intercalary Mârgaśirsha of this record can be made to belong to Gupta-Saṃvat 330, instead of to 329.

The Verāwal inscription, however, of the Chaulukya king Arjunadēva, dated Valabhî-Saṃvat 945, which I have mentioned at page 31 f. above, and the surroundings and full bearings of which will be explained in detail further on, contains such particulars, in the record of its date, as shew that, in it at all events, there is no reference to the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, or even of the southern Śaka year.

But, apart from any particular instances which supply proof by means of the circumstances under which the recorded week-days are found to be correct, there is, as I have said, the general fact that we cannot have either a southern year coupled with

¹ I do not mean to assert that the change took place in this particular year; or even within a few years on either side of it. All that is certain, is, that it took place before Gupta-Valabhî-Saṃvat 303. And I have used the year 303, instead of 300 in round numbers, for purposes of illustration, in order to avoid a year with an intercalary month.

the *Pārṇimānta* northern arrangement of the fortnights of the months, or a northern year coupled with the *Amānta* southern arrangement. And, in proof of this position, I will here adduce some very instructive information gathered from the Nêpāl inscriptions, which were published by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.

The earliest eras used in these inscriptions, are the Gupta era, and the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj. And the recorded dates in them range, respectively, from A.D. 635 to 854, and from A.D. 639 to 758. Soon after that time, these eras were supplanted, in Nêpāl, by the Nêwâr¹ era, the epoch of which, according to Mr. Prinsep's statement² that the year 951 ended in A.D. 1831, is A.D. 879-80; and the commencement, A.D. 880-81. Mr. Prinsep also recorded that each year of the era began in October; which is in accordance, broadly, with the information obtained by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, when travelling in Nêpāl, that the initial day of each year is the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November).

As regards the origin of the era, the Nêpāl *Vamśāvali*, or List of Kings, states³ that it was established by Jayadêvamalla, of the second Thākuri dynasty of Amśuvarman. But a more important indication of the truth is given by its immediately following statement, that, on the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the month Śrāvaṇa, in the ninth year of the era, coupled with Śaka-Saṃvat 811 which as an expired year is equivalent to A.D. 889-90, during the joint reign of Jayadêvamalla and his younger brother Ānandamalla, there came from the south a certain Nānyadêva, who conquered the whole of Nêpāl, and established the Karṇāṭaka Dynasty. The truth probably is that Nānyadêva was a minister of Jayadêvamalla, and eventually usurped the sovereignty, which, according to the *Vamśāvali*, remained with his descendants for five generations after him. Whether Nānyadêva really came from the south, it is of course difficult to say. That statement, and the name of his dynasty, may perhaps be only inventions, to account for the nature of the year that was coupled with the new era, which was evidently introduced by him, and not by Jayadêvamalla. But it is plain that, in addition to the establishment of a new era, there was made an important change in the calendar, consisting of the substitution of a foreign Karṇāṭaka year for the year that had hitherto been used in Nêpāl. The available dates do not furnish absolute proof that the initial day of the new year was Kārttika śukla 1. But the *Vamśāvali* gives the following two equations,—under Nānyadêva, as already noted, Nêpāla-Saṃvat 9 = Saka-Saṃvat 811 (expired), with the date of Śrāvaṇa śukla 7; and under Harisimhadêva, No. 1 in the Sūryavamśi Dynasty of Bhātgam, Nêpāla-Saṃvat 444

¹ Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji tells me that this word, Nêwâr, is a local corruption of 'Nêpāl.'—In the inscriptions, this era, when it is not simply referred to in the usual way by the word *saṃvat*, is spoken of by the terms *Nêpāla-varsha* (e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 185, line 13 from the bottom), *Nêpāla-saṃvata* (*id.* p. 191, line 4 from the top), and *Nêpāla-abda* (*id.* p. 192, line 2 from the top).

² *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 166; see also *Indian Eras*, p. 74.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 414.

=Śaka-Saṃvat 1245 (expired),—which, as the difference in the first case is 802 years, and in the second, 801, shew that the scheme of the year differed from that of the Śaka years. And, taking this in connection with the information obtained by Mr. Prinsep and Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, and with the fact that all such dates as have been examined tend to support the result, it seems certain that the initial day of each year was Kārttika śukla 1; and it is evident that the year was borrowed from the southern Vikrama year. The question remains as regards the arrangement of the fortnights of the months; and here, though we might most reasonably expect that, so far north as Nēpāl, even a year borrowed from the southern Vikrama year, would be coupled with the *Pūrṇimānta* northern arrangement of the lunar fortnights, yet we find that this distinctly was not the case, but the *Amānta* southern arrangement was preserved. This is proved, in the first instance, by the mention in the inscription of Siddhinrisimha, dated Nēpāla-Saṃvat 757, of Śrāvaṇa kṛishṇa 8 after Śrāvaṇa śukla 12; and still more explicitly by the provision, in the same passage,¹ for performing the *janmāshṭamī-pūjā*, or 'worship on the eighth lunar day which is (the anniversary of) the birth (of Kṛishṇa),' on the eighth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa; for, a comparison of any *Pañchāṅgs* will shew that the festival in question occurs in the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa only according to the *Amānta* southern reckoning, but, according to the *Pūrṇimānta* northern reckoning, on the same *tithi* in the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada. Further, the inscription of Riddhilakshmī gives a date in a dark fortnight, available for calculation. The details² are Nēpāla-Saṃvat 810 current; the month Kārttika; the dark fortnight; the second lunar day; and Sunday. With the epoch of A.D. 879-80, the given *tithi* should fall in A.D. 1689; and, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, by the *Amānta* southern arrangement, it did end on a Sunday, *viz.* the 20th October, A.D. 1689; while, by the *Pūrṇimānta* northern arrangement, it ended on a Friday, *viz.* the 20th September. Also, in connection with the question of the epoch itself being A.D. 879-80, he finds that the given *tithi* did not end on a Sunday in either A.D. 1688 or 1690, by either the *Amānta* or the *Pūrṇimānta* arrangement.³ It is absolutely certain, therefore, that the year which was used in connection with the Nēwār era of Nēpāl, and which had Kārttika śukla 1 for its initial day, was a southern

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 186, last two lines.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 192,—*Nēpāl-ābdē gagana-dharinī-nāga-yuktē kil=Ōrjē māśē pakshē vidhu-virahitē su-dvīṭīyā-tithau sā kṛitvā dēvālayam=api Ravau Riddhilakshmī prasannā chakrē dēvī su-vidhi-viditām Saṅkarasya pratishthām*,—"in the Nēpāl year possessed of the sky (=0), the earth (=1), and the (8) Nāgas; in (the month) Ūrja (*i.e.* Kārttika); in the fortnight which is deprived of the moon; on the excellent second lunar day; on Sunday; having made (this) temple, she, the gracious (and) majestic Riddhilakshmī, made an installation, according to all the proper rites, of (the god) Śaṅkara."—The name of the week-day is overlooked in the published version.

³ The English equivalents for those years, are, by the *Amānta* arrangement, Tuesday, the 30th October, A.D. 1688, and Saturday, the 8th November, A.D. 1690; and, by the *Pūrṇimānta* arrangement, Monday, the 1st October, A.D. 1688, and Thursday, the 9th October, A.D. 1690.

year. On the other hand, when the Népālese abandoned this offshoot of the southern Vikrama era, and introduced the Vikrama era itself from the neighbouring parts of Northern India, they adopted it in its northern variety, with Chaitra śukla 1 as its initial day, and with the *Pūrṇimānta* northern arrangement of the fortnights; as is proved by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculations of the dates in dark fortnights, recorded in the inscription of queen Lalitatripurasundarī.¹ The dates are, Vikrama-Saṃvat 1874, Bhādrapada kṛishṇa 9, Śukravāra² or Friday; Vikrama-Saṃvat 1875, Mārgaśīrsha kṛishṇa 5, Budhavāra or Wednesday; and Vikrama-Saṃvat 1877, Jyēsthā kṛishṇa 10, Ravivāra or Sunday. By the *Amānta* southern arrangement, the week-days do not come out right at all. While by the *Pūrṇimānta* northern arrangement, the English equivalents are, as required, Friday, the 5th September, A.D. 1817; Wednesday, the 18th November, A.D. 1818; and Sunday, the 7th May, A.D. 1820.

These facts amply establish my position that we cannot have either the *Pūrṇimānta* northern arrangement of the fortnights coupled with a southern year and era, or the *Amānta* southern arrangement of the fortnights coupled with a northern year and era. And now I shall bring forward some perfectly conclusive evidence, to prove that the scheme of the months of the Gupta-Valabhī year proper was the regular *Pūrṇimānta* northern scheme; and that, therefore, in this era, in its original constitution, we cannot be concerned with any southern reckoning at all.

The Khôh copper-plate grant of the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja* Saṃkshôbha, of the year 209 (A.D. 528-29), No. 25, page 112, is dated "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara*;" and, as regards other details, in fortunately a double manner. In line 2 f. we have—Chaitra-māsa-śukla-paksha-trayôdaśyām (where, in apposition with *trayôdaśyām*, we have to supply *tithau*),—"on the thirteenth *tithi*, or lunar day, of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra." And at the end, in line 24, in numerical symbols, this date is repeated as—Chaitra di³ 20 7 (where the abbreviation *di* stands for *dina*, *dinē*, *divasa*, or *divasē*),—"the (month) Chaitra; the (solar) day 20 (and) 7." This double record is explicable only on the understanding that, in the scheme of the months of the Gupta year, the dark fortnights stood first, according

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 193 f.

² The published text has *śuklē*, which is obviously a mistake for *śukrē*.

³ In my printed version of this inscription, the second numerical symbol is given as 9, with a reference (page 112, note 4) to a note that it might possibly be 7, 8, or 9. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit having found by calculation that this *tithi* was the twenty-seventh solar day in the month, I now substitute 7 for 9 (see page 274, note 2).—The point that is proved by this double record had been missed, until I brought it to notice in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 145; because Gen. Cunningham, who first brought the inscription to notice, read the first symbol in line 24 as 10, instead of 20, and overlooked the second symbol altogether. He thus obtained "Chaitra, day 10;" and added the remark "this figure should be 13, to agree with the written date given above" [in line 2 f.] (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. p. 15). There are, however, distinctly two symbols, meaning 20 and 7; or, together, 27.

to the regular *Pûrṇimānta* northern scheme. By this means only can the thirteenth *tithi*, or lunar day, of the bright fortnight answer to the twenty-seventh solar day of the whole month. A double record of precisely the same kind is given in the Majhgawān grant of the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja* Hastin, of the year 191, No. 23, page 106, in which we have, in line 2,—Māgha-māsa-bahula-paksha-tritīyāyām,—“on the third *tithi*, or lunar day, of the dark fortnight of the month Māgha;” and, in line 21,—Māgha di 3,—“Māgha, the (solar) day 3.” But, the number of the solar day in this instance being under sixteen, this record is not in itself sufficient to prove the case, one way or the other.¹ What we require is a double date, in which the *tithi* of the fortnight, the number of which cannot exceed fifteen is connected with a solar day, the number of which, exceeding sixteen, shews itself to be referred to the whole month, and not to the fortnight. This we have in the grant of the *Mahārāja* Saṁkshōbha. And the record proves absolutely that, in the arrangement of the fortnights of the months of the Gupta year, it is the *Pûrṇimānta* northern system that is concerned; and, consequently, the general scheme of the years of the era was not that of any southern year at all.

At present, the Verāwal inscription of Arjunadēva, dated Valabhī-Saṁvat 945, is the only instance in which the equation of the Gupta-Valabhī era and another era is accompanied by the full details of a month, fortnight, and day.² And the thirteenth solar day in the dark fortnight of Āshāḍha, which is mentioned in it, might be the last or the first day of the Gupta-Valabhī year. As a single instance, therefore, it does not help us in any way to fix the initial day of the year.

Consequently, the remaining point,—whether the years of the Gupta-Valabhī era followed in all respects the scheme of the northern Śāka year, or whether they had some distinct initial day of their own,—is one which cannot be absolutely settled, until we obtain, either some more double records like that of the Verāwal inscription, which will

¹ There seemed to be also a double record of the same kind in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Gōparāja, of the year 191, No. 20, page 91, in which we have, in line 2, *Śrāvaṇa ba di 7*, “(the month) Śrāvaṇa; the dark fortnight; the (solar) day 7;” and, in line 1, apparently *Śrāvaṇa-bahula-paksha-sap[t]am[āyām]* (or *sap[t]am[yām]*), “on the seventh *tithi*, or lunar day, of the dark fortnight of (the month) Śrāvaṇa.” Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, however, finds that, in Gupta-Saṁvat 191, the seventh *tithi* or lunar day of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa, ended on Monday, the 14th June, A.D. 510; and that this was the sixth solar day in the fortnight or month; since, the preceding new-moon *tithi* ended on Tuesday, the 8th June. Accordingly, at the end of line 1, we should perhaps read *sap[t]am[ē]*, *sap[t]am[ē=hnī]*, or *sap[t]am[ē dinē]*.

² The only other instance in which the Gupta-Valabhī era is mentioned in direct connection with another era, is Albêrûnî's statement (page 30 above), in which Gupta-Valabhī-Saṁvat 712 is given as equivalent to Vikrama-Saṁvat 1088, and Śāka-Saṁvat 953. It cannot be turned to any practical use, in determining the scheme of the year, because he does not give any details of a month, &c.; and because we do not know for certain whether he is referring to the northern or to the southern Vikrama year.

enable us to gradually decrease the limits within which the commencement of the Gupta-Valabhî year is to be placed on the sliding scale of the twelve months; or the entry of an early date, approximating closely to Chaitra śukla 1, followed, in the same record, by a late date, approximating closely to the new-moon of Chaitra, both of them referred to one and the same Gupta-Valabhî year, and the latter of them distinctly connected with an event or ceremony which is specifically said to follow after the event or ceremony with which the former is connected; or the entry of a late date, approximating closely to the new-moon of Chaitra, followed, in the same record, by an early date approximating closely to Chaitra śukla 1, the two of them referred to two consecutive Gupta-Valabhî years, and, in the same way, the latter of them distinctly connected with an event or ceremony which is specifically said to follow the event or ceremony with which the former is connected. And these conditions, of course, are rather difficult of fulfilment.

Meanwhile, I have now made it clear that the original Gupta year was a northern year with the *Pārṇimānta* northern arrangement of the lunar fortnights; as was, in fact, to be expected in the case of a year used by so essentially a Northern India dynasty as the Early Guptas were. And, further on, I shall shew that the *saṃvatsaras* of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter, which are quoted in the grants of the *Mahārājas* Hastin and Saṃkshôbha, not only confirm the above results by proving that the details of them cannot be referred to a year commencing with the month Kārttika, but also prove that we cannot be concerned even with a year commencing with the new-moon of the month Mārgaśirsha (November-December), which is mentioned by Albêrûnî¹ as having been in use, at any rate in connection with the Lōkakāla reckoning, by the people of Sindh, Multān, Kanauj, and other parts, and as having been abandoned at Multān only shortly before his own time. As a matter of fact, a year commencing with Mārgaśirsha, and having the *Pārṇimānta* northern arrangement of the fortnights, would suit the details of every Gupta-Valabhî date,—including even the Kaira grant of Dharasēna IV. of the year 330 mentioned above, and a Verāwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṃvat 927 which will be fully exhibited further on,—except one, *vis.* the Majhgawām grant of the *Mahārāja* Hastin of the year 191, which has been referred to above. This being the sole exception, the calculations which determine the commencement and end of the *saṃvatsara* that is quoted in it, were gone through again and tested with very great care. But the result is that they distinctly bar the use of a year commencing with Mārgaśirsha. And thus,—having no other

¹ *Albêrûnî's India*, Translation, Vol. II. p. 8 f.—He also, in the same place, mentions a year commencing with the month Bhādrapada (August-September). But, from his statement, it seems to have been confined to the vicinity of Kaśmīr. And, under any circumstances, as Bhādrapada is earlier than Kārttika in the Śaka year, the circumstances which bar a year commencing with Kārttika, still more emphatically bar one commencing with Bhādrapada.

known year of general use to fall back on, except the Śaka year;¹ and giving due consideration to the explicit manner in which Albêrûnî connects the years of the Gupta-Valabhî era with those of the Śaka era by an even number, without any fractions; and having regard also to the fact that any Hindu date has to be converted, for purposes of calculation, into its equivalent Śaka date,—we may accept it as almost certain that, whatever may have been the real historical initial point of the Gupta-Valabhî era, after no great lapse of time the scheme of its years became in all respects identical with the scheme of the Śaka year, with the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra as the initial day of each year, and with the *Pûrṇimānta* northern arrangement of the lunar fortnights, in accordance, in both respects, with what seems to have been always the custom of Northern India.²

¹ I have heard from Mr. Vajeshankar Gaurishankar that, in the west of Kāthiāwād, there is current a year commencing with the Āshāḍha śukla 1 that precedes the Kārttika śukla 1 with which the Vikrama year of the rest of the Province commences. This year is called the Hālārî year, as belonging to the Hālār Prānt or Sub-Division of Kāthiāwād. I do not know whether it is coupled with the *Amānta* or with the *Pûrṇimānta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights. But it appears to be of purely local usage; it does not help to reconcile the discrepancey in the results for the dates of the Kairā grant of Dharasēna IV. of the year 330 and the Verāwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṃvat 927, as compared with the results for all the other dates; and, in order to suit the dates in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta and other records, it ought to commence with the Āshāḍha śukla 1 following, not preceding, the Kārttika śukla 1 with which the Vikrama year of the rest of the Province commences. There appear, therefore, no grounds for supposing that this Hālārî year is any remnant of the Gupta reckoning.

² Evidence is, in fact accumulating that, even in Southern India, or at least in some parts of it, the *Amānta* southern arrangement of the lunar fortnights was not coupled with the Śaka years until a comparatively late period.—One point in favour of this is the Haidarābād (Dekkan) grant of the Western Chalukya king Pulikēśin II., in which the details for computation (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 73, line 11 ff.) are Śaka-Saṃvat 534 expired, the month Bhādrapada (August-September), the new-moon *tithi*, and an eclipse of the sun. I have noticed this date in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 109 ff.; and I arrived then at the conclusion that the solar eclipse in question is that of the 23rd July, A.D. 613. This, however, was in consequence of a mistake as to the English equivalent of the indicated current Śaka year, due to the manner in which the Tables are arranged for expired years without any distinct intimation to that effect, and (see Appendix I. below) by no means confined to myself. Śaka-Saṃvat 534 expired, and 535 current, is really equivalent to A.D. 612-13. In this period there was an eclipse of the sun (see *Indian Eras*, p. 210) on the 2nd August, A.D. 612; which was the new-moon *tithi* of Bhādrapada according to the *Pûrṇimānta* northern arrangement. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds, however, by the *Sûrya-Siddhānta*, that the *tithi* ended at 35 *ghaṭīs*, 46 *palas*; and consequently that the eclipse, occurring in the night, was not visible in India. Accordingly, there being no eclipse of the sun on the given *tithi* in the preceding year, it is doubtful whether the record really refers to the eclipse of the 2nd August, A.D. 612; or whether we have here a genuine instance of a mistake in the year that is quoted, and the eclipse that is really intended is that which occurred, fully visible under very impressive circumstances at the locality, Bādāmi, to which the record refers itself, on the 23rd July, A.D. 613, which date again answers to the new-moon *tithi* of Bhādrapada according to the *Pûrṇimānta* northern arrangement. But the point to which I have to draw attention here, is, that, whichever of these two eclipses we select, the *Pûrṇimānta* northern arrangement of the lunar fort-

Our next step, therefore, will be, to see how far the available Gupta-Valabhi dates, converted into Śaka dates by the addition of two hundred and forty-one years in accordance with Albêrûni's most specific statement regarding the equation of the two eras, and treated as northern dates, with the *Pûrṇimānta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights, and with Chaitra Śukla 1 as the initial day of the year, give satisfactory results; and what uniform equations can be established between, on the one hand, the years of the Gupta-Valabhi era, and, on the other, those of the Śaka and the Christian eras.

The earliest record that furnishes the easy test which is provided by the mention of the name of a week-day, combined with the other necessary details, and the first that was tested for me by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, is that given in the Êraṇ pillar inscription

nights has to be applied.—Again, in a grant of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III., from the Kanarese country, we have for calculation (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 126, line 1 fl.) Śāka-Samvat 726, the Subhānu *saṃvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter, the month Vaiśākha (April-May), the dark fortnight, the fifth *tithi*, and Brihaspativāra or Thursday. Whether a literal translation of the text indicates the given Śāka year as current, or as expired, is not quite certain. But correct results can be obtained only by taking it as an expired year. With the basis of Śāka-Samvat 726 expired, the given *tithi*, belonging to Śāka-Samvat 727 current, ended, by the *Arīḍa* arrangement, on Friday, the 3rd May, A.D. 804; but, by the *Pūrṇimānta* arrangement, on Thursday, the 4th April, as required. And this is in accordance with the Northern System of the Sixty-Year Cycle, by which the Subhānu *saṃvatsara* commenced in Śāka-Samvat 726 current, on the 17th June, A.D. 803, and was followed by the Tāraṇa *saṃvatsara* in Śāka-Samvat 727 current, on the 12th June, A.D. 804; so that it was current, as recorded, on the given date. By the Southern System of the cycle, the Subhānu *saṃvatsara* coincided with Śāka-Samvat 726 current (A.D. 803-804). And for this year, with the basis of Śāka-Samvat 725 expired, the equivalents of the given *tithi* are, by the *Arīḍa* arrangement, Saturday, the 15th April, A.D. 803, and, by the *Pūrṇimānta* arrangement, Friday, the 17th March — On the other hand, the Śīrūr (Dhārwad District) inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I. gives us for calculation (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 210, line 15 fl.) Śāka-Samvat 788, the Vyaya *saṃvatsara*, the month Jyēṣṭha (May-June), the new-moon *tithi* Ādityavāra or Sunday, and an eclipse of the sun. Here, again, it is not quite certain whether a literal translation of the text indicates the given Śāka year as current, or as expired. But correct results can be obtained only by taking it as an expired year. In Śāka-Samvat 788 current (A.D. 865-66), there was no eclipse of the sun on the given *tithi*. Also, by the Southern System of the Sixty-Year Cycle the Vyaya *saṃvatsara* coincided with Śāka-Samvat 789 current (A.D. 866-67), and by the Northern System it commenced in Śāka-Samvat 789 current, on the 23rd September, A.D. 865, and was followed by the Śarvāṇa *saṃvatsara* in Śāka-Samvat 789 current, on the 20th September, A.D. 866. With the basis of Śāka-Samvat 788 expired, the given *tithi* ended, by the *Pūrṇimānta* arrangement, on Sunday, the 10th May, A.D. 866, when there was no solar eclipse; but, by the *Arīḍa* arrangement, on Saturday, the 11th June, as required, when there was an eclipse of the sun (*see Indian Epig.* p. 222, note 1). The *Arīḍa* arrangement is also confirmed by the fact that the *Arīḍa* arrangement of the *saṃvatsara* is the only one which gives the correct results for the given *tithi* and the given *vāra* in the given year. The *Pūrṇimānta* arrangement gives the correct results for the given *tithi* and the given *vāra* in the given year only when the given year is taken as current. The *Arīḍa* arrangement gives the correct results for the given *tithi* and the given *vāra* in the given year only when the given year is taken as expired. The *Pūrṇimānta* arrangement gives the correct results for the given *tithi* and the given *vāra* in the given year only when the given year is taken as current. The *Arīḍa* arrangement gives the correct results for the given *tithi* and the given *vāra* in the given year only when the given year is taken as expired. The *Pūrṇimānta* arrangement gives the correct results for the given *tithi* and the given *vāra* in the given year only when the given year is taken as current. The *Arīḍa* arrangement gives the correct results for the given *tithi* and the given *vāra* in the given year only when the given year is taken as expired. The *Pūrṇimānta* arrangement gives the correct results for the given *tithi* and the given *vāra* in the given year only when the given year is taken as current. The *Arīḍa* arrangement gives the correct results for the given *tithi* and the given *vāra* in the given year only when the given year is taken as expired. The *Pūrṇimānta* arrangement gives the correct results for the given *tithi* and the given *vāra* in the given year only when the given year is taken as current. The *Arīḍa* arrangement gives the correct results for the given *tithi* and the given *vāra* in the given year only when the given year is taken as expired. 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of Budhagupta, from the Sâgar District in the Central Provinces, No. 19, page 88 ; in which the date (line 2 f.) runs — śatê pañcha-shashty-adhikê varshâṇâm bhûpatau cha Budhaguptê | Âshâḍha-mâsa-śukla-dvâdaśyâm Suragurôr=divasê || Saṁ 100 60 5,—“ in a century of years, increased by sixty-five; and while Budhagupta (*is*) king; on the twelfth *tithi*, or lunar day, of the bright fortnight of the month Âshâḍha; on the day of Suraguru; (*or in figures*) the year 100 (*and*) 60 (*and*) 5.”

As the palæography of this record shews that the year quoted in it belongs to the same uniform series with the years quoted in the Early Gupta records,—a point, in fact, that has never been disputed,—this gives us, for calculation, Gupta-Saṁvat 165, current; the month Ashâḍha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the twelfth *tithi*; and the day of Suraguru, which, — Suraguru, ‘the preceptor of the gods,’ being another name of Bṛihaspati, the regent of the planet Jupiter, — is Bṛihaspativâra or Guruvâra, *i.e.* Thursday.

This date has been constantly the subject of calculation and controversy. Thus, in 1861, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 15, note, Dr. F. E. Hall announced, on the authority of Bapu Deva Shastri of Benares, that, as applied to the epoch of the Vikrama era, it represented Thursday, the 7th June, A.D. 108, New Style.

Again, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 17 f., General Cunningham,—whose theory then was that the epoch should be A.D. 194-(95),—announced as the result, Thursday, the 24th June, A.D. 359, Old Style.¹ The basis of this calculation was Tuesday, the 16th March, corresponding to Chaitra śukla 1, as the initial day of Gupta-Saṁvat 165 + A.D. 194-95 = A.D. 359-60 = Śaka-Saṁvat 281 expired; and the result was derived from the assumption that the given *tithi* fell on its theoretical normal place on the 101st solar day of the year.² And, in the same place, he intimated that, with the epoch of A.D. 318-(19), the result would be Friday, the 3rd June, A.D. 483. The basis

¹ It will be understood that the English equivalents of all Hindu dates anterior to the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar or New Style, given by me and I believe by Gen. Cunningham, are given according to the Julian Calendar or Old Style. It is not necessary to complicate matters by using the New Style for a period anterior to its introduction in England

² This is on the assumption that the lunar months of the Hindu luni-solar years contain thirty and twenty-nine solar days alternately, in regular succession; see, for instance, Cowasjee Patell's *Chronology*, p. 66 ff., Tables III. to XIII., and Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, p. 66, Table X. The arrangement given in those Tables, is convenient enough for obtaining approximate results. But, apart from the principles involved, an examination of any *Pañchāṅgs*, for any series of years, will shew that the assumption is not in accordance with facts; and that no definite rule of this kind can be laid down, to determine, more closely than within one and occasionally two days, the exact running solar day, from the commencement of the year, on which a given *tithi* will fall. As a matter of fact, in the ten years Śaka-Saṁvat 1809 to 1808 inclusive, the position of the end of the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Âshâḍha, varied from the 100th to the 102nd solar day of the year; and there is a chance of the *tithi* in question ending on a Thursday, in any year of which the initial day is a Monday, a Tuesday, or a Wednesday.—The theoretical arrangement in question also involves a peculiar anomaly. The first month of the year is supposed to consist of thirty days; and the result is that, in a Śaka year.

of this latter calculation was Wednesday, the 23rd February, corresponding to Chaitra śukla 1, as the initial day of Gupta-Samvat 165 + A.D. 318-19 = A.D. 483-84 = Śaka-Samvat 405 expired; and the result was derived from the same assumption as regards the position of the *tithi*.

In 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 115 ff., General Cunningham,—who had then modified his theory, so as to select A.D. 166-(67) as the epoch,—announced that the result obtained by Bapu Deva Shastri from the reckoning of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, was a Friday in A.D. 331; but that his own result, obtained from the *Ārya-Siddhānta*, was a Thursday in the same year. He did not then give any further details. But, from the fuller particulars given in his recapitulation of these statements in 1883, in his *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 55 f., we learn that the dates intended were respectively Friday, the 4th June, and Thursday, the 3rd June, A.D. 331; and that his own result was arrived at, in the same way, with the basis of Tuesday, the 23rd February, corresponding to Chaitra śukla 1, as the initial day of Gupta-Samvat 165 + A.D. 166-67 = A.D. 331-32 = Śaka-Samvat 253 expired, and with the same assumption as regards the position of the *tithi*. In the former reference, he repeated the same result of Friday (the 3rd June), A.D. 483, for the epoch of A.D. 318-(19).

In 1882, in the Postscript to his paper on the "Dates on Coins of the Hindu Kings of Kābul" which was published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, Vol. II. p. 128 ff., Sir E. Clive Bayley,—whose theory was that the epoch should be A.D. 190-(91),—announced that the result was a Thursday in A.D. 355, and that it seemed to be Thursday, the 17th May, in that year. But he gave no indication of the way in which this result was obtained; beyond a general reference to Prinsep's Tables in Thomas' Edition of his *Essays*, Vol. II. Useful Tables, pp. 180, 181. And, as a matter of fact, this result was altogether wrong. The 17th May, A.D. 355, was a Wednesday, not a Thursday; and, as closely as can be ascertained by General Cunningham's Tables, it represents Āshāḍha kṛishṇa 5 of the northern year. Sir E. Clive Bayley seems to have very soon become aware of the mistake; since, at the end of the copy of the Postscript which, with a copy of the principal article, reached me from him in May, 1883, there is added, in manuscript, the remark—"this date is erroneous; but the real date, as calculated by Professor Jacobi, comes out a Thursday." The real date of Āshāḍha śukla 12 of Gupta-Samvat 165 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 355-56 = Śaka-Samvat 277 expired, is Thursday, the 8th June, A.D. 355; as obtained by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, from Prof. Kero Lakshman Chhatre's Tables.

when there is no intervening intercalation of a month, the month Kārttika, as the eighth month, is to contain twenty-nine solar days (see *Chronology*, Tables IV. and XIII., and *Indian Eras*, Table X.) But, as standing first in the southern Vikrama year, the same month Kārttika is to contain thirty solar days (see *Chronology*, Table III.) This is an obvious impossibility.

And in 1881, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 220, Dr. Oldenberg announced, from the Tables in Warren's *Kala-Sankalita*, the correct result; viz. Thursday, the 21st June, A.D. 484.

Now, the results given by Dr. Hall, General Cunningham, and Sir E. Clive Bayley, whether right or wrong, and any similar coincidences, may be accepted without hesitation. And I would only point out, as regards General Cunningham's results for the epoch of A.D. 166-67, that Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, by actual calculation from all the authorities, including the *Ārya-Siddhānta* on which General Cunningham specially relied, finds that, in A.D. 331, the given *tithi*, belonging to Śāka-Saṃvat 254 current, and calculated with the basis of Śāka-Saṃvat 253 expired, ended on Friday, the 4th June, and at such an hour that there is no possibility whatever of Thursday, the 3rd June;¹ and, incidentally, that the initial day of the same Śāka year was Wednesday, the 24th February, A.D. 331, not Tuesday, the 23rd February.

The essential point with which we are concerned, is, whether the week-day of Āshāḍha śukla 12 was a Thursday, if, following Albēṛūnī's most specific statement regarding an even difference of two hundred and forty-one years between the Gupta-Valabhi and the Śāka eras. we make the calculation for Gupta-Saṃvat 165 + 241 = Śāka-Saṃvat 406; or, if the result fails for that year, for the immediately preceding or following Śāka year.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has made the necessary calculations, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, with these three Śāka years as expired years. And his results are — with Śāka-Saṃvat 405 expired, Friday, the 3rd June, A.D. 483; with Śāka-Saṃvat 406 expired, **Thursday, the 21st June, A.D. 484;**² and with Śāka-Saṃvat 407 expired, Tuesday, the 11th June, A.D. 485. The process by which these results are obtained, is exhibited in detail, for the second result, in Appendix II. below.

¹ It will be sufficient to quote the four principal authorities. The times for the ending of the given *tithi* on Friday, the 4th June, A.D. 331, reckoned (1) from mean sunrise at Bombay, (2) from mean sunrise at Ujjain, (3) from mean sunrise at Êṛaṇ, and (4) from apparent sunrise at Êṛaṇ, are—by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, (1) 5 *ghaṭis*, 46 *palas*; (2) 6 *gh.* 15 *p.*; (3) 6 *gh.* 40 *p.*; (4) 8 *gh.* 40 *p.*;—by the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, (1) 7 *gh.* 0 *p.*; (2) 7 *gh.* 29 *p.*; (3) 7 *gh.* 54 *p.*; (4) 9 *gh.* 54 *p.*;—by the *Ārya-Siddhānta*, (1) 8 *gh.* 14 *p.*; (2) 8 *gh.* 43 *p.*; (3) 9 *gh.* 8 *p.*; (4) 11 *gh.* 8 *p.*;—and by the *Brahma-Siddhānta*, (1) 9 *gh.* 16 *p.*; (2) 9 *gh.* 45 *p.*; (3) 10 *gh.* 10 *p.*; (4) 12 *gh.* 10 *p.* The times are not absolutely accurate; but the results obtained by absolute accuracy would differ by only a few *palas*.

² The results are put in this way for the sake of brevity. The more absolutely accurate method of expressing them, would be to say, in this instance, that the given *tithi*, as belonging to Śāka-Saṃvat 407 current, and as calculated with the basis of Śāka-Saṃvat 406 expired, ended on a Hindu Thursday, and at such a time that it ended also during the English Thursday, which was the 21st June, A.D. 484, Old Style.—The hours at which the *tithi* ended, according to the different authorities, and as reckoned from mean or from apparent sunrise at Bombay, Ujjain, and Êṛaṇ, are given in Appendix II. Table VI.

The second result, **Thursday, the 21st June, A.D. 484**, is the only one that answers to the week-day mentioned in the record. And a reference to Appendix II. Table VI. will shew that it so answers, not only by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, but also by the *Ārya-Siddhānta*, and by all the other leading authorities. It answers, as is required, to the treatment of the Gupta year as a northern Śaka year; though it does not, in itself, prove conclusively either the exact epoch of the era, or the scheme of the year; for the reason that, being a date in a bright fortnight, this Āshādha Śukla 12 was the same *tithi*, and fell on the same solar day, represented by the 21st June, all over India, in the southern as well as the northern Śaka-Saṃvat 407 current, and in southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 541 current, as well as in northern Vikrama-Saṃvat 542 current. It gives Śaka-Saṃvat 407 current (A.D. 484-85), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year. And finally, as it is obtained by applying the resulting year, Śaka-Saṃvat 406, as an expired year, so that the given *tithi* really belongs to Śaka-Saṃvat 407 current, it shews that, in following Albérûnî's statement and adding two hundred and forty-one, what is really accomplished is the conversion of a given current Gupta-Valabhî year into an expired Saka year, by which we obtain precisely the basis that is wanted for working out results by Hindu Tables, *viz.* the last Śaka year expired before the commencement of the current Śaka year corresponding to a given current Gupta-Valabhî year; and that the running difference between current Gupta-Valabhî and current Śaka years, is two hundred and forty-two.¹

The Verāwal Inscription of Valabhî-Saṃvat 945.

In this connection, I will notice next the Verāwal inscription of the Chaulukya king Arjunadêva, on a stone at the temple of Harsaṭadêvî at Verāwal, the modern representative of the ancient Sômnāthpāṭan, in Kāṭhiāwāḍ. This date furnishes a specially crucial test; partly because it is a date in a dark fortnight; and partly because, coming from Kāṭhiāwāḍ, and belonging to a comparatively late period, and being mentioned in the same record with a Vikrama year, there was a special chance of finding that its details had been confused with, or rather had been subordinated to, the reckoning of the southern Vikrama era, which was, and is, the original national era in Kāṭhiāwāḍ and the neighbouring country of Gujarāt. It will be seen, however, that this has not happened.

The details of this date (from Dr. Hultzsch's published text; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 242, line 2 ff.) are — śrī-Viśvanātha-pratibaddha-naujananaṃ bôdhaka-rasûla-Mahamāda-saṃvat 662 tathā śrī-nripa-Vikrama-saṃvat 1320 tathā Śrīmad-Valabhî-saṃ 945 tathā

¹ Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar arrived at the conclusion (*Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 99) that the addition of 241 would turn a past Gupta year into a past Śaka year; and the addition of 242, a past Gupta year into a current Śaka year. This result is due to the general mistake as regards the epoch of the Śaka era (see page 64 above, note 2).—For an instance of the actual use by Hindus of the additive quantity 242, see page 26 above, note 2.

śrī-Simha-saṁ 151 varṣhê Āshāḍha va dī 13 Ravāv=ady=ēha iha śrī-Sōmanāthadēva-pattanē,—“the year 662 of the prophet Mahammada, who is the teacher of the sailors connected with (*the temple of*) the holy (god) Viśvanātha; so also the year 1320 of the glorious king Vikrama; so also the year 945 of the famous (city of) Valabhī; so also the year 151 of the glorious Simha; in (*this*) year; the month Āshāḍha; the dark fortnight;¹ the (solar) day 13; on Sunday; to-day (*and*) here; here, in the city of the holy god Sōmanātha.”

This gives us, for calculation, Valabhī-Saṁvat 945, current; the month Āshāḍha (June-July); the dark fortnight; the thirteenth solar day of the fortnight, with whatever *tithi*, presumably the thirteenth, fell on it; and Ravivāra, or Sunday. And,—as the mention of the year 1320 of the Vikrama era, and of the year 662 of the prophet Muḥammad, which is the year 662 of the well-known Hijra era, and commenced² on Sunday, the 4th November, A.D. 1263, and ended on Saturday, the 23rd October, A.D. 1264, shews that the Valabhī era quoted in this record must have had its starting-point in or about A.D. 319, and must of necessity be the Valabhī era that is mentioned by Albērūnī, —in accordance with the results obtained for the date in the Êraṇ inscription, the given *tithi* should belong to Valabhī-Saṁvat 945 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 1187 current (A.D. 1264-65): and, in using Hindu Tables, the calculation should be made with the basis of Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 expired.

Before proceeding to the results, however, there are some preliminary points to be noted. The first is, that, as the inscription is specifically connected with a locality in Kāthiāwāḍ, the presumption is that the Vikrama year quoted in it, is a southern Vikrama year, commencing with the first day of the bright fortnight of the month

¹ The syllable *va*, in the original, either is an abbreviation of *vadya*, whether alone or in composition with *paksha* or *pakshē*, or stands for *ba*, the abbreviation of *bahula*, similarly either alone or in composition with *paksha* or *pakshē*.—As regards the point that *ba dī*, or *va dī*, and *śu dī*, are separate technical abbreviations, not words in themselves, see page 92 (Text and Translations), note 1.—Just as *dī* is sometimes used with *ba* or *va* and *śu*, and sometimes is omitted, so in the Nēpal inscriptions (see Appendix IV. below) the indeclinable *divā*, ‘by day,’ is sometimes used, and sometimes not, in connection with the number of the *tithi*. So also sometimes *dī*, or one of its full forms, *dina*, *dinē*, *divasa*, or *divasē*, is used without any specification of the fortnight. The exact meaning of the differences of practice in this respect, is not quite certain; and could only be settled by a large number of calculations. But it seems evident that, when *dī* is used, or any of its full forms, the reference is to the solar day, in conformity with what would naturally be the most ancient reckoning; not to the lunar *tithi*. If, at a subsequent period, the solar days became subject to expunction and repetition, with the lunar *tithis*, then the running number in the fortnight will always be the same for both the lunar *tithi* and the solar day. If not, then the thirteenth *tithi*, for instance, might fall at any time on the twelfth or the fourteenth solar day, as counted without repetition or expunction from the commencement of the fortnight. And, in the differences of expression, there may perhaps be a reference to some such difference in the notation.

² See *Indian Eras*, p. 126.

Kārttika (October-November). This, however, apart from the natural presumption, is rendered absolutely certain by the concomitant mention of the Hijra year; from which, since the month Āshāḍha answers ordinarily to June-July, it is plain,—as was pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch in editing the inscription,¹ and by General Cunningham in commenting on the date,²—that the English date which we have to look for lies in or about June or July, A.D. 1264. This at once removes the possibility of any reference to the northern Vikrama year; since the month Āshāḍha of the northern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1321 current,³ is represented by June-July of the preceding English year, A.D. 1263. Also, since the period June-July, A.D. 1264, fell in Śāka-Saṃvat 1187 current, it removes any real necessity of making calculations for Śāka-Saṃvat 1186 current and 1188 current; the results, however, for these two years will be given, in order to help in setting the general question entirely at rest.

So much, as regards the English equivalent of the given date lying in A.D. 1264, had been clearly pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch and General Cunningham. But nothing further, that I can find, was said about the details of the English equivalent, until just before the time when I first had occasion to consider this date;⁴ when, in a letter dated the 3rd December, 1885, General Cunningham announced to me that the equivalent English date is Sunday, the 25th May,⁵ A.D. 1264.

This result, **Sunday, the 25th May, A.D. 1264**, is, as will be seen below, the correct one. But, in order to explain its full bearing, more is requisite, than simply to state it; especially because it is necessary to shew clearly, in the face of what has elsewhere been written about this date, that this result is not obtained from the mention of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1320, though it does answer the requirements of that mention; *i.e.* that it is not the result for a year commencing on the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika which fell in A.D. 1263; and, consequently, that, even apart from what I have already established, this record proves that Valabhī-Saṃvat 945 commenced at any rate not with that day.⁶ And here I would remark incidentally, that no argument, of identity between

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 241.

² *Indian Eras*, pp. 50, 53, 63.

³ According to the present Tables, the given Vikrama year 1320 must be interpreted as an expired year; and the indicated current year is, therefore, 1321. This, however, does not make the given Valabhī year an expired year; just as it does not, and can not, convert the given Hijra year into an expired year.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 147 ff.

⁵ The ordinary equivalent of Āshāḍha is June-July. But the dark fortnight of the northern Āshāḍha corresponds to the dark fortnight of the southern Jyêshṭha, which month is ordinarily May-June. And this, with the fact that Śāka-Saṃvat 1187, current, commenced rather early, on Saturday, the 1st March, or Friday, the 29th February, A.D. 1264, is the reason why this dark fortnight of Āshāḍha fell entirely in May.

⁶ As opposed to these results Gen. Cunningham (*Indian Eras*, p. 53) has quoted this record as proving absolutely that Valabhī-Saṃvat 1 = A.D. 319 (-20); which could only be by taking the epoch as

the two years, can be based on the mere fact that the record mentions both a Valabhi year and a southern Vikrama year. It might just as well be asserted that the mention also of the Hijra year 662, shews that the scheme of the years of that era, too, is identical with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year; whereas,—even apart from the fact that the Hijra year 662 commenced, as stated above, on Sunday, the 4th November, A.D. 1263, while the southern Vikrama-Samvat 1320, as an expired year, *i.e.*, more properly, southern Vikrama-Samvat 1321 current, commenced on Friday, the 5th October of that same year,¹—everyone knows that these two eras have absolutely nothing in common at all; the Hijra era being a purely Musalmán era. The Veráwal record is simply analogous exactly to scores of documents that are still being turned out in India, in which the date is expressed according to the English and also one or other of the Indian systems; and in which the principal record depends entirely upon the person by whom, and the circumstances under which, it is drawn up. Sometimes it will be the English date; sometimes the Indian. We shall see immediately that, in this Veráwal inscription, the principal record is the Valabhi date; and that the Vikrama date accidentally, as well as the Hijra date naturally, was entirely subordinated to it. Possibly, we may hereafter obtain instances, in which the reverse of this will be found to have been the case. But they will not avail to disprove any of the pointed and unavoidable conclusions, regarding the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhi era and the scheme of its years, which are absolutely forced on us by the circumstances of the present Veráwal date.

The second point to be noted is, that the month Âshâdha which fell in A.D. 1264,—*i.e.* both the Âshâdha of northern Śaka-Samvat 1187 and northern Vikrama-Samvat 1322, and the slightly different Âshâdha of southern Śaka-Samvat 1187 and southern Vikrama-Samvat 1321,—was an intercalary month.² The effect of the intercalation was as follows:—The initial day of Śaka-Samvat 1187, both northern and southern, and of the

A.D. 318-19, and by treating the years as commencing, from the beginning, on Kârttika śukla 1.—Also (*id.* pp. 50, 63) he treats Vikrama-Samvat 1320 as the leading record of the date; and very clearly implies throughout, though he does not actually state, the identity of the scheme of the Valabhi and southern Vikrama years.

¹ Cowasjee Patell's *Chronology*, p. 150.

² See *Indian Eras*, p. 179.—The fact is also proved by K. L. Chhatre's Tables. In C. Patell's *Chronology*, p. 150, the intercalation is entered opposite Śaka-Samvat 1186 (expired) and southern Vikrama-Samvat 1321 (expired). This is in accordance with a mistake that runs all through his Table I. pp. 94 to 183. The intercalations are placed by him correctly for the Śaka years. But he has omitted to point out that, in applying them to the Vikrama years, which, throughout his Table, are the southern Vikrama years, they must, in consequence of the way in which the years of the two eras overlap, be read off as far as the months Chaitra to Âśvina, both inclusive, are concerned, for the Vikrama year preceeding that opposite to which they are entered; at least, I can find no note in his book to that effect.—A reference to Table III. at page 71 above, will shew at once that an intercalation of any month from Chaitra to Âśvina inclusive, for Śaka-Samvat 1186 expired, northern or southern, did occur for northern Vikrama-Samvat 1321 expired, but southern Vikrama-Samvat 1320 expired.

northern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1322, was Saturday, the 1st March, A.D. 1264, according to General Cunningham,¹ and Friday, the 29th February (the English year being a Leap-year), according to Mr. C. Patell.² With General Cunningham's own initial day, and by his own theory and process,—*viz.* that Āshāḍha kṛishṇa 13 fell on the 87th solar day of the year, from and inclusive of the initial day,—the resulting English date would be Monday, the 26th May, A.D. 1264. Therefore, in arriving at Sunday, the 25th May, he has adopted Mr. C. Patell's initial day, in preference to his own. And I will follow the same course, for the rough purposes for which the initial day may here be utilised. The double Āshāḍha included four lunar fortnights. In northern Śaka-Saṃvat 1187 and northern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1322, they commenced and ended, theoretically and approximately, on respectively the 75th and 133rd solar days of the year;³ *i.e.* on respectively the 13th May and the 10th July. And, according to the regular northern system, of the four fortnights, the first (dark) belonged to the natural month; the second (bright), and the third (dark), to the intercalated month; and the fourth (bright), to the natural month. But, in southern Śaka-Saṃvat 1187 and southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1321, they commenced and ended, theoretically and approximately, on respectively the 90th and 148th solar days of the Śaka year;⁴ *i.e.* on respectively the 28th May and the 25th July. And, of the four fortnights, if we adopt the present regular southern system, the first (bright), and the second (dark), belonged to the intercalated month; and the third (bright), and the fourth (dark), to the natural month.⁵ It is evident, therefore, that, if we treat the Āshāḍha of this

¹ *Indian Eras*, p. 179.

² *Chronology*, p. 150.

³ See *Indian Eras*, p. 109, and *Chronology*, p. 71.

⁴ *Chronology*, p. 71.

⁵ A verse that is given by Bapu Deva Shastri, in his edition of the *Siddhānta-Sirōmaṇi* of Bhāskara-chārya, p. 49, note, as belonging to the *Brahma-Siddhānta*, indicates a more ancient custom, according to which the first (bright) and the second (dark) fortnights would belong to the natural month; and the third (bright) and the fourth (dark), to the intercalated month. The verse runs—*Mēsh-ādi-sthē savitari yō yō māsaḥ prapūryatē chāndraḥ Chaitr-ādyah sa jñēyah dhṛti-dvītvē=du:māsō=ntyah*,—"whatever lunar month is completed when the sun is standing in Aries and the following (signs), that month is to be known as Chaitra, &c.; when there are two completions, (there is) an intercalated month, (and it is) the latter (of the two)."—Now, intercalated months are held to be inauspicious, and the performance of ceremonies in them is prohibited. Only if, in one and the same year, there are two intercalary months (which are always accompanied by the expunction of a month, which may be one of the two, or a third month), then the first intercalated month is *prastāsta*, or 'stamped as excellent or approved of;' the second being, as usual, *nindya*, or 'to be looked on as under prohibition.' And the rule attributed to the *Brahma-Siddhānta* would make the intercalated fortnights different, in different parts of India, according to the northern or southern scheme of the year. It must, obviously, have been highly inconvenient, especially on the border-land of the dividing-line between Northern and Southern India, that the prohibition should not be applicable to exactly the same lunar periods. And a change, in accordance with the necessities of the case, was eventually made,—and must have been made long before the period of the present inscription; though, apparently, after the time of the Kaira grant of Dharaśena IV., of Gupta-Saṃvat 330, the "second Mārgaśīra" of which is undoubtedly the intercalated month,—by which the intercalated fortnights of

record as the natural month, the English equivalent, for the given date as referred to the northern year, will be about a month earlier than the English equivalent for the given date as referred to the southern year; and that an English equivalent, answering to the given date as referred indifferently to either the northern or the southern year, can be obtained only by treating the Âshâḍha of the record as the intercalated month. That we have, however, to look on the given date as belonging to the dark fortnight of the natural Âshâḍha, is at least to be assumed *prima facie*; partly because the record contains no qualificatory term, indicative of the intercalated month; and partly because of the prohibitive of official, ceremonial, and religious acts in an intercalated month.¹

The results, worked out by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, for the natural Âshâḍha, are — with northern Śaka-Saṃvat 1186 expired, **Sunday,**² the 25th May, A.D. 1264, for both the thirteenth *tithi* and the thirteenth solar day; and with southern Śaka-Saṃvat 1186 expired, Tuesday, the 22nd July, A.D. 1264, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but Wednesday, the 23rd July, for the thirteenth solar day;³ and the result for the intercalated Âshâḍha is Monday, the 23rd June, A.D. 1264, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but Tuesday, the 24th June, for the thirteenth solar day, by both the northern and the southern reckoning, according to the present custom in both parts of the country. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has also given me full results, according to both the *Pūrṇimānta* northern system, and the *Amānta* southern system, with Śaka-Saṃvat 1185 and 1187 expired; in order to present at once all the possible surroundings of the date. These results are—with northern Śaka-Saṃvat 1185 expired, Tuesday, the 5th June, A.D. 1263, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but Wednesday, the 6th June, for the thirteenth solar day; and with southern Śaka-Saṃvat 1185 expired, either⁴ Wed-

the southern month, *viz.* the first and the second of the four, were made to correspond exactly with the intercalated fortnights of the northern month, *viz.* the second and the third of the four,—I have mentioned this earlier custom here, because it is one of the general surroundings of the date. But the question is of no vital importance in this case, because the date is a northern, not a southern one.

¹ See the preceding note. ² The *tithi* ended 13 *ghaṭīs*, 30 *palas*, after mean sunrise at Bombay.

³ *i.e.* the thirteenth solar day counted from the commencement of the fortnight, without omitting a solar day with the lunar *tithi* that was expunged (see page 85 above, note 1.)

⁴ The doubt here is because of the interesting discovery that the dark fortnight of the southern Âshâḍha, and northern Śrāvaṇa, of Śaka-Saṃvat 1186 current, was a fortnight which, "except, perhaps in some parts far off in the east of India," contained only thirteen solar days; see my general note on this subject, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 81 ff. The full-moon *tithi* of the Âshâḍha, northern and southern, was on Saturday, the 23rd June; and the following new-moon *tithi* of the southern Âshâḍha, and the northern Śrāvaṇa, was on Friday, the 6th July; which gives thirteen solar days for this dark fortnight. There was an expunction of two *tithis*, and no repetition of a *tithi* to make up for the loss. The authorities differ as to which were the two expunged *tithis*. One of them was early in the fortnight; and Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has not worked this out, because it does not directly bear upon the date under discussion. The other was either the twelfth, or the thirteenth, or the fourteenth *tithi*; and upon this will depend the question whether the thirteenth *tithi*, if not itself expunged, was Wednesday, the 4th July, or Thursday, the 5th July. Under any circumstances, the thirteenth and last solar day of this dark fortnight, was Friday, the 6th July.

nesday, the 4th July, or Thursday, the 5th July, A.D. 1263, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but, in either case, Friday, the 6th July, for the thirteenth solar day; with northern Śaka-Saṃvat 1187 expired, Saturday, the 13th June, A.D. 1265, for both the thirteenth *tithi* and the thirteenth solar day; and with southern Śaka-Saṃvat 1187 expired, Sunday, the 12th July, A.D. 1265, for the thirteenth *tithi*, but Monday, the 13th July, for the thirteenth solar day. The last is the only other case in which the result includes a Sunday at all. But it is of no practical value; because it is obtained by the treatment of the Śaka year as a southern year, whereas I have already shewn that this is not the treatment which is to be applied; and, still more conclusively, because it would have to be allotted to the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1321 expired, whereas the record specifically refers to the preceding year, 1320 (expired).

The true English equivalent of the given date, therefore, really is **Sunday, the 25th May, A.D. 1264**. This result, and this alone, answers all the requirements of the record. It is the equivalent of a date which falls, as recorded, within the limits of southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1320 (expired); though it is not the equivalent of any day in the month Āshāḍha as referred to that year; for, if it is treated as the equivalent of a date referred to that year (and to southern Śaka-Saṃvat 1186 expired), then, of course, it represents the thirteenth *tithi* and solar day of the dark fortnight of the month Jyêshtha, preceding Āshāḍha. It answers to the specified day of the natural, not the intercalated, month; as is expressly required, partly by the absence, in the record, of any specification of the intercalated month, and partly by the general prohibition regarding intercalated months. Also, as is seen from the particulars given above, it is obtainable only by treating the expired Śaka year, which is the basis of the calculation, as a northern year. Accordingly, it not only bears out in all respects the results obtained from the date in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, but also goes beyond them. It definitely proves the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta-Valabhî and current Śaka years. It also proves that the true original scheme of the years of the Gupta-Valabhî era,—*viz.* the regular *Pûrṇimānta* northern scheme, as established at page 76 f. above,—was preserved, in Kāthiāwāḍ, up to at any rate A.D. 1264. It gives Śaka-Saṃvat 1187 current (A.D. 1264-65), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta-Valabhî year. And it definitely proves that the exact epoch of the era was Śaka-Saṃvat 241 expired, or 242 current, corresponding to A.D. 319-20.

This result, therefore, will now be taken, in the place of the result obtained from the date of the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta of Gupta-Saṃvat 165, as furnishing the definite standard, on the analogy of which we must calculate all the remaining dates in the Gupta-Valabhî era that supply details for computation.

The Verâwal Inscription of Valabhî-Saṃvat 927.

The third and last date, with the mention of a week-day, that I have to comment on, is contained in an inscription which has not as yet been published, but has been placed at

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculations, however, made, as before, for a year before and a year after the resulting year, as well as for that year itself, give the following results, in each case for both the second solar day and the second *tithi*, both by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables and by the *Sārya-Siddhanta*; viz. with Saka-Samvat 1167 expired, **Monday**,¹ the 19th February, A.D. 1246; with Saka-Samvat 1168 expired, Saturday,² the 9th February, A.D. 1247; and with Saka-Samvat 1169 expired, Wednesday,³ the 29th January, A.D. 1248.

The result for Saka-Samvat 1169, which is the year in which the week-day should presumably prove correct, does not answer at all. If we could understand that the reading intended was *Sannyā*, "on Wednesday," then the result for Saka-Samvat 1170 might be accepted; subject only to the considerations that *Sannyāvadra*, though perfectly allowable, is not often used as a synonym for *Buddhāvadra*, "Wednesday," and that the result is later by a year than what it ought to be, and can be arrived at only through accepting an alteration in the reckoning of the Gupta-Valabhi era, precisely the opposite of the alteration which, as shewn at page 72 f. above, was certainly made, in Gujarāt, before the date of the Kaīra grant of Dharasāna IV. of the year - 30. If, on the other hand, we take *Sōmā*, "on Monday," as the intended reading, then the result for Saka-Samvat 1168 may be accepted, subject only to the consideration that it is earlier by a year than what it ought to be. This result would be quite intelligible, if we could refer the given date to a year commencing with Mārgasīrsha; for then, belonging to Valabhi Samvat 927, it would belong quite regularly to Saka-Samvat 1168, and its English equivalent would fall quite regularly in A.D. 1246. This, however, as I have stated at page 78 above, is distinctly prevented by a perfectly conclusive obstacle. The only resource that remains, is to hold that, for some reason or other, the date given in this record, like the date in the Kaīra grant of Dharasāna IV. of the year 330, was taken from a Gujarāt almanac, and belongs to a year the initial day of which was the Kārttika śukla 1 preceding the true commencement of Gupta-Valabhi-Samvat 927. This, again, would be perfectly intelligible, if we could only assume that the image, which is probably portable enough, was 'shioned, together with the engraving of the inscription, at some place in Gujarāt; and was then transported by a pilgrim to Verāval. But the objection to this is, that the inscription seems to record distinctly that the image was made at Dēvapattana; and Dēvapattana is well known as another name of Sōmāthpātān, i.e. the modern Verāval itself; and it is difficult to understand how the corrupt Gujarāt reckoning of the Gupta-Valabhi era can have been introduced at Verāval in A.D. 1246, when, as we have already seen from the other Verāval inscription, of Valabhi-Samvat 945, the true original reckoning was used there up to at

¹ The *tithi* ended, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, 29 *ghaṭis*, 59 *pālas*, and by the *Sārya-Siddhanta*, 30 *ghaṭis*, 2 *pālas*, after mean sunrise at Bombay.

² Here the times are respectively 8 *ghaṭis*, 33 *pālas*, and 9 *ghaṭis*, 25 *pālas*.

³ Here the times are respectively 31 *ghaṭis*, 57 *pālas*, and 34 *ghaṭis*, 43 *pālas*.

THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS; INTRODUCTIONS; to be found in the sup-

direction of a pilgrim from least eighteen years later. The explanation, however, is per-

position that the inscription was prepared under the personal

Gujarāt, who had brought a Gujarāt almanac with him.

On the whole, be the explanation what it may, there seems no doubt that the proper

result is Monday, the 19th February, A.D. 1246. This

the running difference of exactly two hundred and forty

Gupta-Valabhi and current Śaka years; nor, as the given

at the scheme of which was

year. If it is taken as the result for a date belonging to a

identical with the scheme of the Śaka year, northern or so

red and forty-one years only.

a date in a year which commenced with the Chaitra śukla 1

168 current,—it requires a running difference of two hund

While, if it is taken as the result for a date belonging to

it which, with the southern

was identical with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year

through Śaka-Samvat 1167 expired, for a date in a year

months before the true com-

is a running difference lying

belonging to Śaka-Samvat 1168 current, and falling five n

menacement of Gupta-Valabhi-Samvat 927,—then it require

between two hundred and forty-one and two hundred and fort

in which I apply the result.

Kaira grant of Dharaśena IV, of the year 330, which has be

and is now to be explained in detail, the latter is the wa

And it gives, therefore, the southern Vikrama-Samvat 1303 c

nominal equivalent of the given current Valabhi year. But I

that the date is not a satisfactory one, since an important

another has to be made, in order to interpret it intelligibly

does it give a conclusive result, like that of the other Ve

Samvat 945.

1330.

The Kaira Grant of the year

The preceding is the last instance, as yet obtained, of t

record dated in the Gupta-Valabhi era. There are, however,

other interesting details for computation, which will now be n

question of the Twelve-year Cycle of Jupiter.

The first of them is a Kaira grant of Dharaśena

the date (from Dr. Bühler's published text; *Ind. Ant. Vel.*

sam 300 30 dvi-Mārggaśira 5u 2,—"the year 300 (and) 30

the bright fortnight; (the lunar day) 2.

This gives us, for calculation, Gupta-Samvat 330, current

month Mārggaśira or Mārggaśirsha (November-December)

undoubtedly fell, not in A.D. 649, as should be the case according to the true Gupta Valabhî reckoning, but in A.D. 648; and belonged, for astronomical purposes, to Śaka-Saṃvat 571, or, according to the popular usage of Gujarât, to the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 706. And, since the localities mentioned in the charter connect it absolutely with a province of Gujarât,¹ the year 330 of this record must have commenced, like the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 706, with the month Kārttika that preceded the true commencement of Gupta-Saṃvat 330, with Chaitra sukla 1 of Śaka-Saṃvat 572, according to the original scheme of the years of the era.

The result, therefore, gives the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 706 current (A.D. 648-49), as the nominal equivalent of the given current Gupta year. And this date, with that of the Verāwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṃvat 927, must be allotted to a class of cases, in which the running difference of exactly two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta-Valabhî and current Śaka years was not maintained, in consequence of a local adaptation of the Gupta-Valabhî year to the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, made in such a way that, as pointed out at page 73 above, each subsequent Gupta-Valabhî year, where this adaptation was applied, commenced five lunations before the true commencement of the year according to the original scheme. The anomaly, however, is natural enough in the present instance, because of the locality to which the record refers itself.

The Nêpâl Inscription of the year 386.

The next inscription that I have to notice, is the Nêpâl inscription of Mānadêva, of the Sûryavarmṣi or Lichchhavi family of Mānagriha, on the lower part of a broken pillar placed to the left of the door of the temple of the god Chāngu-Nārāyaṇa, about five miles to the north-east of Khāṭmāṇḍu; in which the date (from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's published text and lithograph; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 163, line 1 f.) runs — saṃvat 300 80 6 Jyêshṭha-m[ā]sa-śukla-pakshê pratipadi 1 [Rô]hiṇi-nakshatra-yukt[ê*] chandramasi m[u]hûrttê praśastê=Bhijiti,—“ the year 300 (*and*) 80 (*and*) 6; in the bright fortnight of the month Jyêshṭha, on the first *tithi* or lunar day, (*or in figures*) 1; the moon being in conjunction with the Rôhiṇi *nakshatra*; in the excellent *muhûrta* (*named*) Abhijit.”

The Nêpâl inscriptions were first brought to notice by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.; and his view of the historical results of them was given in the same Journal, Vol. XIII. p. 411 ff. My own view, originally published in the same Journal, Vol. XIV. p. 342 ff., will be found explained in detail in Appendix IV. below. And all that it is necessary to state here, is, that the earliest inscriptions disclose the use of two eras; *viz.* the so-called Gupta era, and the Harsha era. At the time, however, when Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji wrote, the fact that the Gupta era was used in some of these

¹The charter was issued from the victorious camp at Bharukachchha, *i.e.* the modern Broach (Bharuch); and it records the grant of some lands in the Khêṭaka *dhâra*, or the territorial division of which the chief town was Khêṭaka, *i.e.* the modern Kaira (Khêṭā).

records, was not apparent. And it only became clear on Mr. Bendall's discovery of the Gôlmâdhitôl inscription of the *Mahârāja Śivadêva* I. of Mânagriha, which he published originally in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 97 f., and has given gain, with a slight correction in the reading of the date, in his *Journey in Nêpâl and Northern India*, p. 72, and Plate viii. This inscription is dated in the year 316, without any specification of the era. But the clue to the interpretation of the date is given by its mention of the *Mahâsâmanta* Amśuvarman, as the contemporary¹ of Śivadêva I. Amśuvarman's approximate date, *vis.* about A.D. 637, was very well known from Hiuen Tsiang's mention of him.² And, as the Nêpâl series included three inscriptions of Amśuvarman himself, dated in the years 34, 39, and 44 or 45 of an unspecified era, and another, of Jishnugupta, dated in the year 48, and mentioning Amśuvarman, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji very properly referred these dates to the era running from the accession of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and commencing³ in A.D. 606. This much being quite certain, it follows that the date of the year 316 for Śivadêva I., the contemporary of Amśuvarman, must of necessity be referred to a starting-point just about three hundred years before the Harsha era. And the era which exactly meets the requirements of the case is the Gupta era; for, $316 + \text{A.D. } 319-20 = \text{A.D. } 635-36$; which is in due accordance with the recorded dates that we have for Amśuvarman in the Harsha era, representing from A.D. 639 to 649 or 650.

As regards the present inscription of Mânadêv its palæography, as well as a general consideration of the historical results, shews that the year 386, quoted in it, belongs to the same series with the year 316 that is quoted in the Gôlmâdhitôl inscription of Śivadêva I. And, accordingly, this record gives us, for calculation, Gupta-Samvat 386, current; the month Jyêshtha (May-June); the bright fortnight; the first *tithi* or lunar day; the Rôhini *nakshatra* or lunar mansion; and the *Abhijit muhûrta* or thirtieth part of the day and night. And, on the analogy of the Verâval inscription of Valabhî-Samvat 945, the given *tithi* should belong to Gupta-Samvat $386 + 242 = \text{Śaka-Samvat } 628$ current (A.D. 705-706); and the calculation should be made with the basis of Śaka-Samvat 627 expired.

Making the calculations by the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, and applying the results to the longitude of Khâtmandu, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, with the basis of Śaka-Samvat 627 expired, the given *tithi*, belonging to Śaka-Samvat 628 current, ended on Tuesday,

¹ This is also recorded in the other inscription of Śivadêva I., No. 5 of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's Nêpâl series, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 168 ff. But, unfortunately for the general chronological results arrived at by him from those inscriptions,—which involved the application of the Vikrama era for the interpretation of such of the Nêpâl dates as belong really to the Gupta era,—the date of Śivadêva I. is there broken away and lost.

² See Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 81; also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 422, and Vol. XIV. p. 345.

³ On this point see a note in Appendix IV. below.

the 28th April,¹ A.D. 705, at 57 *ghaṭīs*, 12 *palas*, after sunrise; that there was the *Kṛittikā nakshatra* up to 11 *ghaṭīs*, 3 *palas*, after sunrise, and then the *Rôhiṇī nakshatra*, which continued up to 11 *ghaṭīs*, 18 *palas*, after sunrise on the next day, Wednesday; and that, consequently, the *Abhijit muhūrta*, being the eighth in order among the *muhūrtas*, and beginning after the expiration of fourteen *ghaṭīs* after sunrise, occurred, as required by the record, while the *Rôhiṇī nakshatra* was current. He also finds that the same conditions of the *nakshatra* and the *muhūrta* did not occur, if the given *tithi* is treated as belonging to Śaka-Saṃvat 627 or 629 current.

The result, therefore, answers, as is required, to the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta-Valabhī and current Śaka years; and to the treatment of the Gupta year as a northern Śaka year. And it gives Śaka-Saṃvat 628 current (A.D. 705-706), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year. But, like the result for the date in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, it does not, in itself, prove conclusively either the exact epoch of the era, or the scheme of the year; for the reason that, being a date in a bright fortnight, this *Jyêshṭha śukla 1* was the same *tithi*, and ended on the same solar day, represented by the 28th April, all over India, in the southern as well as the northern Śaka-Saṃvat 628, and in southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 762, as well as in northern Vikrama-Saṃvat 763.

The Mōrbī Grant of the year 586.

The last date that I have to notice from the present point of view, is contained in the *Mōrbī grant of Jâinika*, from *Kāthiāwād*, published by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 257 f. The record includes two datēs. In line 16 f., in connection with the making of the grant, we have (from the published lithograph)—*pañch-aśītyā yutê=tītê samānām śata-pañchakê 1 Gôptê dadāv=adô nṛpaḥ s-ôparâgê=rkka-maṃḍalê 11*,—"five centuries of years, together with eighty-five (*years*), having passed by, the king gave this (*charter*) at (*the village of*) *Gôpta*, when the disc of the sun was eclipsed;" in which the year is expressly coupled with a word meaning "expired." And in line 19 f., in connection with the writing of the charter, we have—*saṃvat 585 Phālguna su(śu) di 5*,—"the year 585; the month *Phālguna*; the bright fortnight; the (solar) day 5;" without any indication whether the year is an expired one, or current. The eclipse is also mentioned in line 3, in the words — *mārttaṇḍa-maṇḍal-âśrayiṇi Svavbhânô* (*read Svarbbhânau*),—"while *Svarbbhānu* (*i.e.* *Rāhu*, the personified ascending node) is resting on the disc of the sun."

There is some difficulty in disposing finally of the whole bearing of this record; owing to the fact that the first plate was lost sight of, without being procured for

¹ Śaka-Saṃvat 628 current commenced rather early, on, approximately, Sunday, the 1st March, A.D. 705. And hence the reason why the month *Jyêshṭha*, which ordinarily answers to May-June, commenced on the 28th April, and of course ended before the end of May.

examination at all; and now, even the second plate also, the published one, has been mislaid and is not forthcoming. And I have to point out that, in the second part of the verse, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar read *Gauṣṭé*, instead of *Gôṣṭé*; and translated "five hundred and eighty-five years of the Guptas having elapsed." The lithograph, however, shews distinctly that the original has *Gôṣṭé*; and it is only by the correction of *ô* into *au* that the name of the Guptas can be introduced into the passage.¹ But, even then, the adjective *Gauṣṭé* occupies an irregularly detached place, which any skilful composer would have avoided, from the noun, *śata-pañchaké*, which it qualifies. While, on the other hand, I have shewn, in my remarks on the nomenclature of the era, at page 19 ff. above, that we have no reason at all to look for the use of such an adjective as *Gauṣṭa*, 'belonging to the Guptas;' and, if we maintain the original reading of *Gôṣṭé*, we have a locative case, which we have every reason to expect in immediate connection with the verb *dadau*, "he gave," and which will then give us the name of the village at which the grant was made. And, until the original first plate of the grant is produced, to prove that *Gôṣṭa* was not the name of the village,² or otherwise to explain the passage, this is the reading and interpretation that I adopt.

In accordance, however, with the palæography of the grant, I see no reason for referring the date to any except the Gupta-Valabhî era; irrespective of the question whether the era is mentioned by name, or not. This record, therefore, gives us, for calculation, an **eclipse of the sun**, which took place on some unspecified date in Gupta-Saṃvat 586 current, as the original text specifies that the year 585 had expired. And, on the analogy of the Verāwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṃvat 945, the eclipse should be found in Gupta-Saṃvat $586 + 242 = \text{Śaka-Saṃvat } 828$ current, somewhere between³ the 10th March, A.D. 905, and the 27th February, A.D. 906. Also, it should, presumably, be visible at the place at which the grant was made on the occasion of it. And, though there is nothing, in the existing remnant of the record, to indicate with certainty the exact locality to which it belongs, still there is nothing against the supposition that it really belongs to Mōrbî itself, or to that neighbourhood. We have, therefore, to look for a solar eclipse, occurring in Śaka-Saṃvat 828 current, and visible at Mōrbî, or near that town, in the north of Kāṭhiāwād.

¹ The mistake of *ô* for *au* does occur in the word *svavbhāṇḍ*, for *svarbhbhāṇau*, in line 3 of the grant. But in line 9, in the word *paurva*, the *au* is formed quite correctly and completely.

² We might easily find its present representative in the modern name of Gôṣṭ, which occurs in the case of a village, in Kāṭhiāwād, about seventy-five miles south-west of Mōrbî; twenty-five miles south of Nawānagar or Jāmānagar; and fifty miles east of Dhiniki, where there was found the copper-plate grant of Jāikadēva, which purports to be dated in Vikrama-Saṃvat 794 (see page 62 above, note 1.)

³ Of course, as it could only take place at a new-moon conjunction, it did not occur on the given solar day for the writing of the charter.—The limits within which we must look for it, are the first and the last days of Śaka-Saṃvat 828 current, as given in *Indian Eras*, p. 167.

General Cunningham's Table¹ mentions no solar eclipse, as having occurred during the period defined above. But, by calculations from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds² that there was an eclipse of the sun, on Tuesday, the 7th May, A.D. 905, corresponding to the new-moon *tithi* of the *Pārṇimānta* northern Jyēṣṭha of Śāka-Saṃvat 828 current, which fully answers the required conditions.³ It was visible at Mōrbī; over almost the whole of Southern India; and in Ceylon. The magnitude, at Mōrbī, was one ninth of the sun's disc; and, in the southern parts of India, greater than this. And the middle of the eclipse, at Mōrbī, was at 12.9 midday of the Mōrbī mean civil time. This eclipse, accordingly, was very distinctly visible at Mōrbī; even if it was not known beforehand, from calculations.

This result, therefore, fully answers to the conditions of the record. It does not, in itself, furnish conclusive proof, either as to the exact epoch of the era, or as to the scheme of the year; for the reason that, if treated as a southern date, the day of the eclipse, represented in that case by the new-moon *tithi* of the *Amānta* southern Vaiśākha, belonged to the southern Śāka-Saṃvat 828, and to the southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 962, as well as to the northern Śāka-Saṃvat 828 and Vikrama-Saṃvat 963. But it answers, as is required, to the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta-Valabhī and current Śāka years; and to the treatment of the Gupta year as a northern Śāka year. And it gives Śāka-Saṃvat 828 current (A.D. 905-906), as the equivalent of the indicated current Gupta year.

In respect of the given solar day for the writing of the charter, *viz.* the fifth solar day in the bright fortnight of the month Phālguna (February-March), as the name of the week-day is not given, the only test that we can apply is the presumption⁴ that the running number of the lunar *tithi* is the same as that of the solar day; *i.e.* that the fifth lunar *tithi* ended on the fifth solar day of the fortnight. If the year 586, connected with this solar day, is to be taken as expired, as in connection with the eclipse, this should be the case in Śāka-Saṃvat 828. And, by calculations for that year from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that the preceding new-moon *tithi*, which was that of the *Pārṇimānta* northern Phālguna, or the *Amānta* southern Māgha, ended on Monday, the 27th January, A.D. 906; and that the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna ended

¹ See *Indian Eras*, p. 213.

² For his calculations, which are based on the apparent longitudes of the sun and the moon, he has taken the latitude and longitude of Mōrbī, which I was not then able to supply to him, as $2^{\circ} 45'$ N. and $70^{\circ} 51'$ E. I now find that, in Thornton's Gazetteer of India, the figures are $22^{\circ} 49'$ N. and $70^{\circ} 53'$ E. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit states, however, that the difference will not palpably affect his results.

³ So also Prof. K. L. Chhatre himself obtained the same eclipse; see Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkân*, p. 99, where, with a slight difference of phraseology, the eclipse is given as occurring "on the 30th of Vaiśākha, Śāka 827;" the reference being to the *Amānta* southern month and the expired Śāka year.

⁴ See page 85 above, note 1.

on Saturday, the 1st February, which was the fifth successive solar day. If this date is accepted, then the charter was written nine months after the making of the grant.¹ On the other hand, if the year 585 is here to be taken as current, there should be the same agreement of the lunar *tithi* and the solar day in Śāka-Saṃvat 827. And, for this year, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that the preceding new-moon *tithi* ended on Thursday, the 7th February, A.D. 925; and that the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna ended on Tuesday, the 12th February, which was again the fifth successive solar day. If this date is accepted, then the charter was prepared two months before the actual making of the grant.

It may perhaps be argued, hereafter, in opposition to my results for the exact epoch of the era, that all the Gupta-Valabhī dates are recorded in expired years, whether the fact is distinctly stated or not; and, consequently, that it is as an expired year, not current, that the year 165 of the Éraṇ pillar inscription is equivalent to A.D. 484-85 current, and that the year 585 expired, of the present record, is equivalent to A.D. 904-905 current. In that case, the solar eclipse would have to be found in Gupta-Saṃvat 585+242=Śāka-Saṃvat 827 current, somewhere between² the 21st March, A.D. 904, and the 9th March, A.D. 905. During this period, there were two eclipses of the sun;³ on Saturday, the 16th June, A.D. 904, corresponding to the new-moon *tithi* of the *Pūrṇimānta* northern Āshāḍha of Śāka-Saṃvat 827 current; and on Saturday, the 10th November, A.D. 904, corresponding to the new-moon *tithi* of the *Pūrṇimānta* northern Mārgaśīrṣa of the same Śāka year. In respect of the first of them, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that it was not visible anywhere in India; but only in the more northern parts of the earth. This, therefore, cannot be the eclipse intended. In respect of the second of them, he finds that it was visible at Mōrbī; over more than half the northern part of Kāthiāwāḍ; and, to the south, along the coast, as far as Surat, one hundred and seventy miles south-east of Mōrbī, and in the interior, a little further still. And, at Mōrbī, the middle of the eclipse was at 11.54 A.M. of the Mōrbī mean civil time. At Ahmaḍābād, one hundred and twenty miles east by north from Mōrbī, one twelfth of the sun's disc was eclipsed; and, in the more northern parts of India, a considerably greater surface. But, at Mōrbī itself, the magnitude of the eclipse was very small; extending there to only one twenty-fifth part

¹ There is nothing in the record itself, to indicate whether the writing of the charter preceded, or followed, the making of the grant. The Rājīm grant of Tīvaradēva, No. 81, page 291, furnishes another similar instance. In that instance, the grant was made on the eleventh *tithi* of Jyēṣṭha (May-June); while the charter was written, or assigned, on the eighth solar day of Kārttika (October-November); and there is nothing to shew specifically whether it was the following, or the preceding, Kārttika. That charter may have been written, or assigned, either five months after, or seven months before, the making of the grant recorded in it.

² See *Indian Eras*, p. 167.

³ See *Indian Eras* p. 213.

of the disc.¹ This eclipse, therefore, setting aside all other considerations, is not in any way as satisfactory as that of the 7th May, A.D. 905.

The use of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter in Records of the Early Gupta period.

I now come to a still more interesting and important part of my inquiry; *viz.* to the use of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter in the dates of some of the records of the Early Gupta period.

These dates are found in the inscriptions of the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* Hastin and Samkshōbha, No. 21, page 93, to No. 25, page 112. And the extreme value of the records, from the present point of view, is due to the fact that in each instance, except in No. 24, page 110,² the date is directly connected with an expression which shews explicitly that, at the time mentioned, the Gupta sovereignty was still enduring; and consequently,—since the figures of the years are naturally referable to the same uniform series with the years quoted in the records of the Early Guptas themselves; and since the palæography of the inscriptions is entirely in favour of such a reference,—which shews also that the dates are recorded in the identical era that was used by the Early Gupta kings.

The evidence derivable from these records has hitherto been completely misapplied; in consequence of the adoption of the view, that the duration of any *samvatsara* or year of this cycle, is the same with that of the years of the Śaka era, from Chaitra śukla 1 to Chaitra kṛishṇa 15; and that the means of exactly determining the *samvatsaras* of this cycle, are provided by the last remainder obtained from certain rules given by Varāhamihira and others, which in reality only shews what *samvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle of the same planet according to the Northern System, and of the Twelve-Year Cycle according to the mean-sign system, is current at the commencement of any given Śaka or Kaliyuga year, and which does not provide for the determination of the *samvatsaras* on any other given date in the year.³

¹ Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has not made actual calculations for the village of Gōp (see page 98 above, note 2); but is able to state that both the eclipses, of the 7th May, A.D. 905, and of the 10th November, A.D. 904, were visible there; the circumstances of the former eclipse, in respect of visibility, being more favourable, and those of the latter being less so, at Gōp than at Mōrbī.

² For the possible explanation of the omission in this instance, see page 8 above.

³ See, for instance, *Indian Eras*, p. 26 ff.—This interpretation of the rules in question leaves unutilized, and unexplained, the first remainder, obtained from the division by 3750 according to Varāhamihira's rule, and by 1875 according to the rule of the *Jyōtishṭava*. In connection with the *Jyōtishṭava* rule, however, Warren has shewn (*Kala-Sankalita*, p. 202) how this remainder gives the means of determining the actual commencement of each *samvatsara*.—From the use of some Tables drawn up by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, for determining the actual commencement of each *samvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle according to the Northern System, and of each *samvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle

The correct theory of the cycle, according to the requirements of the system applied in the records now under consideration, with the proper method of determining of the *samvatsaras*, has now been demonstrated by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, in his paper published as Appendix III. below. And, by calculations based on the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* he has worked out all the results required for a full treatment of the dates in question, giving the full English and Hindu dates throughout, in order that both European and Indian astronomers may be in a position to easily check his results. In publishing his results, Mr. Dikshit is confident that no essential errors can be established in them; even though it should be shewn, by more exhaustive calculations, that his longitudes for the heliacal risings of Jupiter are capable of slight corrections.¹ And, as will be seen, his results corroborate in the most emphatic manner, all that has been established in the preceding pages; approximately, from the statements of Albérûnî, the Mandasôr inscription of Mālavarat 529 expired, and the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta of Gupta-Samvat 165; then, exactly, by the Verāwal inscription of Valabhî-Samvat 945.

It is not essential, for the most part, to enquire whether any of the dates, which give correct results with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, also give, by coincidence, correct results with the dates of the suggested earlier epochs. And, indeed, to make any such inquiry systematic and thorough, it would be obligatory to make the calculations, throughout, for at least a dozen years or so before and after the proposed epochs. Such inquiries are certainly unnecessary in respect of any epoch as early as that proposed by Mr. Thomas. It seemed well, however, to calculate the dates now under consideration, and to give the results for the epochs proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E. Clive Bayley; both of whom have dealt with the whole subject on the clear understanding that these dates are recorded in the era that was actually used by the Early Guptas themselves. And it will be seen

according to the mean-sign system, I find that, for the purposes of such rules as that given by Varāhamihira in the *Bṛihat-Samhitā*, viii. 20, 21, the Śaka years must be treated as commencing with the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* or entrance of the Sun into Aries, and not with Chaitra śukla 1; though the latter is the initial day that is required for the notation of *tithis*. For instance, by Varāhamihira's rule, the Viśvāvasu *samvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle was current at the commencement of Śaka Samvat 748 current (A.D. 825-26); and, by Gen. Cunningham's extension of the rule (*Indian Era*, p. 27), the Mahā-Āśvayuja *samvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle was current on the same date. In Śaka-Samvat 748, the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* occurred on the 21st March, A.D. 825; and Chaitra śukla 1 ended on the 22nd February. The Viśvāvasu *samvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle according to the Northern System, and, with it, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *samvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle by the mean-sign system, actually commenced on the 15th March; and thus they were current at the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*, but not on Chaitra śukla 1. And the same will often happen when the *samvatsaras* are commencing shortly before the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*. This application of such rules as that given by Varāhamihira, is, in fact, the natural one; though it may not be apparent at first sight. For, the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* is a very definite point in the year; whereas, Chaitra śukla 1 is always shifting backwards and forwards by about eleven and nineteen days at a time, and its circumstances could not be met by any such hard-and-fast rules.

¹See, e.g., page 110 below, note 1.

that, with the same heliacal-rising system that is applied to prove the epoch of A.D. 319-20, the results, as a whole, emphatically fail. In calculating the details with these two epochs, as with the epoch that I am proving, the Gupta year has been treated as a Śaka year, commencing with Chaitra śukla 1, and with the *Pārṇimānta* northern arrangement of the lunar fortnights. In some of the cases in which, by this treatment, and with these two epochs, the results fail, more favourable results might be obtained by adopting a year commencing with, either the preceding, or the following, Kārttika śukla 1 ; and by slightly varying the proposed epochs accordingly. But a full consideration of the details will shew that, with neither of these two epochs, as they stand, and probably with no epochs in any way approximating to them, is there any method of bringing out perfectly uniform results throughout.

It might, however, be claimed that General Cunningham's epoch, or Sir E. Clive Bayley's, or even both of them, could be proved, for the present records, by the other system of the Twelve-Year Cycle ; according to which the *samvatsaras* are determined by the passage of Jupiter among the signs of the zodiac ; and which is, in fact, the system that they have sought to apply in support of their theories. The results, therefore, according to this system also, will be given. It will be seen that it is not the system which applies to the epoch that I am proving ; inasmuch as it gives correct results in only two cases out of the four by which any absolute proof can be established,¹ *viz.* in the case of the grant B. dated in Gupta-Samvat 163, and in the case of the grant C. dated in Gupta-Samvat 191. As regards General Cunningham's and Sir E. Clive Bayley's epochs, it has always been recognised that this system fails in the case of the grant B. dated in Gupta-Samvat 163, unless the given year is deliberately altered from 163 to 173. As there is really no justification for this alteration of the original text,² the failure of the system even in this instance alone, is enough to shew that the proposed epochs are not sustainable by means of it. But further, though the fact has not hitherto been recognised, the system fails also in respect of another of the records. Thus, in the case of the grant C. dated in Gupta-Samvat 191, the given *samvatsara* really was current at the commencement of the given year, in accordance with the rules applied by General Cunningham, and accepted by Sir E. Clive Bayley, from which, however, it was not properly to be inferred that it was current through the whole of the same year ; but it came to an end, and was followed by the next *samvatsara*, with General Cunningham's epoch, nearly three and a half months, and with Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch, nearly seven months, before the sub-

¹ The date in the Bhumarā pillar inscription, E. below, furnishes no definite proof in itself ; because the current Gupta year is not mentioned in it ; and consequently the given *samvatsara* could be proved equally well for epochs differing by a year or more, on either side, from the exact epochs that are being considered. We can only test it, in so far as to see whether, under any particular circumstances, the system fails through an omission of the given *samvatsara*.

² See Texts and Translations, page 102, note 1.

sequent given date in that year. In fact, out of the four leading dates on which any arguments can be based, with these two epochs this system gives correct results only in respect of the grant A. dated in Gupta-Saṃvat 156, and the grant D. dated in Gupta-Saṃvat 209. And, as with the heliacal-rising system, so with this system also, a full consideration of the details will shew that, even by adopting a scheme for the Gupta year other than the scheme of the northern Śaka year, with neither of these two epochs is there any method of bringing out uniform results throughout.

A.—The Khôh Grant of the year 156.

The first inscription is one of the Khôh grants of the Mahârâja Hastin, No. 21, page 93; in which the date (line 1 ff.) is — *shaṭpañchâś-ôttarê=bda-śatê Gupta-nripa-râjya-bhuktau Mahâ-Vaiśâkha-saṃvatsarê Kârttika-mâsa-śukla-paksha-tṛtīyâyâm*, — “in a century of years, increased by the fifty-sixth (*year*); in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahâ-Vaiśâkha *saṃvatsara*; on the third lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika.”

This gives us, for calculation, the Mahâ-Vaiśâkha *saṃvatsara*, as current on the third *tithi* or lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika (October-November) in Gupta-Saṃvat 156 current. And, on the analogy of the Verāwal inscription of Valabhī-Saṃvat 945, this should be the case in Gupta-Saṃvat 156 + 242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 398 current;¹ in which year the given *tithi* corresponds to Sunday, the 19th October, A.D. 475.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 below, Col. A.) that Jupiter's rising,² next before the given date, took place on Kârttika śukla 1 of the same year, Śaka-Saṃvat 398 current, corresponding to Friday, the 17th October, A.D. 475; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 18th October.³ His longitude then was

¹ Here, and throughout, the year is treated as a northern year. But the details of these dates do not furnish any actual proof as to the *Pûrṇimānta* or *Amānta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights.

² *i.e.*, throughout, his heliacal rising. But the actual calculation is for his first daily rising after his becoming capable of rising heliacally.

³ Jupiter's daily rising, next after his becoming capable of rising heliacally, takes place about forty-four minutes before sunrise, and therefore in the period during which the Hindu and the English week-days are not identical (see a note in Appendix II. below). In the present case, it took place at the time in question before sunrise on the English Saturday, the 18th October. Kârttika śukla 2 did not end till after sunrise on that day. Consequently, as current *tithis* are not quoted, unless under certain very exceptional conditions not applicable to such occurrences as this, the *tithi* on which he rose was Kârttika śukla 1. And this *tithi*, ending after sunrise on the Friday (and before sunrise on the Saturday), has to be coupled with Friday, the 17th October, as its week-day. Hence the apparent, but not actual, difference of a day, according as we take the Hindu or the English calendar. And a similar difference runs through all the dates of the heliacal risings given below.

TABLE IV.

The Samvatsaras of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter.

A	B	C	D	E 1	E 2
101	101	101	200	189	201
212	212	212	212	242	212
323	323	323	323	437	443
434	434	434	434	437	443
545	545	545	545	545	550
656	656	656	656	656	661
767	767	767	767	767	772
878	878	878	878	878	883
989	989	989	989	989	994
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1005
1111	1111	1111	1111	1111	1116
1222	1222	1222	1222	1222	1227
1333	1333	1333	1333	1333	1338
1444	1444	1444	1444	1444	1449
1555	1555	1555	1555	1555	1560
1666	1666	1666	1666	1666	1671
1777	1777	1777	1777	1777	1782
1888	1888	1888	1888	1888	1893
1999	1999	1999	1999	1999	2004
2110	2110	2110	2110	2110	2115
2221	2221	2221	2221	2221	2226
2332	2332	2332	2332	2332	2337
2443	2443	2443	2443	2443	2448
2554	2554	2554	2554	2554	2559
2665	2665	2665	2665	2665	2670
2776	2776	2776	2776	2776	2781
2887	2887	2887	2887	2887	2892
2998	2998	2998	2998	2998	3003
3109	3109	3109	3109	3109	3114
3220	3220	3220	3220	3220	3225
3331	3331	3331	3331	3331	3336
3442	3442	3442	3442	3442	3447
3553	3553	3553	3553	3553	3558
3664	3664	3664	3664	3664	3669
3775	3775	3775	3775	3775	3780
3886	3886	3886	3886	3886	3891
3997	3997	3997	3997	3997	4002
4108	4108	4108	4108	4108	4113
4219	4219	4219	4219	4219	4224
4330	4330	4330	4330	4330	4335
4441	4441	4441	4441	4441	4446
4552	4552	4552	4552	4552	4557
4663	4663	4663	4663	4663	4668
4774	4774	4774	4774	4774	4779
4885	4885	4885	4885	4885	4890
4996	4996	4996	4996	4996	5001
5107	5107	5107	5107	5107	5112
5218	5218	5218	5218	5218	5223
5329	5329	5329	5329	5329	5334
5440	5440	5440	5440	5440	5445
5551	5551	5551	5551	5551	5556
5662	5662	5662	5662	5662	5667
5773	5773	5773	5773	5773	5778
5884	5884	5884	5884	5884	5889
5995	5995	5995	5995	5995	6000
6106	6106	6106	6106	6106	6111
6217	6217	6217	6217	6217	6222
6328	6328	6328	6328	6328	6333
6439	6439	6439	6439	6439	6444
6550	6550	6550	6550	6550	6555
6661	6661	6661	6661	6661	6666
6772	6772	6772	6772	6772	6777
6883	6883	6883	6883	6883	6888
6994	6994	6994	6994	6994	7000
7105	7105	7105	7105	7105	7111
7216	7216	7216	7216	7216	7222
7327	7327	7327	7327	7327	7333
7438	7438	7438	7438	7438	7444
7549	7549	7549	7549	7549	7555
7660	7660	7660	7660	7660	7666
7771	7771	7771	7771	7771	7777
7882	7882	7882	7882	7882	7888
7993	7993	7993	7993	7993	8000
8104	8104	8104	8104	8104	8111
8215	8215	8215	8215	8215	8222
8326	8326	8326	8326	8326	8333
8437	8437	8437	8437	8437	8444
8548	8548	8548	8548	8548	8555
8659	8659	8659	8659	8659	8666
8770	8770	8770	8770	8770	8777
8881	8881	8881	8881	8881	8888
8992	8992	8992	8992	8992	9000
9103	9103	9103	9103	9103	9111
9214	9214	9214	9214	9214	9222
9325	9325	9325	9325	9325	9333
9436	9436	9436	9436	9436	9444
9547	9547	9547	9547	9547	9555
9658	9658	9658	9658	9658	9666
9769	9769	9769	9769	9769	9777
9880	9880	9880	9880	9880	9888
9991	9991	9991	9991	9991	10000

195° 24'. By both the systems of unequal spaces for the longitudes of the ending-points of the *nakshatras* (see Appendix III. Table IX.), he was then in Viśākhā; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began (see Appendix III. Table VIII.), must have been named Mahā-Vaiśākha.¹ Jupiter's next following rising took place on Mārgaśīrsha śukla 13 of Śaka-Saṃvat 399, corresponding to Monday, the 15th November, A.D. 476; or, by the English calendar, on Tuesday, the 16th November. His longitude then was 225° 35'. By the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, he was then in Jyêsthā; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Jyêsthā. While, by the Garga system of unequal spaces, he was then in Anurādhā; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have again been named Mahā-Vaiśākha; which shews that, by this system, there was at this period a repetition of a *saṃvatsara*. This difference as to the following *saṃvatsara*, however, does not affect the given date. By both the systems of unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahā-Vaiśākha *saṃvatsara* was current on the given date. And the result gives Śaka-Saṃvat 398 current (A.D. 475-76), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

In connection with the results for this record, the following points have to be noted. In the first place, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has described three systems of fixing the ending-points of the *nakshatras*; one of equal spaces; and two of unequal spaces. An examination of Jupiter's longitudes, as given in Table IV., page 105 above, for each rising next before the given dates, will shew that, in all the remaining instances, the current *saṃvatsara* is proved by all three systems; the only variation is that, in the case of E., Jupiter's position, at his rising next before the given date, was, by the system of equal spaces, in Āślêshā; but, even then, the current *saṃvatsara* would be named Mahā-Māghā, as also by the two systems of unequal spaces. So, also, it may be seen that, by all three systems, we have almost the same results in respect of the following *saṃvatsaras*; the only variation is that, in the case of D., Jupiter's position, at his rising next after the given date, was, by the system of equal spaces, in Bharanī, and, accordingly, the *saṃvatsara* which then began, would again be named Mahā-Āśvayuja; which shews that, by this system, there was a repetition of a *saṃvatsara* at this period; but this does not affect the *saṃvatsara* current on the given date. So far, therefore, as those dates are concerned, the correctness of the records might be proved by any of the three systems. The same, however, is not the case in respect of the present record. By the system of equal spaces, Jupiter's position, at his rising next before the given date, was in Svāti; the *saṃvatsara* which then began, would

¹ I have not been able to obtain the original authority for the use of the prefix *mahā* (*mahat*), 'great.' And it does not occur in connection with the two *saṃvatsaras* mentioned in the Halsîgrants of the Kādamba chieftain Mṛigêśavarman; viz. the Pausha *saṃvatsara*, in line 8 of the grant dated in his third year (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 35). and the Vaiśākha *saṃvatsara*, in line 10 of the grant dated in his eighth year (*id.* Vol. VI. p. 24). I use the prefix, however, in accordance with the custom of the original records now under examination.

be named Mahā-Chaitra; and the Mahā-Vaiśākha *saṃvatsara* would not begin till Jupiter's rising next after the given date, when, by the same system, his position was in Anurādhā. Accordingly, the system of equal spaces could be applied to the present record, only with a running difference of two hundred and forty-three years between current Gupta and current Śaka years; which would be in contradiction with the fact that, to prove the *saṃvatsaras* of all the remaining records, it must be applied with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years. It is evident, therefore, that, in dealing with these records, the system of equal spaces is not the correct one; and that we have to apply one or other of the systems of unequal spaces. This, however, is only natural; for they are both more ancient than the system of equal spaces; and, the older the system, the greater the certainty that it is the one in use in the Early Gupta period. Also, the Dēḍgaḍh inscription of king Bhōjadēva of Kanauj, dated Śaka-Saṃvat 784, indicates very plainly that one or other of the systems of unequal spaces, if not both of them, continued in use, in what had formed a part of the Early Gupta territory, down to at least the last half of the ninth century A.D.¹ Of the two systems of unequal spaces, whether we are to apply the Brahma-Siddhānta system, or the still more ancient Garga system, cannot at present be decided;

¹ In this inscription, which was brought to notice by Gen. Cunningham in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 101, and Plate xxxiii. No. 2, and is on a pillar in a detached portico in front of the hall of a temple at Dēḍgaḍh, about sixty miles to the south-west of 'Jhansi' in Scindia's Dominions in Central India, the date (from an ink-impression; lines 6 ff., 10) runs—*saṃvat 919 Aśva(śva)yuja-śukla-pakṣa-chaturdaśyāñi Vṛihaspati-dīnēna Uttar[ā*]-Bhādrapad[ā*]-nakṣatṛē idam stambham samāptam=iti Śakakāl-ābda-sapta-śatāni chatur-aśīty-adhikāni 784*,—"the year 919; on the fourteenth *tithi* or lunar day in the bright fortnight of Aśvayuja; on the day of Vṛihaspati; under the Uttarā-Bhādrapadā *nakṣatra*, this pillar was finished; seven centuries of years, increased by eighty-four, of the Śaka era; (or in figures) 784." This gives us, for calculation, Vikrama-Saṃvat 919 and Śaka-Saṃvat 784; the month Aśvayuja (September-October); the day of Vṛihaspati or Jupiter, *i.e.* Thursday; and the Uttarā-Bhādrapadā *nakṣatra*. The date, of course, is a northern date; but, as the given *tithi* is in a bright fortnight, this point is immaterial.—Taking the Śaka year in question as an expired year, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has obtained as the English equivalent, by both Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables and the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, Thursday, the 10th September, A.D. 862. The *tithi* ended at 56 *ghaṭīs*, 34 *palas*, or 22 hrs. 37 min. 36 sec., after sunrise on that day. By the equal-space system of the *nakṣatras*, the moon was in the Pūrvā-Bhādrapadā *nakṣatra* up to 53 *ghaṭīs*, 31 *palas*, or 21 hrs. 24 min. 24 sec., after sunrise on the Thursday; and she then entered the Uttarā-Bhādrapadā *nakṣatra*; *i.e.* assuming sunrise at 6 A.M., only 2 hrs. 35 min. 36 sec. before sunrise on the Friday (the time, all through, is for Ujjain, as I have not the exact longitude of Dēḍgaḍh; taking it, approximately, as 78° 15' E., the time in each case, will be a little less than ten minutes later). This, however, is a highly improbable hour for the completion, as stated in the record, of the pillar on which the inscription is engraved. But, by the unequal-space systems of the *nakṣatras*, the Pūrvā-Bhādrapadā *nakṣatra* ended at about 23 *ghaṭīs*, 40 *palas*, or 9 hrs. 28 min., after sunrise on the Thursday; and the moon then entered the Uttarā-Bhādrapadā *nakṣatra*; *i.e.* roughly, about half past three in the afternoon, leaving ample time, in ordinary working hours, for the completion of the pillar before sunset.—It is evident, therefore, that for the determination of the *nakṣatra* in this record, we have to apply one or other of the systems of unequal spaces.

since, the only variation between them is in respect of the *saṃvatsara* following the *saṃvatsara* which was current on the given date of the present record.

Another point is, that, as the following *saṃvatsara* did not commence till Mārgaśīrsha śukla 13 of Śaka-Saṃvat 399, the Mahā-Vaiśākha *saṃvatsara* was still current on the given date, Kārttika śukla 3, in Śaka-Saṃvat 399, as well as in 398, which is the real equivalent for the Gupta year. So, also, it will be seen that, in the case of D., the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara* was still current on the given date, Chaitra śukla 13, in Śaka-Saṃvat 452, as well as in 451, which is the true equivalent for the Gupta year of that record. Consequently, these two dates, A. and D., might be used to support a running difference of two hundred and forty-three years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, as well as the true running difference of two hundred and forty-two years. But, apart from the fact that we have not obtained anything else to support such a result, there is no such alternative in respect of B. and C.; the *saṃvatsaras* of those records are proved only with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years. All the four cases together, therefore, not only answer to, but also ¹prove the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years.

A final point is, that, on the analogy of the Kaira grant of Dharasēna IV., of the year 330, and with a year beginning with the month Kārttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date of Kārttika śukla 3, in Gupta-Saṃvat 156, would belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 397 current. But it would then fall a year, all but two days, anterior to the commencement of the recorded *saṃvatsara* on Kārttika śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṃvat 398. This record, therefore, also disproves the possibility of our being concerned with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, beginning with the month Kārttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

On the analogy of the same grant, and with a year, northern or southern, beginning with the month Mārgaśīrsha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year,¹ the given date would still belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 398. The possibility, however, of our being concerned with such a year as this, is disproved by the results for the date of C. below, in Gupta-Saṃvat 191.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Vaiśākha *saṃvatsara* did not commence till Vaiśākha śukla 5 of Śaka-Saṃvat 399 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 14th April, A.D. 476; and consequently it was not current on the given date. The *saṃvatsara* then current was Mahā-Chaitra, which commenced on Jyēsthā kṛishṇa 13 of Śaka-Saṃvat 398, corresponding to Saturday, the 19th April, A.D. 475.

With General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 166-67, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 245 current; and its English equivalent would be Sunday, the 30th Septem-

¹ See page 78 above.

ber, A.D. 322. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Kārttika śukla 13 of Śāka-Saṃvat 244, corresponding to Friday, the 20th October, A.D. 321; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 21st October. His longitude then was $200^{\circ} 54'$. By all three systems, he was then in Viśākhā; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named **Mahā-Vaiśākhā**. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Pausa kṛishṇa 10 of Śāka-Saṃvat 245, corresponding to Tuesday, the 20th November, A.D. 322; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 21st November. His longitude then was $231^{\circ} 33'$. By the system of equal spaces, and the Garga system of unequal spaces, he was then in Jyēṣṭhā; and, by the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, in Mūla; and, by all three systems, the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Jyēṣṭhā. Accordingly, with this epoch, **the Mahā-Vaiśākhā saṃvatsara was current on the given date**. This, however, is a mere coincidence. There is the same coincidence in respect of the date of D.; but not in respect of B. and C.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Vaiśākhā *saṃvatsara* commenced on Phālguna kṛishṇa 15 of Śāka-Saṃvat 244 current, corresponding to Friday, the 2nd February, A.D. 322; and it was followed by Mahā-Jyēṣṭhā on Phālguna śukla 6 of Śāka-Saṃvat 245, corresponding to Tuesday, the 29th January, A.D. 323. Accordingly, with this epoch, and by this system also, **the Mahā-Vaiśākhā saṃvatsara was current on the given date**.

With Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch of A.D. 190-91, the given date would belong to Śāka-Saṃvat 269 current; and its English equivalent would be Saturday, the 4th October, A.D. 346. Here, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Mārgaśīrṣa kṛishṇa 3 of Śāka-Saṃvat 268, corresponding to Tuesday, the 29th October, A.D. 345; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 30th October. His longitude then was $209^{\circ} 22'$. By all three systems, he was then in Viśākhā; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named **Mahā-Vaiśākhā**. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Pausa kṛishṇa 15 of Śāka-Saṃvat 269, corresponding to Saturday, the 29th November, A.D. 346; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 30th November. His longitude then was $240^{\circ} 17'$. By all three systems, he was then in Mūla; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Jyēṣṭhā. Accordingly, with this epoch also, **the Mahā-Vaiśākhā saṃvatsara was current on the given date**. This again, however, is a mere coincidence. And again, though there is the same coincidence in respect of the date of D., it does not occur in respect of B. and C.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Vaiśākhā *saṃvatsara* commenced on Kārttika śukla 11 of Śāka-Saṃvat 268 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 23rd October, A.D. 345; and it was followed by Mahā-Jyēṣṭhā on Mārgaśīrṣa kṛishṇa 3 of Śāka-Saṃvat 269, corresponding to Sunday, the 19th October, A.D. 346. Accordingly, with

this epoch again, and by this system also, the *Mahâ-Vaiśākha saṁvatsara* was current on the given date.

B.—The Khôh Grant of the year 163.

The next inscription is the other Khôh grant of the Mahârâja Hastin, No. 22, page 100, in which the date (line 1 f.) is — tri-shashty-uttarê-bda-śatê Gupta-nripa-râjya-bhuktau Mah-Âśvayuja-saṁvatsarê Chaitra-mâsa-śukla-paksha-dvitiyâyam,—“in a century of years, increased by sixty-three; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara*; on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra.”

This gives us, for calculation, the *Mahâ-Âśvayuja saṁvatsara*, as current on the second *tithi* or lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April) in Gupta-Saṁvat 163 current. And, on the analogy of the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, this should be the case in Gupta-Saṁvat $163 + 242 = \text{Śaka-Saṁvat } 405$ current; in which year the given *tithi* corresponds to Sunday, the 7th March, A.D. 482.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. B.) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place¹ on Vaiśākha kṛishṇa 6 of the preceding year, Śaka-Saṁvat 404 current, corresponding to Sunday, the 5th April, A.D. 481; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 6th April. His longitude then was $4^{\circ} 21'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces,² he was then in Âśvinî; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named *Mahâ-Âśvayuja*. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Jyêshṭha śukla 8 of Śaka-Saṁvat 405, corresponding to Wednesday, the 12th May, A.D. 482; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 13th May. His longitude then was $40^{\circ} 34'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Rôhini; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named *Mahâ-Kârttika*. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the *Mahâ-Âśvayuja saṁvatsara* was current on the given date. And the result gives Śaka-Saṁvat 405 current (A.D. 482-83), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

In this instance, the given *saṁvatsara* was not current on the given date in either the preceding year, Saka-Saṁvat 404, or the following year, Śaka-Saṁvat 406. The result,

¹ These calculations are not absolutely accurate; but the margin is so wide, that there is no necessity for exact precision in this case. If there should be any difference at all between Jupiter's longitudes as found by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, and as capable of being determined with exact precision, it will amount only to a few minutes of arc; and the actual risings of Jupiter could differ from what he gives, only by one or two days; with the result that Jupiter may have risen, in this instance, on Vaiśākha kṛishṇa 5 or 7.

² Also by the system of equal spaces; but see page 107 above. This point need not be noted in the following instances.

therefore, not only answers to, but also proves, the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years.

On the analogy of the Kaira grant of Dharasēna IV. of the year 330, and with a year beginning either with the month Kārttika, or with the month Mārgaśirsha, next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date of Chaitra śukla 2, in Gupta-Saṃvat 163, would still belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 405. But, as noted at page 108 above, the results for the date of A. disprove the possibility of our being concerned with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, beginning with the month Kārttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year. And, as will be shewn at page 115 below, the results for the date of C., in Gupta-Saṃvat 191, disprove the possibility of our being concerned with a year, northern or southern, beginning with the month Mārgaśirsha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara* commenced on Chaitra śukla 8 of Śaka-Saṃvat 404 current, corresponding to Tuesday, the 24th March, A.D. 481; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttika on Chaitra śukla 15 of Śaka-Saṃvat 405, corresponding to Saturday, the 20th March, A.D. 482. Accordingly, by this system also, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara* was current on the given date.

With General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 166-67, and with the original reading of Gupta-Saṃvat 163, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 252 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 17th February, A.D. 329. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Āshāḍha kṛishṇa 6 of Śaka-Saṃvat 251, corresponding to Thursday, the 16th May, A.D. 328; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 17th May. His longitude then was $47^{\circ} 25'$. By all three systems, he was then in Rōhini; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Kārttika. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āshāḍha śukla 10 of Śaka-Saṃvat 252, corresponding to Sunday, the 22nd June, A.D. 329; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 23rd June. His longitude then was $82^{\circ} 12'$. By all three systems, he was then in Punarvasu; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Pausha; the intervening *saṃvatsara*, Mahā-Mārgaśirsha, being omitted. Accordingly, with this epoch, and with the real reading of the text, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara* was not current on the given date. For the commencement of the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara*, we have to go back to Jupiter's rising on Vaiśākha śukla 3 of Śaka-Saṃvat 250, corresponding to Tuesday, the 11th April, A.D. 327, or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 12th April; when his longitude was $11^{\circ} 21'$, and, by all three systems, he was in Aśvinī. And thus the given *saṃvatsara* was current on the same date in the preceding year.—With the same epoch, and with the proposed corrected reading (see Texts and Translations, page 102, note 1) of Gupta-Saṃvat 173, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 262 current; and its English equivalent would be Tuesday, the 27th Febru-

ary, A.D. 339. Here, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Chaitra śukla 2 of Śaka-Saṃvat 261, corresponding to Friday, the 10th March, A.D. 338; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 11th March. His longitude then was $339^{\circ} 54'$. By all three systems, he was then in Uttarā-Bhādrapadā; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Bhādrapada. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Jyēsthā kṛishṇa 11 of Śaka-Saṃvat 262, corresponding to Tuesday, the 17th April, A.D. 339; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 18th April. His longitude then was $16^{\circ} 34'$. By all three systems, he was then in Bharanī; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Āśvayuja. Accordingly, with this epoch, even with the proposed corrected reading, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara* was not current on the given date; but only on the same date in the following year.

By the mean-sign system, and with the original reading of Gupta-Saṃvat 163, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara* commenced on Māgha śukla 2 of Śaka-Saṃvat 249 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 12th January, A.D. 327; and was followed by Mahā-Kārttika on Māgha śukla 9 of Śaka-Saṃvat 250, corresponding to Monday, the 8th January, A.D. 328; and consequently it was not current on the given date. The *saṃvatsara* then current was Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha, which commenced on Phālguna kṛishṇa 1 of Śaka-Saṃvat 251 current, corresponding to Friday, the 3rd January, A.D. 329.—With the proposed corrected reading of Gupta-Saṃvat 173, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara* commenced on Pausha kṛishṇa 9 of Śaka-Saṃvat 261 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 22nd November, A.D. 338; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttika on Mārgaśīrsha śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṃvat 262, corresponding to Sunday, the 18th November, A.D. 339. Accordingly, with this epoch, and by this system, with the proposed corrected reading, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara* was current on the given date. The proposed alteration of the original text, however, cannot be justified.

With Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch of A.D. 190-91, and with the original reading of Gupta-Saṃvat 163, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṃvat 276 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 22nd February, A.D. 353. Here, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Āshāḍha kṛishṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṃvat 275, corresponding to Wednesday, the 27th May, A.D. 352; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 28th May. His longitude then was $57^{\circ} 12'$. By all three systems, he was then in Mṛiga; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āshāḍha śukla 13 of Śaka-Saṃvat 276, corresponding to Thursday, the 1st July, A.D. 353; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 2nd July. His longitude then was $91^{\circ} 19'$. By all three systems, he was then in Punarvasu; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Pausha. Accordingly, with this epoch, and with the real reading of the text, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara* was not current on the given date. As a matter of fact, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara* of

this cycle may have been omitted. Thus, in Śaka-Samvat 273 current, Jupiter's rising took place on Vaiśākha kṛishṇa 6, corresponding to Friday, the 16th Mareh, A.D. 350; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 17th March. His longitude then was $345^{\circ} 10'$. By all three systems, he was then in Uttarā-Bhādrapadā; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Bhādrapadā. His next rising took place on Vaiśākha śukla 10 of Śaka-Samvat 274, corresponding to Monday, the 22nd April, A.D. 351; or, by the English calendar, on Tuesday, the 23rd April. His longitude then was $21^{\circ} 35'$. By the system of equal spaces, he was then in Bharāṇi; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, would be named Mahā-Āśvayuja; and there would be an omission of the following *saṃvatsara*, Mahā-Kārttika. But, by the two systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Kṛittikā; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, would be named Mahā-Kārttika; with an omission of the intervening *saṃvatsara*, Mahā-Āśvayuja. — With the same epoch, and with the proposed corrected reading of Gupta-Samvat 173 (see Texts and Translations, page 102, note 1), the given date would belong to Śaka-Samvat 286 current; and its English equivalent would be Tuesday, the 4th March, A.D. 363. Here, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Chaitra śukla 9 of Śaka-Samvat 285, corresponding to Thursday, the 21st March, A.D. 362; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 22nd March. His longitude then was $350^{\circ} 11'$. By all three systems, he was then in Rēvatī; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Āśvayuja. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Jyēṣṭha kṛishṇa 12 of Śaka-Samvat 286, corresponding to Sunday, the 27th April, A.D. 363; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 28th April. His longitude then was $26^{\circ} 35'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Kṛittikā; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Kārttika. By the system of equal spaces, he was then in Bharāṇi; and, by this system, the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have again been named Mahā-Āśvayuja; which shews that, by this system, there was at this period a repetition of a *saṃvatsara*. Accordingly, with this epoch, and with the proposed corrected reading, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara* was current on the given date. This, however, is a mere coincidence. And the proposed correction of the original reading cannot be justified.

By the mean-sign system, and with the original reading of Gupta-Samvat 163, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara* commenced on Kārttika kṛishṇa 1 of Śaka-Samvat 273 current, corresponding to Wednesday, the 3rd October, A.D. 350; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttika on Kārttika kṛishṇa 8 of Śaka-Samvat 274, corresponding to Sunday, the 29th September, A.D. 351; and consequently it was not current on the given date. The *saṃvatsara* then current was Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha, which commenced on Kārttika kṛishṇa 15 of Śaka-Samvat 275 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 24th September, A.D. 352. — With the proposed corrected reading of Gupta-Samvat 173, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara* commenced on Bhādrapada śukla 7 of Śaka-Sam. . . .

corresponding to Tuesday, the 13th August, A.D. 362; and it was followed by Mahâ-Kârttika on Bhâdrapada śukla 12 of Śaka-Saṃvat 286, corresponding to Saturday, the 9th August, A.D. 363. Accordingly, with this epoch again, and by this system also, with the proposed corrected reading, the Mahâ-Āśvayuja saṃvatsara was current on the given date. But the proposed alteration of the original text cannot be justified.

C.—The Majhgawâṃ Grant of the year 191.

The next inscription is the Majhgawâṃ grant of the Mahârâja Hastin, No. 23, page 106, in which the date (line 1 f.) is — êka-navaty-uttarê=bdâ-śatê Gupta-nṛiparâjya-bhuktau śrîmati pravardhamâna-Mahâ-Chaitra-saṃvatsarê Mâgha-mâsa-bahula-paksha-tṛitīyâṃ,—“in a century of years, increased by ninety-one; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the prosperous augmenting Mahâ-Chaitra saṃvatsara; on the third lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Mâgha.” And at the end, in line 21, the date is repeated as—Mâgha di 3, — “(the month) Mâgha; the (solar) day 3.”

This gives us, for calculation, the Mahâ-Chaitra saṃvatsara, as current on the third *tithi* or lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Mâghaḥ (January-February) in Gupta-Saṃvat 191 current. And, on the analogy of the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṃvat 945, this should be the case in Gupta-Saṃvat 191 + 242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 433 current; in which year the given date corresponds to Monday, the 3rd January, A.D. 511.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. C.) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Āśvina śukla 11 of the same year, Śaka-Saṃvat 433, corresponding to Wednesday, the 29th September, A.D. 510; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 30th September. His longitude then was $177^{\circ} 47'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Chitrâ; and the saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Chaitra. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Mârgaśīrsha kṛishṇa 7 of Śaka-Saṃvat 434, corresponding to Saturday, the 29th October, A.D. 511; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 30th October. His longitude then was $207^{\circ} 41'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Viśākhâ; and the saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Vaiśākha. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahâ-Chaitra saṃvatsara was current on the given date. And the result gives Śaka-Saṃvat 433 current (A.D. 510:11), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

In this instance, again, as in B. above, the given saṃvatsara was not current on the given date in either the preceding year, Śaka-Saṃvat 432, or the following year, Śaka-Saṃvat 434. Here again, therefore, the result not only answers to, but also proves, the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years.

On the analogy of the Kaira grant of Dharasēna IV., of the year 330, and with a year beginning with the month Kārttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date of Māgha kṛishṇa 3, in Gupta-Saṁvat 191, would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 432. It would then fall about eight months and a half before the commencement of the recorded *saṁvatsara* on Āśvina śukla 11 of Śaka-Saṁvat 433. This record, therefore, like A. above, disproves the possibility of our being concerned with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, beginning with the month Kārttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

Again, on the analogy of the same grant, and with a year beginning with the month Mārgaśīrsha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date would similarly belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 432; and would similarly fall about eight months and a half before the commencement of the recorded *saṁvatsara*. This record, therefore, also disproves the possibility of our being concerned with a year, northern or southern, beginning with the month Mārgaśīrsha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Chaitra *saṁvatsara* commenced on Mārgaśīrsha śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 433 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 18th November, A.D. 510; and it was followed by Mahā-Vaiśākha on Mārgaśīrsha śukla 8 of Śaka-Saṁvat 434, corresponding to Monday, the 14th November, A.D. 511. Accordingly, by this system also the Mahā-Chaitra *saṁvatsara* was current on the given date.

With General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 166-67, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 280 current; and its English equivalent would be Tuesday, the 16th December, A.D. 357. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Mārgaśīrsha śukla 4 of the same year, Śaka-Saṁvat 280, corresponding to Sunday, the 2nd November A.D. 357; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 3rd November. His longitude then was $213^{\circ} 31'$. By all three systems, he was then in Anurādhā; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Vaiśākha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Pausha kṛishṇa 2 of Śaka-Saṁvat 281, corresponding to Friday, the 4th December, A.D. 358; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 5th December. His longitude then was $244^{\circ} 49'$. By the system of equal spaces, and by the Garga system of unequal spaces, he was then in Mūla; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must, according to these two systems, have been named Mahā-Jyēshṭha. By the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, he was then in Pūrvā-Aśāḍhā; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must, according to this system, have been named Mahā-Āshāḍha; the intervening *saṁvatsara*, Mahā-Jyēshṭha, being omitted. Accordingly, with this epoch, the Mahā-Chaitra *saṁvatsara* was not current on the given date. For the commencement of the Mahā-Chaitra *saṁvatsara*, we have to go back to Jupiter's rising on Kārttika kṛishṇa 7 of Śaka-Saṁvat 279, corresponding to

Thursday, the 3rd October, A.D. 356, or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 4th October; when his longitude was $183^{\circ} 33'$, and, by all three systems, he was in Chitrā. And thus the given *samvatsara* was current on the same date in the preceding year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Chaitra *samvatsara* commenced on Āśvina kṛishṇa 11 of Śāka-Samvat 279 current, corresponding to Saturday, the 7th September, A.D. 356; and it was followed by Mahā-Vaiśākha on Āśvina śukla 3 of Śāka-Samvat 280, corresponding to Wednesday, the 3rd September, A.D. 357; and this again was followed by Mahā-Jyēshṭha on the intercalated Āśvina śukla 10 of Śāka-Samvat 281, corresponding to Sunday, the 30th August, A.D. 358. Accordingly, with this epoch, and by this system also, the Mahā-Chaitra *samvatsara* was not current on the given date; and the *samvatsara* that was current, was Mahā-Vaiśākha.

With Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch of A.D. 190-91, the given date would belong to Śāka-Samvat 304 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 20th December, A.D. 381. Here Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Mārgaśīrsha śukla 8 of the same year, Śāka-Samvat 304, corresponding to Thursday, the 11th November, A.D. 381; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 12th November. His longitude then was $222^{\circ} 8'$. By all three systems, he was then in Anurādhā; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Vaiśākha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Māgha kṛishṇa 8 of Śāka-Samvat 305, corresponding to Wednesday, the 14th December, A.D. 382; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 15th December. His longitude then was $254^{\circ} 1'$. By all three systems, he was then in Pūrva-Ashāḍha; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Āshāḍha; the intervening *samvatsara*, Mahā-Jyēshṭha, being omitted. Accordingly, with this epoch also, the Mahā-Chaitra *samvatsara* was not current on the given date. For the commencement of the Mahā-Chaitra *samvatsara*, we have to go back to Jupiter's rising on Kārttika kṛishṇa 12 of Śāka-Samvat 303, corresponding to Sunday, the 11th October, A.D. 380; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 12th October; when his longitude was $191^{\circ} 2'$, and, by all three systems, he was in Svāti. And thus the given *samvatsara* was current on the same date in the preceding year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Chaitra *samvatsara* commenced on the intercalated Āshāḍha śukla 8 of Śāka-Samvat 303 current, corresponding to Thursday, the 28th May, A.D. 380; and it was followed by Mahā-Vaiśākha on Jyēshṭha śukla 15 of Śāka-Samvat 304, corresponding to Monday, the 24th May, A.D. 381; and this again was followed by Mahā-Jyēshṭha on Āshāḍha kṛishṇa 6 of Śāka-Samvat 305, corresponding to Friday, the 20th May, A.D. 382. Accordingly, with this epoch also, and by this system again, the Mahā-Chaitra *samvatsara* was not current on the given date; and the *samvatsara* that was current, was Mahā-Vaiśākha.

D.—The Khôh Grant of the year 209.

The next inscription is the Khôh grant of the Mahârâja Saṁkshôbha, No. 25, page 112, in which the date (line 1 ff.) is — *nāvô-ttarê=bda-śata-dvayê Gupta-nripa-râjya-bhuktau śrīmati pravardhamāna-vijaya-râjyê Mah-Āśvayuja-saṁvatsarê Chaitra-māsa-śukla-paksha-trayôdaśyām*,—"in two centuries of years increased by nine; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the glorious augmenting and victorious reign; in the Mahâ-Āśvayuja *saṁvatsara*; on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra." And at the end, in line 24, the date is repeated as — Chaitra di 20 7,—" (the month) Chaitra, the (solar) day 20 (and) 7."

This gives us, for calculation, the Mahâ-Āśvayuja *saṁvatsara*, as current on the thirteenth *tithi* or lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra (March-April) in Gupta-Saṁvat 209 current. And, on the analogy of the Verāwal inscription of Valabhī-Saṁvat 945, this should be the case in Gupta-Saṁvat 209 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 451 current; in which year the given *tithi* corresponds to Sunday, the 19th March, A.D. 528.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. D.) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Chaitra śukla 12 of the same year, Śaka-Saṁvat 451, corresponding to Saturday, the 18th March, A.D. 528; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 19th March; *i.e.* at the dawn immediately before the making of the grant.¹ His longitude then was $347^{\circ} 45'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Rêvatî; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Āśvayuja, Jupiter's next following rising took place on Jyêshṭha śukla 3 of Śaka-Saṁvat 452, corresponding to Thursday, the 26th April, A.D. 529; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 27th April. His longitude then was $24^{\circ} 36'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Kṛittikâ; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Kârttika. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahâ-Āśvayuja *saṁvatsara* was current on the given date. And the result gives Śaka-Saṁvat 451 current (A.D. 528-29), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

As a matter of fact, the Mahâ-Āśvayuja *saṁvatsara* was still current on the given date, Chaitra śukla 13, in the following year, Śaka-Saṁvat 452; as well as in Śaka-Saṁvat 451, which is the real equivalent for the given Gupta year. Consequently, this record might be used to support a running difference of two hundred and forty-three years between current Gupta and current Śaka years; as well as the true running difference of two hundred and forty-two years. But this possibility has been disposed of, in my remarks on the date of A., in Gupta-Saṁvat 156, at page 108 above.

¹ For this same reason, probably, the given date was specially selected for making the grant; since, the commencement of a *saṁvatsara* is regarded by Hindus as a very auspicious occasion.

On the analogy of the Kaira grant of Dharasēna IV. of the year 330, and with a year beginning either with the month Kārttika, or with the month Mārgaśīrsha, next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year, the given date of Chaitra śukla 13, in Gupta-Saṁvat 209, would still belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 451. But the results for the dates of both A. and C. above, at pages 108 and 115, disprove the possibility of our being concerned with the scheme of the southern Vikrama year, beginning with the month Kārttika next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year. And the result for the date of C. also disproves the possibility of our being concerned with a year, northern or southern, beginning with the month Mārgaśīrsha next before the commencement of the northern Śaka year.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṁvatsara* did not commence till Āśvina śukla 3 of Śaka-Saṁvat 451 current, corresponding to Saturday, the 2nd September, A.D. 528; and consequently it was not current on the given date. The *saṁvatsara* then current was Mahā-Bhādrapada, which commenced on Bhādrapada kṛishṇa 11 of Śaka-Saṁvat 450, corresponding to Tuesday, the 7th September, A.D. 527.

With General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 166-67, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 298 current; and its English equivalent would be Monday, the 2nd March, A.D. 375. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Vaiśākha kṛishṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 297, corresponding to Wednesday, the 26th March, A.D. 374; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 27th March. His longitude then was $355^{\circ} 11'$. By all three systems, he was then in Rēvatī; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Āśvayuja. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Jyēsthā kṛishṇa 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 298, corresponding to Sunday, the 3rd May, A.D. 375; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 4th May. His longitude then was $31^{\circ} 49'$. By all three systems, he was then in Kṛittikā; and the *saṁvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Kārttika. Accordingly, with this epoch, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṁvatsara* was current on the given date. This, however, is a mere coincidence. As we have seen at page 109 above, there is the same coincidence in respect of the date of A.; but it does not occur in respect of B. and C.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṁvatsara* commenced on Srāvaṇa kṛishṇa 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 297 current, corresponding to Monday, the 23rd June, A.D. 374; and it was followed by Mahā-Kārttika on Āshāḍha śukla 4 of Śaka-Saṁvat 298, corresponding to Friday, the 19th June, A.D. 375. Accordingly, with this epoch, and by this system also, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṁvatsara* was current on the given date.

With Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch of A.D. 190-91, the given date would belong to Śaka-Saṁvat 322 current; and its English equivalent would be Sunday, the 6th March,

A.D. 399. Here Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Vaiśākha śukla 3 of Śaka-Saṃvat 321, corresponding to Tuesday, the 6th April, A.D. 398; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 7th April. His longitude then was $5^{\circ} 28'$. By all three systems, he was then in Aśvinī; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Āśvayuja. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āshāḍha kṛishṇa 7 of Śaka-Saṃvat 322, corresponding to Friday, the 13th May, A.D. 399; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 14th May. His longitude then was $41^{\circ} 42'$. By all three systems, he was then in Rôhiṇī; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Kārttika. Accordingly, with this epoch also, the Mahâ-Āśvayuja saṃvatsara was current on the given date. This again, however, is a mere coincidence. And again, though there is the same coincidence in respect of the date of A., it does not occur in respect of B. and C.

By the mean-sign system, the Mahâ-Āśvayuja *saṃvatsara* commenced on Chaitra śukla 10 of Śaka-Saṃvat 321 current, corresponding to Sunday, the 14th March, A.D. 398; and it was followed by Mahâ-Kārttika on Vaiśākha kṛishṇa 2 of Śaka-Saṃvat 322, corresponding to Thursday, the 10th March, A.D. 399. Accordingly, with this epoch again, and by this system also, the Mahâ-Āśvayuja saṃvatsara was current on the given date.

E.—The Bhumarâ Pillar Inscription.

The last inscription of this series is the Bhumarâ pillar inscription of the Mahârâjas Hastin and Śarvanâtha, No. 24, page 110; in which the date (line 7 ff.) is — Mahâ-Māghê saṃvatsarê Kārttika-mâsa divasa 10 9,—“in the Mahâ-Māgha *saṃvatsara*; the month Kārttika; the (solar) day 10 (and) 9.”

This gives us, for calculation, the Mahâ-Māgha saṃvatsara, as current on the nineteenth solar day of the month Kārttika (October-November); but the current year of the Gupta era is not given. The only guide, therefore, in determining the approximate Gupta year, for which the calculations should be made, is the fact that this inscription shows that the Parivrâjaka Mahârâja Hastin was, at the time of this record, contemporaneous with the Mahârâja Śarvanâtha of Uchchakalpa. For the Mahârâja Hastin, we have the extreme recorded dates of Gupta-Saṃvat 156 and 191; while, for the Mahârâja Śarvanâtha, we have similarly the dates of the years 193 and 214; and for his father, Jayanâtha, the latest date of the year 177, all of which may have to be referred to the Gupta era. If so, the Mahâ-Māgha saṃvatsara in question,—on the assumption that what should be its regular place in the series was not affected by any omissions and repetitions, subsequent to the Mahâ-Vaiśākha saṃvatsara which was current on Kārttika śukla 3 in Gupta-Saṃvat 156,—must be found in or about Gupta-Saṃvat 189 or 201; with a preference in favour of the year 189, because of the early date of the year 156 for the Mahârâja Hastin.

For Gupta-Samvat $189 + 242 = \text{Śaka-Samvat } 431$ current, the given date, *viz.* the nineteenth day of the month Kārttika, corresponds to Monday, the 13th October, A.D. 508. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. E1) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Śrāvaṇa śukla 15 of the same year, Śaka-Samvat 431, corresponding to Monday, the 28th July, A.D. 508; or, by the English calendar, on Tuesday, the 29th July. His longitude then was $117^{\circ} 4'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Maghā; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Māgha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āśvina kṛishṇa 13 of Śaka-Samvat 432, corresponding to Saturday, the 29th August, A.D. 509; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, the 30th August. His longitude then was $147^{\circ} 49'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Uttarā-Phalgunī; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, in Gupta-Samvat 189, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara was current on the given date. And this result gives Śaka-Samvat 431 current (A.D. 508-509), as the equivalent of the possible current Gupta year.

Again, for Gupta-Samvat $201 + 242 = \text{Śaka-Samvat } 443$ current, the given date, *viz.* the nineteenth day of the month Kārttika, corresponds to Friday, the 2nd October, A.D. 520. Here, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds (see Table IV. page 105 above, Col. E2) that Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Bhādrapada śukla 3 of the same year, Śaka-Samvat 443, corresponding to Sunday, the 2nd August, A.D. 520; or by the English calendar, on Monday, the 3rd August. His longitude then was $121^{\circ} 30'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Maghā; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Māgha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āśvina kṛishṇa 1 of Śaka-Samvat 444, corresponding to Friday, the 3rd September, A.D. 521; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 4th September. His longitude then was $152^{\circ} 17'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Uttarā-Phalgunī; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, in Gupta-Samvat 201 also, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara was current on the given date. And this result gives Śaka-Samvat 443 current (A.D. 520-21), as the equivalent of the possible current Gupta year.

The results for these two years, Gupta-Samvat 189 and 201, answer, as is required, to the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years. But they do not, in themselves, prove it; for the reason that the current Gupta year itself is not mentioned in the record. The important point is, that in neither of these two cycles was the Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara omitted.

If the dates in the grants of the *Mahārājās* of Uchchakalpa are to be referred to the Kalachuri era,¹ then the Mahā-Māgha *saṃvatsara* of this record will be earlier by either one or two cycles than the first of the two years given above. Here, again, in respect of the actual epoch no absolute proof can be derived from this record; and the only important point is, to ascertain that the Mahā-Māgha *saṃvatsara* was not omitted in either of the two cycles in question. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, in Gupta-Saṃvat 165 + 242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 407 current, Jupiter's rising took place on Śrāvaṇa śukla 10, corresponding to Thursday, the 19th July, A.D. 484; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 20th July. His longitude then was 108° 19'. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Āślēshā; and the *saṃvatsara* which then began, and which was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year, must have been named **Mahā-Māgha**. Again, in Gupta-Saṃvat 177 + 242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 419 current, Jupiter's rising took place on Bhādrapada kṛishṇa 13, corresponding to Wednesday, the 24th July, A.D. 496; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 25th July. His longitude then was 112° 48'. By the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, he was then in Maghā, and by the Garga system, in Āślēshā; and, by both systems, the *saṃvatsara* which then began, and which was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year, must have been named **Mahā-Māgha**. Therefore, by both the systems of unequal spaces, in Gupta-Saṃvat 165 and 177 also, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between current Gupta and current Śaka years, **the Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara was current on the given date**, and was not omitted. And these results give either Śaka-Saṃvat 407 current (A.D. 484-85) or 419 current (A.D. 496-97), as the equivalent of the possible current Gupta year.

By the mean-sign system, in Gupta-Saṃvat 166 + 242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 408 current, the Mahā-Māgha *saṃvatsara* commenced on Chaitra śukla 5, corresponding to Thursday, the 7th March, A.D. 485; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttika in the same year; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Chaitra śukla 12 of Śaka-Saṃvat 409, corresponding to Monday, the 3rd March, A.D. 486. Again, in Gupta-Saṃvat 177 + 242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 419 current, the Mahā-Māgha *saṃvatsara* commenced on Phālguna kṛishṇa 12, corresponding to Thursday, the 16th January, A.D. 497; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttika in Gupta-Saṃvat 178; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Māgha śukla 4 of Śaka-Saṃvat 420, corresponding to Monday, the 12th January, A.D. 498. Again, in Gupta-Saṃvat 189 + 242 = Śaka-Saṃvat 431 current, the Mahā-Māgha *saṃvatsara* commenced on Pausha kṛishṇa 3, corresponding to Wednesday, the 26th November, A.D. 508; and it was current through the whole month of Kārttika in Gupta-Saṃvat 190; being followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Pausha kṛishṇa 9 of Śaka-Saṃvat 432, corresponding to Sunday, the 22nd November,

¹ See page 8 above.

A.D. 509. And thus, by this system also, in Gupta-Saṃvat 166, 178, and 190, the **Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara** was current on the given date. But this was not the case in the next cycle. In Gupta-Saṃvat $201 + 242 = \text{Śaka-Saṃvat } 443$ current, the Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara commenced on Kārttika śukla 9, corresponding to Tuesday, the 6th October, A.D. 520, and falling four, five, or six days after the nineteenth day of the month; and it was followed by Mahā-Phālguna on Kārttika kṛishṇa 1 of Śaka-Saṃvat 444, corresponding to Saturday, the 2nd October, A.D. 521, and falling seventeen, eighteen, or nineteen days before the nineteenth day of the month. And thus, though the given saṃvatsara was not omitted, the given day did not fall within the limits of its duration.

With General Cunningham's epoch of A.D. 166-67, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, for Gupta-Saṃvat $188 + \text{A.D. } 166-67 = \text{A.D. } 354-55 = \text{Śaka-Saṃvat } 277$ current, in which year the English equivalent of the given date would be Saturday, 8th October, A.D. 354, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Bhādrapada kṛishṇa 12 of the same year, Śaka-Saṃvat 277, corresponding to Tuesday, the 2nd August, A.D. 354; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 3rd August. His longitude then was $122^\circ 59'$. By all three systems, he was then in Māgha; and the saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Māgha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āśvina śukla 12 of Śaka-Saṃvat 278, corresponding to Sunday, the 3rd September, A.D. 355; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 4th September. His longitude then was $153^\circ 34'$. By all three systems, he was then in Uttarā-Phalgunī; and the saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna. Accordingly, with this epoch, and with Gupta-Saṃvat 188 as the intended current year, the **Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara** was current on the given date. This result, however, does not help to prove the epoch, because the record does not specify the current Gupta year; and, by taking a different Gupta year, the same result can be obtained for a different epoch.

Again, for Gupta-Saṃvat $199 + \text{A.D. } 166-67 = \text{A.D. } 365-66 = \text{Śaka-Saṃvat } 288$ current, in which year the English equivalent of the given date would be Wednesday, the 5th October, A.D. 365, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Śrāvaṇa śukla 1 of the same year, Śaka-Saṃvat 288, corresponding to Wednesday, the 6th July, A.D. 365; or, by the English calendar, on Thursday, the 7th July. His longitude then was $95^\circ 56'$. By all three systems, he was then in Pushya; and the saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Pausha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Bhādrapada śukla 15 of Śaka-Saṃvat 289, corresponding to Monday, the 7th August, A.D. 366; or, by the English calendar, on Tuesday, the 8th August. His longitude then was $127^\circ 24'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Pūrvā-Phalgunī; and the saṃvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phālguna; the intervening Mahā-Māgha saṃvatsara being omitted. But, by the system of equal spaces, he was

then in Maghâ ; and the Mahâ-Mâgha samvatsara then commenced, and was current on the given date in Gupta-Samvat 200. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Âśvina kṛishṇa 12 of Śaka-Samvat 290, corresponding to Friday, the 7th September, A.D. 367 ; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 8th September. His longitude then was $157^{\circ} 42'$. By all three systems, he was then in Uttarâ-Phalgunî ; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phâlguna ; and it was a repeated samvatsara by the two systems of unequal spaces. but an ordinary samvatsara by the system of equal spaces.

By the mean-sign system, in Gupta-Samvat $188 + \text{A.D. } 166-67 = \text{A.D. } 354-55 = \text{Śaka-Samvat } 277$ current, the Mahâ-Mâgha samvatsara commenced on Âśvina śukla 13, corresponding to Friday, the 16th September, A.D. 354 ; and it was current through the whole month of Kârttika in the same year ; being followed by Mahâ-Phâlguna on Kârttika kṛishṇa 4 of Saka-Samvat 278, corresponding to Tuesday, the 12th September, A.D. 355. And again, in Gupta-Samvat $200 + \text{A.D. } 166-67 = \text{A.D. } 366-67 = \text{Śaka-Samvat } 289$ current, the Mahâ-Mâgha samvatsara commenced on Bhâdrapada śukla 3, corresponding to Thursday, the 27th July, A.D. 366 ; and it was current through the whole month of Kârttika in the same year ; being followed by Mahâ-Phâlguna on Śrâvâṇa śukla 10 of Śaka-Samvat 290, corresponding to Monday, the 23rd July, A.D. 367. And thus, with this epoch, and by this system, the Mahâ-Mâgha samvatsara was current on the given date in Gupta-Samvat 188 and 200. The results, however, do not in themselves prove anything definite as to the proposed epoch ; for the reason that the current Gupta year itself is not mentioned in the record : and by taking different Gupta years, the same results would be obtained with a different epoch.

With Sir E. Clive Bayley's epoch of A.D. 190-91, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, for Gupta-Samvat $187 + \text{A.D. } 190-91 = \text{A.D. } 377-78 = \text{Śaka-Samvat } 300$ current, in which year the English equivalent of the given date would be Sunday, the 22nd October, A.D. 377, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Bhâdrapada kṛishṇa 4, of the same year, Śaka-Samvat 300, corresponding to Tuesday, the 11th July, A.D. 377 ; or, by the English calendar, on Wednesday, the 12th July. His longitude then was $100^{\circ} 32'$. By all three systems, he was then in Pushya ; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Pausha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Bhâdrapada śukla 3 of Śaka-Samvat 301, corresponding to Sunday, the 12th August, A.D. 378 ; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 13th August. His longitude then was $131^{\circ} 50'$. By both the systems of unequal spaces, he was then in Pûrvâ-Phalgunî ; and the samvatsara which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phâlguna ; the intervening Mahâ-Mâgha samvatsara being omitted. But, by the system of equal spaces, he was then in Maghâ ; and the Mahâ-Mâgha samvatsara then commenced, and was current on the given date in Gupta-Samvat 188. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Âśvina śukla 15 of Saka-Samvat 302, corresponding to Thursday, the 12th September.

A.D. 379; or, by the English calendar, on Friday, the 13th September. His longitude then was $162^{\circ} 0'$. By all three systems, he was then in Hasta; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phâlguna; and it was a repeated *samvatsara* by the two systems of unequal spaces, but an ordinary *samvatsara* by the system of equal spaces.

Again, in Gupta-Samvat 199 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 389-90 = Śaka-Samvat 312 current, in which year the English equivalent of the given date would be Wednesday, the 10th October, A.D. 389, Jupiter's rising, next before the given date, took place on Śrâvaṇa śukla 6 of the same year, Śaka-Samvat 312, corresponding to Sunday, the 15th July, A.D. 389; or, by the English calendar, on Monday, the 16th July. His longitude then was $104^{\circ} 51'$. By all three systems, he was then in Pushya; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Pausha. Jupiter's next following rising took place on Āśvina kṛishṇa 4 of Śaka-Samvat 313, corresponding to Friday, the 16th August, A.D. 390; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, the 17th August. His longitude then was $135^{\circ} 57'$. By all three systems, he was then in Pûrvâ-Phalgunî; and the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahâ-Phâlguna; the intervening Mahâ-Mâgha *samvatsara* being omitted.

By the mean-sign system, in Gupta-Samvat 188 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 378-79 = Śaka-Samvat 301 current, the Mahâ-Mâgha *samvatsara* commenced on Āshâḍha kṛishṇa 10, corresponding to Wednesday, the 6th June, A.D. 378; and it was current through the whole month of Kârttika in the same year; being followed by Mahâ-Phâlguna on Āshâḍha śukla 1 of Śaka-Samvat 302, corresponding to Sunday, the 2nd June, A.D. 379. Again, in Gupta-Samvat 200 + A.D. 190-91 = A.D. 390-91 = Śaka-Samvat 313 current, the Mahâ-Mâgha *samvatsara* commenced on Jyêshṭha kṛishṇa 2, corresponding to Wednesday, the 17th April, A.D. 390; and it was current through the whole month of Kârttika in the same year; being followed by Mahâ-Phâlguna on Jyêshṭha kṛishṇa 8 of Śaka-Samvat 314, corresponding to Sunday, the 13th April, A.D. 391. And thus, with this epoch also, and by this system, the Mahâ-Mâgha *samvatsara* was current on the given date in Gupta-Samvat 188 and 200. But here, again, the results do not in themselves prove anything definite as to the proposed epoch; for the reason that the current Gupta year itself is not mentioned in the record; and, by taking different Gupta years, the same results would be obtained with a different epoch.

Summary of Results.

I have now examined all the dates, at present known, referable to the Gupta-Valabhi era, that furnish details for computation. And it only remains to sum up the results established by the preceding inquiries.

Albêrûnî tells us that there was an era, known both as the Gupta era and the Valabhi era, the years of which were to be converted into years of the Śaka era by

adding, according to his most explicit statement, two hundred and forty-one years to the Gupta-Valabhî dates. This fixes the starting-point of the era, approximately, as having occurred when Śaka-Saṃvat 241 had expired, and, by the epoch of the well-known Śaka era, when A.D. 319-20 was current; leaving only the determination of the exact epoch by the calculation of recorded dates. And, as regards a special point in his statements, of extreme importance, with the help of Prof. Wright, we have now obtained a translation which,—if it does not actually mean only that the Early Gupta kings had exercised so powerful a sway that, even when their dynasty came to an end, the era that had been used by them still continued in use,—is yet fully capable of that interpretation. At any rate, this translation frees us from the obligation under which we lay, by reason of M. Reinaud's rendering of the same passage, of connecting the establishment of an era with the extermination of the dynasty, and of placing the period of the Early Gupta supremacy anterior to A.D. 319, and the termination of it in that year. And the most that can be said against it, is, that it is the literal rendering of an ambiguous original, the real meaning of which must be determined by extraneous considerations.

The Mandasôr inscription of Mâlava-Saṃvat 529 expired shews that we must look to somewhere about A.D. 319 for the starting-point of the era in which are recorded the dynastic dates of Kumâragupta and the other kings of the Early Gupta dynasty, and any others that are to be referred to the same uniform series with them.

The dates in the records of the Early Guptas themselves, as far as the time of Skandagupta, do not afford details for computation. But, clearly belonging to the same uniform series of years, is the date contained in **the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta**. And converting this date into a Śaka date, in the manner indicated by Albêrûnî, we have found that, the resulting Śaka year being taken as an expired year, the details work out quite correctly.

Such dates, also, are those contained in **the records of the Parivrâjaka Mahârâjas**; which, moreover, include a specific declaration that the Gupta sovereignty was then still continuing. And, calculating them in precisely the manner that is indicated by the results for the date in the Êraṇ pillar inscription, we have obtained equally correct and uniform results. Also, the latest of these records, the Khôh grant of the *Mahârâja* Saṃkshôbha, No. 25, page 112, shews that the Gupta sovereignty continued for at least two hundred and nine years. And this fact is amply sufficient to explain why,—whatever may have been its historical origin,—the era used in all these records should eventually come to be popularly known as the Gupta era.

Such dates, again, are those contained in **the inscriptions of Śivadêva I. and Mânadêva of Nêpâl**. And, that the first of them is recorded in the era in question, is shewn by the dates, in the Harsha era, for Amśuvarman, the contemporary of Śivadêva I.; while, with the same treatment, the details of the second of them work out quite correctly.

Such another date is that contained in the *Môrbî grant of Jâinika*. And the details of this, again, work out correctly with the same treatment.

Such a series of dates, too, is that contained in the records of the *Valabhî family*. And, with a slight modification, due to a change in the scheme of the year, easily explainable, the same treatment gives correct results for the date in the *Kaira grant of Dharasēna IV.* of this family, of the year 330; the only one, at present, that affords exact details for calculation. Also, these records give us a succession of twelve generations, commencing with the *Sēnāpati Bhaṭārka*, and ending with king *Śīlāditya VII.*, with dates ranging from the year 207 to the year 447. For the first six or seven generations, the members of this family were only feudatory *Sēnāpatīs* and *Mahārājas*, without the authority to establish an era of their own. And, as a matter of fact, the date of the year 207 for the *Mahārāja Dhruvasēna I.*, in the second generation, proves that the era did not run from the rise to power of his father *Bhaṭārka*, the founder of the family, but must have been adopted from some outside source. While, on the other hand, the long duration of this family, coupled with the fact that several of their charters were issued from the city of *Valabhî* itself,¹ and all of them belong either to that vicinity or to the neighbouring parts of *Gujarāt*, is amply sufficient to explain why the era used by them should eventually come to be popularly known, in those parts, as the *Valabhî era*.

And, finally, undeniable instances of the actual use of an era known as the *Valabhî era*, as late as the thirteenth century A.D., are furnished by the *Verāwal inscriptions* dated in *Valabhî-Samvat* 927 and 945. For the details of the earlier of these two dates, correct results can be obtained by applying the same slightly anomalous treatment that applies to the date in the *Kaira grant of Dharasēna IV.* of the year 330. The latter of them, however, goes far beyond this. Not only does it fix the epoch of the era approximately, and in accordance with *Albêrûnî's* statement, through the concomitant mention of the equivalent *Vikrama* and *Hijra* years; but also the details of it are such as to prove that the epoch of the era was exactly when *Śaka-Samvat* 241 had expired, and A.D. 319-20 was current. And it has furnished, in fact, the exact analogy, in accordance with which all dates in the *Gupta-Valabhî era*, that follow the true and original northern scheme of its years, have to be tested.

All this uniform agreement of results cannot be attributed to mere coincidence. But we must take it now, as a settled matter, that all the dates in question belong to one and the same era, running from the epoch of A.D. 319-20. And, irrespective of the question

¹ e.g. the grants of *Dhruvasēna I.*, of the year 207 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 204); of *Guharēna*, of the year 248 (*id.* Vol. V. p. 206, and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 93); of *Dharasēna II.*, of the year 252 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 68; Vol. VIII. p. 301; Vol. XV. p. 187; and No. 30 below. p. 164); of *Śīlāditya I.*, of the year 286 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 359, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 327), and of the year 290 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 237); of *Dhruvasēna II.*, of the year 310 (*id.* Vol. VI. p. 12); and of *Dharasēna IV.*, of the year 326 (*id.* Vol. I. p. 14, and *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 66).

whether the era was actually established by the Early Guptas themselves, we must refer the rise of the Early Gupta power to somewhere about A.D. 319, instead of placing the period of their supremacy anterior to that year, and their downfall in it.

A few concluding words, however, seem necessary as to the exact years of the Christian era, which represent respectively the epoch or year 0, and the commencement or first current year, of the Gupta-Valabhî era.

Taking the years quoted in the records without qualification, as current years, we have obtained the following results,¹—by the Êran pillar inscription of Budhagupta, Gupta-Samvat 165 current = A.D. 484-85 current;² by the Parivrâjaka grants, 156 current = A.D. 475-76 current,³ 163 current = A.D. 482-83 current,⁴ 191 current = A.D. 510-11 current,⁵ and 209 current = A.D. 528-29 current;⁶ by the Nêpâl inscription of Mânadêva, 386 current = A.D. 705-706 current;⁷ and by the Verâwal inscription of Arjunadêva, 945 current = A.D. 1264-65 current.⁸ And all these equations give the uniform result of Gupta-Valabhî-Samvat 0 = A.D. 319-20 current, or more precisely, by the Śaka year, the period⁹ from the 9th March, A.D. 319, to the 25th February, A.D. 320; and Gupta-Valabhî-Samvat 1 current = A.D. 320-21 current, or more precisely, by the Saka year, the period from the 26th February, A.D. 320, to the 15th March, A.D. 321.

The results obtained from the Kaira grant of the year 330 and the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Samvat 927, differ slightly from the above, and are—Gupta-Valabhî-Samvat 330 current = A.D. 648-49 current,¹⁰ and Valabhî-Samvat 927 current = A.D. 1245-46 current.¹¹ In these two instances the difference is due to a local alteration of the true and

¹ I exclude the Bhumarâ pillar inscription, as proving nothing definite, because the Gupta year is not given in it.

² Or, more precisely, by the Śaka year, as commencing with Chaitra śukla 1, the period (see *Indian Eras*, p. 153) from the 14th March, A.D. 484, to the 2nd March, A.D. 485.—The dates given in these notes are quoted as approximately correct; they may, or may not, be the exact dates.

³ Or, in the same way, the period from the 21st February, A.D. 475, to the 11th March, A.D. 476.

⁴ Or, in the same way, the period from the 6th March, A.D. 482, to the 22nd February, A.D. 483.

⁵ Or, in the same way, the period from the 25th February, A.D. 510, to the 15th March, A.D.

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⁶ Or, in the same way, the period from the 8th March, A.D. 528, to the 24th February, A.D. 529.

⁷ Or, in the same way, the period from the 1st March, A.D. 705, to the 20th March, A.D. 706.

⁸ Or, in the same way, the period from the 1st March, A.D. 1264, to the 19th March, A.D. 1265.

⁹ Here I owe the initial and ending dates, which it was desirable to have exactly, to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit.

¹⁰ Or, more precisely, by the southern Vikrama year, as commencing with Kârttika śukla 1, the period (see C. Patell's *Chronology*, p. 122) from the 24th September, A.D. 648, to the 12th October, A.D. 649.

¹¹ Or, in the same way, the period from the 23rd October, A.D. 1245, to the 12th October, A.D. 1246.

original scheme of the Gupta year; made in such a way that each subsequent year commenced with the Kārttika śukla 1 immediately preceding the true commencement of the year with Chaitra śukla 1. And for these two dates, and any that may be found hereafter to belong to the same class, we have to apply the equations of Gupta-Valabhī-Saṁvat 0 = A.D. 318-319 current, or more precisely, by the southern Vikrama year, the period¹ from the 12th October, A.D. 318, to the 30th September, A.D. 319; and Gupta-Valabhī-Saṁvat 1 current = A.D. 319-20 current, or more precisely, by the southern Vikrama year, the period from the 1st October, A.D. 319, to the 18th October, A.D. 320.

These two instances, however, are purely exceptional ones. And, in the case of all dates in the era referable to the true and original scheme of its years, we have to apply the epoch of A.D. 319-20; and to treat the years of the era as northern years, commencing with Chaitra śukla 1.

The equation between the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhī era and the Christian era, is not intrinsically dependent on any reference to the Śaka era; and it could be established directly by European Tables. In this inquiry, however, it has been established through results that have been worked out from Hindu Tables which are arranged for the Śaka era according to expired years; and, in order to use those Tables, the given Gupta-Valabhī years had to be converted into expired Śaka years. The process, however, has not converted the given Gupta-Valabhī years themselves into expired years. But what has been done has simply been, first, by the addition of a uniform running difference, to obtain the current Śaka year corresponding to each given current Gupta-Valabhī year; and then, in the usual way, to take the immediately preceding Śaka year as the expired year that is required as the basis of the calculation. Thus, the details of the date in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, which really belong to Gupta-Saṁvat 165 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 407 current, have been calculated with the basis of Śaka-Saṁvat 406 expired; and the details of the other dates in the same way.

Now, in the case of an era used specially by astronomers for their technical processes, as the Śaka era was, since we have to work with expired years, it is natural enough that the Tables should be arranged accordingly. And possibly, after a certain period, and in certain parts of India, we may have to interpret any given year of such an era as an expired year, whether it is expressly denoted as such or not.² But the same rule does not hold good in the case of eras that are not actually used for astronomical processes, though they are quoted in connection with details fixed by such processes.

¹ Here, again, I owe the exact dates to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit.

² A clear instance of this is furnished by the date in the Dêôgaḍh inscription of Bhôjadêva (see page 107 above, note 1). By the literal rules of translation, the given Śaka year, 784, has to be interpreted as a current year; but, for the calculation, it has to be applied as an expired year.

Such an era is the Vikrama era.¹ And,—though the expired years of this era might be quoted, as is shewn, for instance, by lines 19 and 21 of the Mandasôr inscription of Mâlava-Samvat 529 expired, No. 18, page 79, and by line 21 of the Kađi grant of Jayantasiinha of Vikrama-Samvat 1280 expired,²—yet, that, occasionally at least, the current years were used, is proved by the Gwâlior Sâsbahû temple inscription of Mahîpâla,³ in which we have first in words, the number of years expired, 1149, and then, partially in words and fully in figures, the number of the current year, 1150. Such an era, again, is the Gupta-Valabhî era; or, at least, we have not as yet obtained the slightest indication of its ever having been used by astronomers as the basis of calculations. And, in the absence of the use of any word meaning “expired” in connection with the year in a Gupta-Valabhî date, it is only reasonable that we should follow the ordinary rules of interpretation, and render the original passage as denoting a current year.

In one instance only, among the Gupta-Valabhî dates at present known, is a word meaning “expired” used in connection with the year. This exceptional instance is the Môrbi grant of Jâinika, in which an eclipse of the sun is recorded as having occurred when the year 585 had passed by. Unfortunately, the month and *tithi*, in and on which the eclipse occurred, are not specified; nor even the week-day. And, as we have seen at page 100 above, it might be possible to identify the solar eclipse of this record with that of the 10th November, A.D. 904. In that case, the given year 585 expired, and the indicated year 586 current, would be equivalent to A.D. 904-905 current. It would then be as an expired year, not a current one, that the year 165 of the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta is equivalent to A.D. 484-85 current; and so on with all the other dates. And we should have to apply, in the case of all dates in the era referable to the true and original scheme of its years, the epoch of A.D. 318-19 current, or more precisely, by the Śaka year, the period⁴ from the 18th February, A.D. 318, to the 8th March, A.D. 319; and, in the case of dates belonging to the same class with those of the Kaira grant of the year 330 and the Veraval inscription of Valabhî-Samvat 927, the epoch of A.D. 317-18 current, or more precisely, by the Vikrama year, the period from the 23rd September, A.D. 317, to the 11th October, A.D. 318. But we have also seen that the solar eclipse in question can be far more satisfactorily identified with that which occurred on the 7th May, A.D. 905; to do which, we have to take the given year 585 expired, and the indicated year 586 current, as equivalent to A.D. 905-906 current. And this record, therefore, furnishes strong and instructive corroboration of my view that, in the absence of

¹ The present Tables of this era, however, seem to be arranged, like those of the Śaka era, according to expired years. And some of the almanacs quoted in Appendix I. below, give them in the same way.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 197.

³ For the full reading and translation of the date see Texts and Translations, page 22, note 5.

⁴ Here, again, I owe the exact initial and ending dates to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit.

any distinct specification to the contrary, we must interpret the years in Gupta-Valabhî dates as current years.

The Origin of the Era.

I have shewn, at page 33 ff. above, that the so-called Gupta era is not one which, due originally to some event occurring only in approximation to A.D. 318, 319, or 320, had its exact epoch determined, for convenience of comparison with the Śaka era, by adopting the expiration of an even number of cycles of the planet Jupiter, either of the Twelve-Year or of the Sixty-Year System. And no other chronological or astronomical considerations suggest themselves, for the selection of the exact epoch that has been proved. **Its origin, therefore, must be found in some historical event, which occurred actually in A.D. 320, or so closely to that time that, when the scheme of the northern Śaka year was applied, the reckoning of the era was not affected to any appreciable extent.** And here, though the point is not conclusive either way, we must bear in mind that, as has been shewn at page 19 ff. above, in the epigraphical references to the era there is nothing at all, at any early period, to connect the name of the Early Guptas with it, especially as the founders of it; and nothing to connect the name of Valabhî with it, until at least nine centuries after its establishment.

We must also bear in mind that it is certain that **the era cannot have been established by any member of the Valabhî family;** the reasons for this being —(1) that, for the first six or seven generations, the members of this family were mere feudatory *Sénâpatis* and *Mahârâjas*, without the authority to establish an era of their own; —and (2) that the date of the year 207 for the *Mahârâja* Dhruvasêna I., in the second generation, proves that the reckoning runs from long before the first rise to power of his father, the *Sénâpati* Bhaṭârka, by whom the family was founded.

In the same way, the first two members of the Early Gupta family, Gupta and Ghaṭôt-kacha, held only the feudatory rank of *Mahârâja*, and had not the authority to establish an era. The first paramount sovereign in the family was Ghaṭôt-kacha's son, Chandragupta I. And, if a Gupta era, truly and properly so called, was devised in his time, then as its starting-point there would have been selected the commencement of his reign, not the date of the rise to power of his first recorded ancestor, the *Mahârâja* Gupta; as was done in the case of the Harsha era, which disregards, not only two generations of *Mahârâjas* at the commencement of the genealogy, but even the reigns of two kings, Prabhâkaravardhana and Râjyavardhana II., and runs from the commencement of the reign of the third paramount sovereign, Harshavardhana himself. So, also, when the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI. established a new era under the name of the Châlukya-Vikrama-Kâla,¹ he disregarded the reigns of all his ancestors. and made the era date from his own accession

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 187 ff.

to the throne. The dates in the Early Gupta records shew clearly that the Gupta era, cannot, under any circumstances, run from the accession of any member of the dynasty later than Chandragupta I. And there are essential difficulties, under any normal conditions, in the way of making the era date from the commencement of his reign; *i.e.* of taking A.D. 320-21 as his first current year. For his great-grandson, Kumāragupta, we have dates in the era, ranging from the year 96 to the year 130 odd;¹ of which we may take, as the latest certain one,² that of the year 129, recorded in the Mankuār inscription, No. 11, page 45. And, as we ought to assume that Chandragupta I. was at least twenty years old when his reign commenced, this gives us a period of a hundred and forty-nine years, which, spread over four generations, gives to each a duration of thirty-seven years and a quarter, or nearly half as much again as the usually accepted average maximum rate of twenty-five years for a Hindu generation. This, too, is only dealing with the question of generations. If we take the period of a hundred and twenty-nine years only, from the commencement of the reign of Chandragupta I. to nearly the end of that of Kumāragupta,—which gives an average of thirty-two years and a quarter for each of the four reigns,—then, as compared with the average duration, twenty years at the outside, of a Hindu reign, the excess is still more remarkable. And almost exactly the same results are obtained, if, instead of considering four generations and reigns, down to the end of the time of Kumāragupta, we take the latest certain date³ of Chandragupta II., *vis.* the year 93 given in the Sāñchi inscription, No. 5, page 29, and spread the period of ninety-three years over three reigns, or, on the same assumption as regards the age of Chandragupta I., the period of a hundred and thirteen years over three generations. On the question of generations, I will not base any particularly special objection. An analogy for an abnormal average rate might be deduced from the Western Chālukya genealogy,⁴ in which we have Śāka-Saṃvat⁵ 930 for the commencement of the reign of Vikramāditya V., and Śāka-Saṃvat 1060 for the end of the reign, and it may safely be assumed the death, of Sôṃêśvara III. in the third generation after him. If we take it that Vikramāditya V. was twenty years old in Śāka-Saṃvat 930, we have one hundred and fifty years for the four generations; or an average of thirty-seven years and a half for each. But, from Śāka-Saṃvat 930 to 1060, there were six reigns; with an average of twenty-five years, or seven less than we

¹ See page 67 above.

² And it must be very nearly his latest date; for, he had then been reigning for at least thirty-three full years, and we have the date of the year 136 for his son and successor, Skandagupta.—The selection of any later date would, of course, only intensify the force of the argument.

³ The silver coins (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 65 f.) seem to give the year 94 or 95; but the latest absolutely certain date is the one that I quote. Here again, the adoption of a later date would only strengthen the argument.

⁴ See my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 18, Table.

⁵ The exact year was doubtful when I wrote the book referred to in the preceding note; but it has now been established by the Kauthêṃ grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 15 ff.)

should have to allot to each of the four Early Gupta kings in question. And even this result is due chiefly to the extraordinarily long reign of Vikramāditya VI., for fifty-two years, from Śāka-Saṃvat 997 to 1048. If we take the whole period of the Western Chālukya dynasty, covering one hundred and ninety years, from Śāka-Saṃvat 895, the first year of Taila II., down to Śāka-Saṃvat 1084, as the end of the reign and the death of Taila III.,¹ we have ten reigns, with an average duration of just nineteen years each. An average of thirty-two years for four successive reigns of Hindu fathers and sons, seems, from every point of view, an impossibility. And this prevents our making the Gupta era run from the commencement of the reign of Chandragupta I. We must, therefore, accept it as certain that the Early Guptas only adopted the era of some other dynasty. And we must look for its origin to some extraneous source.

Now, it is evident that the Early Guptas rose to power first as feudatory Mahārājas, the third of whom, Chandragupta I., while holding that same rank, established his independence; so that, his successors maintaining the same position, the paramount titles, and not his original feudatory title, are always coupled with his name in the genealogical passages in their records. And, from the Mahārāja Gupta down to Kumāragupta, we have two feudatory governments and four reigns; which, at the average rate of twenty years, almost fill up the period indicated by the latest certain date for Kumāragupta, and, by a coincidence, place the commencement of the government of the Mahārāja Gupta very near to A.D. 320. If, then, we could determine the paramount sovereign of whom the Mahārāja Gupta was a feudatory, we should have in him the founder of the era; provided we could only shew that his successors also dated their records in it. And the only difficulty then remaining, would be,—When Chandragupta I. and his descendants had asserted themselves as independent sovereigns, by rebellion against their masters, why should they continue to use a purely dynastic era, which had only been running for a short time and had certainly not become an astronomical era, and which would always remind them of the originally subordinate status of their ancestors; instead of establishing a new era of their own, or instead of adopting some well-known era, of general use, which could evoke no reminiscence of a humiliating kind?² The Early Gupta records, however, throw no light on this point; nor can we expect any, unless we obtain inscriptions of the time of the Mahārājas Gupta and Ghaṭōtkacha, or of the early years of Chandragupta I. And at

¹ I exclude the short reign of Sōmēśvara IV., from Śāka-Saṃvat 1104 to about 1111, because there had been meanwhile an interruption of the Western Chālukya power by the Kalachuris of the Dekkan.

² An objection of this sort does not apply to the use of the Gupta era by the Valabhi family. The *Sēnāpati* Bhaṭārka drove out the invaders who had overthrown the Gupta sovereignty in Western India; and may possibly have been himself the feudatory of some descendant of the original Gupta stock. And when Dharaśēna IV. became a paramount sovereign, it was on the disruption of the Kanauj kingdom. At neither point was there any reason for the members of this family to feel any aversion to the Gupta era.

present, in connection with India itself, we know of no king the commencement of whose reign can with any certainty be referred to A.D. 320; and of no historical event to which we can safely allot that date. Nor, while the Early Gupta sovereignty continued, is there any indication of the Gupta era having been used, in India, by any other independent dynasty. The nearest approximation to the year in question that we have, is in the case of the Kalachuri dynasty of Central India; in respect of which certain points in the records of the Parivrajaka *Mahārājas* and the *Mahārājas* of Uchchakalpa do tend to support the actual existence, in the Early Gupta period, of a Kalachuri era, and, consequently, of Kalachuri kings under some earlier name.¹ The Kalachuri dates, however, certainly cannot be referred to the Gupta epoch. And circumstances indicate that the dominion of the Kalachuri kings, at that time, was confined entirely to the more eastern parts of Central India; so that they were only contemporaries of the northern dynasty of which the Early Guptas were at first the servants. Mr. Fergusson's opinion,² again, was in the direction of the era being established, with the foundation of Valabhi as a new capital of Western India, by the Andhra king Gôtamiputra, whom he placed³ between A.D. 312 and 333; the *Mahārāja* Gupta being a feudatory of him or of one of his immediate successors. But the chronology of the Andhras,—who, at the best, seem to have been too essentially a western and southern dynasty to be concerned in any leading way with the history of Northern India,—still remains to be finally determined. And Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, who has given more consideration to the subject than any one else as yet, places Gôtamiputra about two centuries earlier,⁴ in the period A.D. 133 to 154; and, according to his view of the early chronology, we should have to refer the establishment of the Gupta era to some event connected with either the downfall of the Kshatrapas of Saurāshtra or the history of the Rāshtrakūṭas of the Dekkan. The Kshatrapas, however, certainly did not use the Gupta era. And there is not the slightest particle of evidence that the Rāshtrakūṭas ever had an era of their own. There can be but little doubt that the real paramount lords of the *Mahārājas* Gupta and Ghaṭōtkacha, and at first of Chandragupta I. himself, were some of the later Indo-Seythian kings of Northern India, whose duration is certain at any rate up to the time of Samudragupta. These Indo-Seythian kings must have used the Śaka era. But this era, again, had not then become an astronomical era;⁵ and there was, therefore, no special inducement for the Early Guptas to adopt it; but, on the contrary, there was an objection of the kind already indicated. Further, the Vikrama era was not an astronomical era; and the use of it, in those days, under the name of the Mālava era, was probably confined to the different sections of the Mālava tribe, and to territories of which no part was brought under the Early Gupta sway until the time of Samudragupta. And, finally, the Kaliyuga era in all probability was used only

¹ See page 8 ff. above.

² *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. IV. p. 128 f.

⁴ *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 27.

³ *id.* p. 122.

⁵ See Appendix I. below

by the astronomers of Ujjain, for purely technical purposes; and was not known at all in the territories in which the Early Guptas first rose to power. In fact, **in India itself there was no already existing era which would recommend itself to the Early Guptas.** And we have next to inquire whether there may have been any such era, beyond the limits of India proper.

By a comparison of the dates of Sivadēva I. and Amśuvarman, at page 95 f. above, I have already shewn, in a general way, that **the Gupta era was in use beyond the north-eastern frontier of India, in Nêpâl;** a fact which is duly corroborated by the results for the date in the inscription of Mānadēva, of the year 386. We must, therefore, now see what more particular information can be gathered from the epigraphical records of that country.¹

¹ And here we may note that the Kings of Valabhî can have had nothing to do either with the introduction of an era into Nêpâl, or with the borrowing of an era from that country. As I have already had occasion to remark, the members of the Valabhî family, for the first six or seven generations inclusive of Bhaṭārka, were mere feudatory *Sēnāpatis* and *Mahārājas*; and these members of the family, at any rate, cannot possibly have conquered Nêpâl, or even have extended their territory up to the confines of that country. The first of the family who claimed to be a paramount sovereign is Dharasēna IV., with the dates of 326 and 330; and with the titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, in common with all his successors, and also with that of *Chakravartin*, which, not being assumed by any of his successors, may perhaps indicate that his power was more extensive than theirs ever was. Now, in passing; if we refer his first date of 326 to the epoch of A.D. 319-20, the result, A.D. 645-46, brings us to a very suitable period indeed for him to assume the position and titles of a paramount sovereign; *vis.* to the commencement of the anarchy which, as Matwan-lin tells us (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 20) attended the death of Hārshavardhana, "the warlike lord of all the region of the north." It ended in the complete disruption, for the time, of the kingdom of Kanauj. Amśuvarman became paramount in Nêpâl, and Ādityasēna in Magadha; and the opportunity was of course taken advantage of by Dharasēna IV., to assert his independence in the west of India. But, to say nothing of the improbability of the thing on other grounds, the fact that Amśuvarman became king of Nêpâl, is in itself enough to prevent our admitting the possibility of a conquest of that country by Dharasēna IV. Referring the same date of 326 to the three earlier proposed epochs, we have respectively A.D. 403, 492, and 516. For these periods there is, perhaps, no particular objection to our assuming, for the sake of argument, that Dharasēna IV. may have extended his power over a considerable portion of Northern India, in the parts nearer to Kāthiāwād and Gujarāt. But the Valabhî charters, in which a conquest so extensive as that of the whole of Northern India up to Nêpâl, or inclusive of that country, would most certainly have been recorded, give not the slightest hint of any such event at any time in the history of the family. In fact, with the exception of the allusion to the overthrow of the Maitrakas by Bhaṭārka, they give absolutely no detailed information at all in connection with any of the successes claimed by the members of this family; which tends to shew very plainly that, from beginning to end, the Valabhî power was purely local. And, in connection with the earlier proposed epochs, even if Dharasēna IV. did conquer Nêpâl, or Northern India up to the frontier of Nêpâl, and did introduce there the era of A.D. 319-20, the question still remains, and cannot be answered,—Why should he act with such extreme inconsistency as to introduce there this era, which, according to those who have sought to establish those epochs, was not brought into actual use in his own territory; instead of the Gupta era which he himself, and his successors, continued to employ for all the official purposes of their own kingdom?

In Appendix IV. below, I give an account of such of the inscriptions from Nêpâl as have any bearing on the question now under consideration. The actual dates of them range from A.D. 635 to 854; and give a fairly clear idea of the history of the reigning families of the country during that period. They shew two separate houses, ruling contemporaneously, and mostly on equal terms; and each preserving certain distinctive characteristics of its own. One of them was a family, the name of which is not mentioned in the inscriptions, but which in the *Vamśāvali* is called the Thākuri family, issuing its charters from the house or palace called Kailāsakūṭabhavana, and uniformly using the Harsha era. The other was the Lichchhavi family, distinctly so named in the inscriptions, and in the *Vamśāvali* allotted to the Sūryavamśa or solar lineage, issuing its charters from the house or palace called Mānagriha, and uniformly using an era with the Gupta epoch.

That the Lichchhavi clan or tribe was one of great antiquity and power, in the direction of Nêpâl, is shown by the writings of Fa-Hien and Hiuen-Tsiang,¹ which connect them with events that preceded the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha. No exception, therefore, need be taken to the general outlines of the long account in one of the inscriptions, which, so far as the Nêpâl branch of the tribe is concerned, gives us the first really historical member of it in the person of Jayadêva I., who, by the ordinary allowance of time for each Hindu generation, must be referred to the period A.D. 330 to 355.

Proof of friendly relations between the Early Guptas and the Lichchhavis, at an early time, is given by the marriage of Chandragupta I. with Kumâradêvi, the daughter of Lichchhavi or of a Lichchhavi king. And, that the Lichchhavis were then at least of equal rank and power with the Early Guptas, is shown by the pride in this alliance manifested by the latter; exhibited in the careful record of the names of Kumâradêvi, and of her father or her family, on some of the gold coins of Chandragupta I., and by the uniform application of the epithet, "daughter's son of Lichchhavi or of a Lichchhavi," to Samudragupta in the genealogical inscriptions. Again, the Allahâbâd pillar inscription shews that, even if Samudragupta did not make Nêpâl a tributary province, his kingdom extended up to the confines of that country.

There can be no doubt that the Early Guptas must have known the nature and origin of whatever era was being used by their Lichchhavi connections in Nêpâl. And the period established for Jayadêva I. approximates so closely to A.D. 320-21, that it needs but little adjustment to place the commencement of his reign actually in that year. This arrangement would give a perfectly intelligible reason for the origin of the era, which was clung to so persistently by his descendants that they continued the use of it for at least two centuries after the introduction of the Harsha era into

¹ See Legge's *Travels of Fa-Hien*, pp. 71, 76; Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I. pp. xiii. lii. lv. and Vol. II. pp. 67 note, 70, 73, 77 note, 81.

Nêpâl, and its acceptance by their immediate neighbours, the Ṭhākuri family of Kailâsa-kûṭabhavana. And no objection could be taken by the Early Gupta kings to the adoption of the era of a royal house, in their connection with which they took special pride. I think, therefore, that **in all probability the so-called Gupta era is a Lichchhavi era**, dating either from a time when the republican or tribal constitution of the Lichchhavis was abolished in favour of a monarchy ; or from the commencement of the reign of Jayadêva I., as the founder of a royal house in a branch of the tribe that had settled in Nêpâl. But the question of the origin of the era is one, of course, on which further discoveries, especially if any can be made in Nêpâl, may be expected to throw more light.

J. F. FLEET.

4th November 1887.

APPENDIX I.

A Note on the Epoch and Reckoning of the Śaka Era.

Gen. Sir A. Cunningham's Tables,¹ and Ganpat Krishnaji's and Kero Lakshman Chhatre's almanacs, shew the period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887, as corresponding to Śaka-Saṁvat 1808. So, also, the Sâyana-Pañchâng shews the same period, as corresponding to Śaka-Saṁvat 1808, as the ordinary *nirayana* luni-solar year; the period covered by Śaka-Saṁvat 1808, as a *sâyana* year, being from the 6th March, A.D. 1886, to the 22nd February, A.D. 1887. For all purposes of calculation, however, this Śaka year has to be taken as "the year 1808, expired;" even if² we were working out the very first day of it, Chaitra Śukla 1. The Tables are intended for this application of the number; and there are, in fact, no grounds for doubting that the above period really is equivalent to Śaka-Saṁvat 1808 expired, and 1809 current. But it is quoted, for all ordinary purposes, simply as Śaka-Saṁvat 1808. And, if a Hindu were converting "Saturday, the 1st January, A.D. 1887," into its corresponding Hindu date, he would write down, as the result, "Śakê 1808 Pausha Śukla saptamî Śaṁvâra;" in which, not only does he abstain from including any word meaning "expired," but he actually uses, instead even of the crude form *Śaka*, the Sanskrit locative *Śakê*, which literally means "in Śaka (1808)," *i.e.* "while Śaka 1808 is current;" and this is the meaning which the mention of the year presents to any Hindu who is not an astronomer, and

¹ The proper method of applying his Tables may perhaps be inferred from his remarks (e.g. *Indian Eras*, pp. 5, 48, 52) that the numbers of the years in Hindu dates refer to years actually elapsed; and that the Hindus count only by completed years. But I am speaking of the meaning which the Tables present to a general reader, at first sight. Thus, anyone turning to his Table XVII. p. 199, —to which there is not attached a note that the Hindu years given therein are expired years,—in order to ascertain the Śaka equivalent of A.D. 1886-87, finds Śaka-Saṁvat 1808; and naturally takes it as a current year. So, also, with any similar Tables; e.g. those in Mr. C. Patell's *Chronology*. Such Tables would be much more useful for general purposes, if they shewed the current Hindu years opposite the current Christian years, as is done in the case of the *saṁvatsaras* of the two cycles of Jupiter; leaving it to anyone who has to make a particular calculation, to take the preceding year as the basis of his work. And, in ordinary writing, the current Hindu years should certainly be quoted with the current Christian years.

² Unless with Tables based on the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*, or entrance of the sun into Aries, as Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables are; in which the Śaka year is practically treated as commencing with the day of the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti*. With such Tables, for any *tithi* connected with Śaka-Saṁvat (1809 current and) 1808 expired, up to the *tithi* that coincided with the solar day on which the *Mêsha-Saṁkrânti* occurred, we must work with the basis of even one year still earlier, *vis.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1807 expired.

who is not acquainted with the technical application of the number of the year. So, also, the same expression is used in the almanacs themselves; thus, in the first two almanacs mentioned above, "Śākā it'it Vyaya-nāma-samvatsarā," on the title-page; and "Śakē it'it Chaitra-cukla-pakṣah," on the top of the page which exhibits the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra; and, in the *Sāyana-Pañchāṅg*, "Śalivāhana-Śakā 1808 Vyaya-nāma-samvatsarā," on the title-page, and elsewhere "amāntah Chaitra-cukla-pakṣah Śalivāhana-Śakā it'it Vyaya-nāma-samvatsarā." In the same way, I find, for the same period, "Śakā 1808 Vyaya-nāma-samvatsarā" on the title-page of an almanac published at Pandit Umacharan Muhatmin's Press at Gwālior; and, for the period from the 17th March, A.D. 1845, to the 24th April, A.D. 1846, "Śalivāhana-Śakā 1807," on the title-page of the Jōdhpur Chandī-Pañchāṅg for that year, and "Śrī-Samvat 1942 Śakā 1807 Chaitra-cukla-pakṣah," in Bapu Deva Shastri's almanac, prepared at Benares at the Mithilā Press.

Again, in the preliminary passages that introduce the *samvatsara-phala* or ' (astrological) results for the year,' and other similar matter, Ganpat Krishnaji's and K. L. Chhatre's almanacs, contain the passage—*atha gata-Kalih 4987, (tithi)-Kalih 497013; Śrīman-nripa-Vikramārka-samvat 1942, Hēmalamba-nāma-samvatsarā; tat'it Śāka-niraya-Śalivāhana-Śakā 1808, Vyaya-nāma-samvatsarā; amin varshē rājā chandrah,—*"the expired (year) of the Kali (age) (is) 4987 (years); (and) the remainder of the Kali (age) (is) 497013 (years). Hail! In the year 1942 expired from the time of the glorious king Vikramārka,¹ (and) in the Hēmalamba *samvatsara*; so also in the Śāka (year) 1808 of the glorious king Śalivāhana, (and) in the Vyaya *samvatsara*; in this year, the king (is) the Moon." And, for the *nirayana* year, the *Sāyana-Pañchāṅg* for Śāka-Samvat 1808 has—*Kalyugasya gata-varshāni 4987; Śrīman-nripa-Vikramārka-samvat 1942 Vilambī-samvatsarā; Śrīman-nripa-Śalivāhana-Śakā-ābdah 1808 Vyaya-nāma-samvatsarā; ath-amin varshē rājā chandrah,—*"the expired years of the Kaliyuga (are) 4987; in the year 1942 of the glorious king Vikramārka, (there is) the *samvatsara* named Vilambī; (and there is) the year 1808 of the Śāka of the glorious king Śalivāhana, (and) the *samvatsara* named Vyaya: now, in this year, the king (is) the Moon." In these passages, these three almanacs again treat the Śāka year,

¹ *Vr. samvatsarā*, or *samvatsarāḥ*.

² It is curious that here the Vikrama year should be distinctly specified as expired, while the Śāka year is not qualified in the same manner; as if a distinction were being made in the methods of reckoning the two eras.

³ *Vr. samvatsarā*, or *samvatsarāḥ*.—The figures here, and in the Gwālior almanac, 1943, differ from those in Ganpat Krishnaji's and K. L. Chhatre's almanacs, 1942, because the latter quote the southern reckoning, by which each Vikrama year commences with the month Kārttika, seven lunations later than the same year in the northern reckoning; consequently, at the commencement of Śāka-Samvat 1808 (expired), on the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, Vikrama-Samvat 1942 was still running, by the southern reckoning.

apparently, as a current year. The Gwâlior almanac, however, which I have quoted above, has — gata-Kaliḥ 4987, śeṣha-Kaliḥ 427013; tan-madhyê gata-Śakāḥ 1808, śeṣha-Śakāḥ 16192 Svasti; śrī-Vikramārka-rājya-samayād atīt samvat¹ 1943, Śaka-gata-varshêshu 1808, chāndra-mānēna Vyaya-nāma-samvatsarê; Bārhaspatya-mānēna, Śakê 1807 Āśvina-kṛishṇa-7 Śukrê sûrya-odayād gata-ghaṭīshu 47 palêshu 24 tad-avadhi, Śakê 1808 Āśvina-kṛishṇa-14 Bhaumê ghaṭī[shu*] 46 palê[shu*] 3 tāvāt-paryantam, Vilambi-samvatsar-ôllêkhaḥ vidhēyah, tad-agrê Vikāri-samvatsar-ôllêkhaḥ kāryah; Chaitr-Adau rājā chandraḥ,— “the expired (*portion of the*) Kali (*age*) (*is*) 4987 (*years*), (*and*) the remainder of the Kali (*age*) is 427013 (*years*); in it, the expired (*portion of the*) Śaka (*era*) (*is*) 1808 (*years*); and the remainder of the Śaka (*era*) (*is*) 16192 (*years*) Hail! In the year 1943 expired from the time of the reign of the glorious Vikramārka, (*and*) in the expired Śaka year 1808, (*and*), by the lunar reckoning, in the (*current*) samvatsara named Vyaya,²—by the reckoning of Jupiter, the Vilambin samvatsara is to be used in writings from the expiration of 47 ghaṭīs, 24 palas, from sunrise on Friday, the seventh lunar day of the dark fortnight of Āśvina, in Śaka 1807, up to (*the expiration of*) 46 ghaṭīs, 3 palas, (*from sunrise*) on Tuesday, the fourteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of Āśvina, in Śaka 1808; after that, the Vikārin samvatsara is to be used in writings,—at the beginning of Chaitra, the king (*is*) the Moon.” Passages of a similar kind with those quoted above, occur at the end of each almanac, in connection with the Samkrāntis.

In the same passages for the sdyana year, Śaka-Samvat 1808, the Sâyana-Pañchāṅg does not confine itself to any indefinite expression, but explicitly quotes the Śaka year as a current year; thus — Kaliyugasya samdhyāyā āditāḥ, Śālivāhana-Śak-ārambhakālaparyantam, Nand-ādr-īndu-guṇa-(3179)-mitāni saura-varshāṇy=atītāni; pravartamāna-Śālivāhana-Śak-ābdah asht-ōttar-āshṭādaśa-(1808)-mitah; amuṁ samvatsaram Narmadāyā dakṣhiṇa-bhāgê Vyaya-nāmnā vyavaharanti, uttara-bhāgê cha Vilambi-nāmnā; ath=āsmin varshê rājā Śaniḥ,—“from the commencement of the samdhyā³ of the Kaliyuga, up to the time of the commencement of the Śālivāhana-Śaka, there expired solar years which are measured by the (nine) Nandas, the (seven) mountains, the (one) moon, and the (three) qualities, (3179); (*and*) the current year of the Śālivāhana-Śaka is measured by eighteen hundred, increased by eight, (1808); on the south side of the

¹ i.e. atītê samvatsarê, or atītêshu samvatsarêshu.

² The context is “at the beginning of Chaitra, the king (*is*) the moon,” a little further on. The intervening matter is by way of a parenthesis.

³ samdhyā, which is usually translatable by ‘morning or evening twilight,’ means, as applied to any of the four ages, a long period that runs at the commencement of each, before the full development of the age itself. The samdhyā of the Kali age is one hundred divine years, equivalent to 36,000 years of men; so that we are still only in this period. The age itself will run for 360,000 years of men. And it will end with a samdhyāmsa of 36,000 years of men. These figures make up the total of 432,000 years in the age.

Narmadâ, they distinguish this *samvatsara* by the name of Vyaya; and, on the north side, by the name of Vilambin; now, in this year, the king (is) Saturn." But, in the corresponding passage in the same almanac for the preceding year, Śaka-Samvat 1807, after giving in the same words the number of the solar years that had expired from the commencement of the *samdhyâ* of the Kaliyuga up to the commencement of the Śaka era, the text runs — *tatò vartamāna-vatsar-ārambhakāla-paryantaṁ sapta-ōttara-āṣṭādaśa-sata-(1807)-mitāni varshāṇi gatāni; amuṁ vartamāna-samvatsaram Narmadāyā dakṣiṇē bhāgē Parthiva-nāmnā vyavaharanti, uttarē bhāgē cha Hēmalamba-nāmnā; atha-asmin varshē rājā Bhaumaḥ,*—"from then, up to the commencement of the current year, there have expired years which are measured by eighteen hundred, increased by seven, (1807); on the south side of the Narmadâ, they distinguish this current *samvatsara* by the name of Pārthiva; and, on the north side, by the name of Hēmalamba; now, in this year, the king (is) Mars."¹ In passing, therefore, from Śaka-Samvat 1807 to 1808, a verbal distinction, at least, was made between expired and current years; and the phraseology adopted in the almanac for Śaka-Samvat 1808, has been repeated in the almanac for the next year, 1809. In one instance, A.D. 85-86, the Pārthiva or Hēmalamba *samvatsara*, each current, was treated as equivalent to Śaka-Samvat 1807 expired; while, in the other, A.D. 1886-87, the Vyaya or Vilambin *samvatsara*, each current, and each the next in the cycle after respectively Pārthiva and Hēmalamba, is treated as equivalent to Śaka-Samvat 1808 current. What were the reasons for this change, I do not know; and I will leave it to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, one of the editors of the almanac, to explain them elsewhere. But, by the literal interpretation of the phraseology for A.D. 1885-86, and in accordance with the principles of the Tables, that period was equivalent to Śaka-Samvat 1807 expired, (and 1808 current); and A.D. 1886-87 should have been described as being represented by Śaka-Samvat 1808 expired, (and 1809 current).

I have now to quote the fact that, in Madras, the same English period, A.D. 1886-87, is actually called Śaka-Samvat 1809, with the same *samvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle, Vyaya, attached to it. There are, it is true, two somewhat varying practices to be found in Southern India. Thus, the **Telugu Siddhānta-Pañchāṅgam**, published, I think, in the Arcot District, gives the luni-solar period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887, as being the Vyaya *samvatsara*, and as corresponding to Śaka-Samvat 1808 expired; and at the commencement, it quotes the expired years throughout; thus — "*Kaliyuga-gat-ābdāḥ 4987; Śalivāhana-Śaka-gat-ābdāḥ 1808; Vikramārka-Śaka-gat-ābdāḥ 1943.*" But, on the other hand, the **Telugu Calendar**, published at Madras, gives the same luni-solar period, from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887, as being the Vyaya *samvatsara*, and as corresponding to Śaka-Samvat

¹ Except for reading *amuṁ vartamāna-vatsaram*, and omitting *atha* before *asmin varshē*, the text is exactly the same in Bapu Deva Shastri's almanac for Śaka-Samvat 1807. I have not been able to obtain a copy of his almanac for the next year.

1809, Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4988, and Vikrama-Saṁvat 1944, which are not specified as either current or expired, but can only be intended as current. And, in the same way, the Tamil *Siriya-Pañchāṅgaṁ*, for the following year, published at Madras, gives the solar period from the 12th April, A.D. 1887, to the 11th April, A.D. 1888, as being the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*, and as corresponding to Śaka-Saṁvat 1810, Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4989, and Vikrama-Saṁvat ¹ 1935, which, similarly, are not specified as either current or expired, but can only be intended as current.² And, from other indications, there seems to be no doubt that, of these two practices of Southern India, thus illustrated, the popular and generally current one is the latter one, by which the period A.D. 1886-87 is quoted as Śaka-Saṁvat 1809; the reckoning, in this and the other eras, being thus, at first sight, one year in advance of the customary reckoning of Northern and Western India.

The difference, however, is only an apparent one; and is due to the evident fact that the Madras reckoning has preserved the system of current years, while the other is regulated by expired years. But it is almost always the reckoning of Northern and Western India that is now quoted. And the years of it, though really expired years, are not distinctly and habitually quoted as such. And hence there is a general understanding that, as between the Śaka and the Christian eras, the additive quantity, to be applied to the former, is 78-79;³ and that the epoch or year 0 of the Śaka era, is the period from the 3rd March, A.D. 78, to the 20th February, A.D. 79, both included; and its commencement, or first current year, the period from the 21st February, A.D. 79, to the 10th March, A.D. 80, both included.⁴ This, however, really gives current Christian years,

¹ Here the 3 in the tens place must be a mistake for 4.

² It would appear that the Tamil *Vākya-Pañchāṅgaṁ*, published at Madras, gives the solar period from the 12th April A.D. 1887, to the 10th April, A.D. 1888, as being the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*, and as corresponding to Śaka-Saṁvat 1809, Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4988, and Vikrama-Saṁvat 1945; all of which are distinctly specified as current. But this cannot possibly be correct, in respect of the Śaka and Kaliyuga years.

³ Thus, even Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, — through whose "Note on the Śaka Dates and the Years of the Bārhaspatya Cycle, occurring in the Inscriptions" (*Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 105 ff.) my attention was first drawn to the desirability of examining the details of the almanacs, — has written (*id.* p. 99; the italics are his) "191 Gupta *past* + 242 = 433 Śaka *current* + 78 = 511 A.D. *current* 209 Gupta *past* + 242 = 451 Śaka *current* + 78 = 529 A.D. *current*." I myself had the same view, till not very long ago. Other writers could easily be shewn to have lain under the same misconception. And Dr. Burnell even went so far as to say (*South-Indian Palæography*, p. 72, note) "the rough equation for converting this era into the Christian date, is + 78½. The beginning of the year being at the March equinox; if the Śaka *atīta*" (*i.e.* expired) "year be mentioned, the equation is + 79½."

⁴ I owe these four dates to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit. Gen. Cunningham (*Indian Eras*, p. 139) gives from the 14th March, A.D. 78, to the 17th February, A.D. 79; and from the 18th February, A.D. 79, to the 8th March, A.D. 80. But a comparison of his initial days for the epoch and the first year, shews at once that there is some mistake. The 18th February is twenty-four days earlier than the 14th March; whereas the difference should be only eleven days. Mr. C. Patell (*Chronology*, p. 96) does not give the initial day of the epoch; but gives, in the same way, the period from the 18th February, A.D. 79, to the 8th March, A.D. 80, for the first year.

equivalent to expired Śaka years. It is evident from the details given above regarding Śaka-Saṃvat 1808 and 1809, that, according to the reckoning of the era as fixed by the early astronomers, and as preserved to the present day, the true epoch is A.D. 77-78, and the period from the 3rd March, A.D. 78, to the 20th February, A.D. 79, is in reality the commencement, or first current year; and that, to obtain current Christian years, equivalent to current Śaka years, the true additive quantity is 77-78. But, of course, there is always the possibility that, if ever we obtain a date, with full details for calculation, in a very early Śaka year, or in one of the very earliest of the regnal or dynastic years which afterwards developed into the Śaka era, this exact equation may not hold good; in consequence of the date belonging to a period anterior to the adoption of the era by the astronomers.

The Śaka era is emphatically one of the eras that originated in an extension of regnal or dynastic years. The chief Hindu tradition about it, is, that it was founded in celebration of a defeat of the Śaka king by the king Vikrama or Vikramāditya who is also the supposed founder of the Vikrama era, commencing a hundred and thirty-five years earlier.¹ This tradition is mentioned by Albérûnî;² but he saw through it so far as to remark "since there is a long interval between the era which is called the era of Vikramāditya and the killing of Śaka, we think that that Vikramāditya from whom the era has got its name is not identical with that one who killed Śaka, but only a namesake of his." And the tradition has now been quite exploded by the Bādāmi cave inscription of the Chalukya king Maṅgaliśa,³ which is specifically dated "when there have expired five centuries of the years of the installation of the Śaka king (or kings) in the sovereignty." It is certain, from this record, that the real historical starting-point of the era, is the commencement of the reign of some particular king, or kings, of the Śaka

¹ Another tradition (e.g. *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. II. Useful Tables, p. 154) is that the era dates from the birth of Śālivāhana, king of Pratiṣṭhāna, who opposed Vikramāditya, king of Ujjayini. But the introduction of the name of Śālivāhana in connection with the era, is of comparatively modern date, the earliest instance that I have succeeded in obtaining, being one of the thirteenth century A.D.; and the epigraphical instances speak of the year as having been 'established, settled, or decided' (*nirṇīta*) by Śālivāhana, but not as running from his birth (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 214 f.).—A passage to the latter effect has been quoted by Prof. Max Müller (*India; What can it teach us?* p. 300 f.) from the *Muhūrtabhuvanānāmārtanḍa* of Nārāyaṇa, which means "in the year measured by three, the (nine) numerals, and the (fourteen) Indras, from the birth of Śālivāhana (i.e. in Śaka-Saṃvat 1493), in (the month) Tapas (Māgha), this *Mārtanḍa* was composed."—As Prof. Max Müller has pointed out, in his comments on this passage, it is not exactly wrong to speak of the era as the Śālivāhana-Śaka or Śālivāhana era; for there are ample instances in which the Hindus give it that name, in epigraphical records of authority and of some antiquity. At the same time, those instances shew that it was only in comparatively modern times that the name of Śālivāhana came to be connected with the era. And, in all discussions respecting early dates, it is an anachronism and a mistake, to call the era by his name.

² Sachau's *Albérûnî's India*, Translation, Vol. II. p. 6.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 363 f., and Vol. X. p. 57 ff.

tribe; and, therefore, that the years were originally regnal or dynastic years. Now, such years must run on for a considerable time, before they can develop into a recognised era; and this is undoubtedly the reason why we find the earlier years of every such Hindu era quoted simply by the term *varsha* or *samvatsara*, 'a year,' without any dynastic appellation. Again, such regnal or dynastic years can only come to be quoted as expired years, when they have actually developed into an era which has become recognised, or is sought to be applied, by astronomers for astronomical processes; up to that point, the years, being wanted only for quasi-private dynastic purposes, would certainly be quoted as current years. It is impossible to believe that the first Śaka king decreed, immediately after his coronation, that a new era had been established from that event; that it was to come at once into general use; and that, for the convenience of astronomers, the first year, then running, was to be quoted as an expired year, which, in fact, it would be rather difficult to do. If it were sought to fix the exact chronological position of any public act performed in that first year, it might be referred to the expired years of an earlier era; e.g. of that of the Kaliyuga. 'But, for any reference to the regnal year alone, that act would be recorded as being performed "in the year one," "in the first year," or "while the first year of the reign is current;" as, for instance, "in the first year; while the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious Tōramāna, is governing the earth," in line 1 f. of the Êraṇ inscription, No. 36, page 158. This custom would continue as long as the years were simply dynastic years; and perhaps, during the whole of that period, the years might remain purely dynastic years, each of them having for its initial day the anniversary of the original coronation from which they started, irrespective of the initial day of the years of the astronomical era still continuing in use. When, however, astronomers came to adopt them as an astronomical era, they would establish an exact epoch by reckoning back from the dynastic year then current to the last year of the Kaliyuga that had expired when the first current dynastic year commenced; in the course of which, they would simplify matters by allotting to the dynastic years the same scheme, as regards the starting-point of each year, and the arrangement of the fortnights of the months, which belonged to the Kaliyuga in their part of the country. Thus they would fix all the data necessary to enable them to use the new era for astronomical purposes. All that would remain, would be to use its expired years, in accordance with the custom and necessities of their science. The substitution of the Śaka era for the Kaliyuga, for astronomical purposes, seems to have taken place after the time of Āryabhaṭa (born A.D. 476),¹ who used the Kaliyuga, and in or just before the time of Varāhamihira (died A.D. 587),² who used the Śaka era; and probably the apparent difference of one year in the reckonings of the Śaka era will be found to have originated not far from Śaka-Samvat 500. Let us assume that this adoption of the Śaka era was made in Śaka-Samvat 500, equivalent to A.D. 577-78. The astronomers would take it, at starting, as "Śaka-

¹ *Four. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. I. p. 405.*

² *Four. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. I. p. 407.*

Saṁvat 499, expired ;" and, in quoting it and several subsequent years, would probably be careful to connect with each year a word distinctly meaning "expired." In course of time, however, such precision of expression would come to seem superfluous to them; and, in issuing their almanacs, they would drop the word "expired," and would write, for instance, simply "Śakê 510 Chaitra-māsa-śukla-pakshaḥ." It would cause no difference or inconvenience to them; because any initiate would know that this really designated the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra of Śaka-Saṁvat 511 current, after Śaka-Saṁvat 510 had expired. The people at large, however, including persons who would use the almanacs for practical purposes without being properly initiated into the application of them, would be thrown back in their reckoning by a year; and doubtless at first a good deal of inconvenience and confusion might result. But this would soon be forgotten; or might, for the sake of convenience, be intentionally put aside. And thus they would very quickly arrive at the understanding, by which, in Northern and Western India, Śaka-Saṁvat 1808 answers, popularly, as a current year, not as an expired year, to the period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887.

Postscript.

In connection with my remarks, on page 140 above, regarding the *Sāyana-Pañchāṅg* for Śaka-Saṁvat 1807 and 1808, I would add that I had drawn Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's attention to the circumstances of the case; and I now find that, in their almanac for Śaka-Saṁvat 1810 (expired) (A.D. 1888-89), the editors have reverted to the phraseology used in their almanac for Śaka-Saṁvat 1807 (expired.)

APPENDIX II.

A Method of Calculating the Week-Days of Hindu Tithis and the corresponding English Dates.

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In this paper I purpose to exhibit, according to the system laid down by the late Professor Kero Lakshman Chhatre in his book entitled *Graha-sādhana-chīn Kōshakēm*, or "Tables for Calculating the Places of the Planets," the correct method by which we may determine, for any given Hindu *tithi* or lunar day, the corresponding *vāra* or week-day, and the equivalent English date according to either the Julian or the Gregorian Calendar.

Before detailing, however, the steps of the process, I will explain the principal technical terms which will be used, and which, for the sake of brevity and conciseness, will be retained in their original Sanskrit forms.¹

Explanation of Technical Terms.

The *abdapa*, *lit.* 'lord of a year,' of any particular year, is the conventional term,—in Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, and others; but not universally,—for the time of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*, or 'entrance of the Sun into Aries,' in that year. The *abdapa* adopted by Prof. K. L. Chhatre is the time of the *spashṭa* or 'apparent,'—*lit.* 'clearly perceived, distinctly visible,'²—*Mēsha-Samkrānti*, as ascertained by the method given in the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*;³ whereas, in other Hindu works of the same kind, the term *abdapa*

¹ Most of these explanations are my own. Either to reduce the bulk of his book, or for some other reason, Prof. K. L. Chhatre has used the technical terms without explanation, except in the case of a few of the simpler ones; nor does he explain how he obtained certain figures for certain years or the variation for a year.

² English astronomers use the word 'apparent' in all cases in which we use *spashṭa*. 'Apparent,' therefore, is the proper translation of *spashṭa*.

³ There are three schools of astronomers in India. One follows the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, and is called Saurapaksha; another follows the *Brahma-Siddhānta*, and is named Brahmapaksha; while the third follows the *Ārya-Siddhānta*, and is called Āryapaksha. The main point on which they differ is the length of the year; but with differences, between each other, of only a few *vipalas* (a *vipala* is the sixtieth part of a *pala*). Another point of difference is, that the number of revolutions of the moon, planets, &c., in a certain period,—for instance in a Mahāyuga,—is generally different in each of them. Prof. K. L. Chhatre has adopted, from the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, only the length of the year, and its starting-point, that is the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*; in almost every other respect he follows none of these three authorities, but has based his Tables on European Tables of planets. As to his Tables relative to *tithis*, however, in the part of his work called *Kala-sādhana*, see page 149 below, note 11, and the text above note 1 on page 155.

is used as meaning the time of the Sun's entrance into Aries with reference to his *madhyama* or 'mean' longitude. So, also, the length of the solar year adopted by him is that of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, which is accepted, in the present day, in most parts of India. It should, however, be borne in mind that the Tables of the sun and the moon, and those of the planets, given by him, are based on European Tables; and that the places of the sun and other heavenly bodies, obtained from his book, are reckoned from the equinoctial point. The starting-point adopted by Hindu astronomers, for reckoning the places of heavenly bodies, coincided, in their opinion, with the equinoctial point about Śāka-Samvat 444 expired (A.D. 522-23). The interval in time between two successive returns of the sun to the vernal equinox,—called "the tropical year,"—amounts at present to 365 *days*, 14 *ghaṭīs*, and 31'972 *palas*; while the length of the year, according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, is 365 *days*, 15 *ghaṭīs*, and 31'523 *palas*. During this time, the sun's motion amounts to one complete revolution from equinox to equinox, plus about 58'6881 seconds of arc. The starting-point, therefore, of the Hindu astronomers is at present a little more than twenty-two degrees to the east of the vernal equinox. This difference is called *ayanāṁśas*, *lit.* 'degrees of precession;' and the *ayanāṁśas* for the present year, Śāka-Samvat 1809 expired (A.D. 1887-88), are 22 degrees, 45 minutes, according to the *Graha-Lāghava* of Gaṇeśa Daivajña.¹ As the longitudes of heavenly bodies, reckoned from the equinox, include these *ayanāṁśas*, they are called *sāyana*, *lit.* 'possessed of *ayana* or precession.' And the places of heavenly bodies obtained by the method given in the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* and other Hindu works, are called, for the sake of distinction, *nirayana*, *lit.* 'destitute of precession.' The places obtained from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables are *sāyana*. The *tithi*, however, obtained by either process, is the same; but this is not the case with the *nakshatra* or 'lunar mansion,' and the *yōga* or 'addition of the longitudes of the sun and the moon.'²

The figures for the *abdapa* are given in Table I. on pp. 10, 11, of Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, and are expressed in *vāras*, *ghaṭīs*, and *palas*. Of these, the *vāra*, or week-day, sometimes also called *dina* or *divasa*, or 'solar day (and night),' is counted in regular order from Sunday, as 1, up to Saturday, as 7 or 0; and it is always reckoned by

¹The date of this work is Śāka-Samvat 1442 expired (A.D. 1520-21). At present, all the *Pañchāṅgs* (Hindu calendars) in the Dekkan, and in some other parts of India, are prepared from this authority, and from another small work, by the same author, entitled *Tithi-Chintāmaṇi*, containing the necessary Tables.

²To calculate *tithis*, only the difference between the longitudes of the moon and of the sun is to be taken. Therefore it matters not whether these longitudes are *sāyana* or *nirayana*. To find a *nakshatra*, the *ayanāṁśas* must be applied to the moon's longitude obtained from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables. The *Sāyana-Pañchāṅg*, annually published, from Śāka 1806, under the patronage of His Highness the Mahārāja Hōlkar, by Mr. Visaji Raghunath Lele of Gwālior, with the aid of Mr. Janardan B. Modak, B.A. of the Bombay University, of myself, and of Mr. Krishnarao Raghunath Bhide of Indōr, is based on the *sāyana* system.

the Hindus from sunrise to sunrise. The *vāra* of the *abdapa* shews the week-day on which the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* of the year fell. A *ghaṭī*, also *ghaṭi* and *ghaṭikā*, is the sixtieth division of a mean solar day and night; and it is, therefore, equal to twenty-four English minutes. As a matter of convenience, the word *ghaṭī* is also used for the sixtieth part of a *tithi*; but in that application it is not identical with the sixtieth division of a solar day and night. A *pala* is the sixtieth division of a *ghaṭī*; and is, therefore, equal to twenty-four English seconds. And the *ghaṭīs* and *palas* of the *abdapa* give the time after sunrise, on the particular *vāra*, at which the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* took place. Thus, the *abdapa* of Śaka-Samvat 0 expired, is given (opposite the entry *Mēsha-Samkrāntichī vēḷ* or 'time of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*,' p. 10) as 1 *dina*, 10 *ghaṭīs*, 10 *palas*; which indicates that the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* then took place on Sunday, and 10 *ghaṭīs* and 10 *palas*, or four hours and four minutes, after sunrise. The solar year adopted by Prof. K. L. Chhatre is equal to 365 *days*, 15 *ghaṭīs*, 31·52 *palas*. Dividing 365 by 7 (the number of days in a week), the remainder is 1. And so, if in one year the Sun enters Aries at the time of sunrise on a Sunday, then, in the following year, he will come to Aries on Monday, and 15 *ghaṭīs*, 31·5 *palas*, after sunrise. Therefore, the variation in the *abdapa* in one year is given (p. 10, col. 3, under *vāra*) as 1 *day*, 15 *ghaṭīs*, 31·5 *palas*; the decimals being supplied from column 2, in which is given the number of days, corresponding to the number of years in column 1.

The word *tithi* denotes the thirtieth part of a lunation or lunar month; that is, as applied to the ecliptic circle, it denotes exactly the one-thirtieth part of that circle, *viz.* twelve degrees; but, taken as an apparent *tithi*, and applied to the period of a lunation, it may be the exact thirtieth part of that period, or it may vary from fifty to sixty-six *ghaṭīs* as subdivisions of a solar day. If the word *tithi* requires to be rendered into English, it is best represented by 'lunar day.' Of the thirty *tithis* of each month, fifteen belong to the bright fortnight, or period of the waxing moon, and fifteen to the 'dark fortnight, or period of the waning moon. The fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight is called *pūrṇimā*, *pūrṇamāsī*, or *paurṇamāsī*, *lit.* 'that which has the full-moon, or that on which the month is completed;' and the fifteenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight is called *amāvāsya*, *lit.* 'that on which there is the dwelling-together (of the sun and moon).' At the end of the *amāvāsya*, the sun and the moon are together; that is, they have the same longitude. When the moon, moving towards the east, leaves the sun behind by twelve degrees of longitude, then ends the first *tithi*, which is technically called *pratipad* or *pratipadā*. So, a *tithi* is the time which the moon takes to out-go the sun by twelve degrees. With the exception of the *pratipadā*, the *tithis* are denoted by the regular ordinal numerals, *dvitīyā*, *trītiyā*, &c., up to *chaturdaśī*, 'the fourteenth.' The *pūrṇimā* and *amāvāsya* are called sometimes by their own special names, and sometimes *pañchadaśī*, 'the fifteenth;' but the *amāvāsya* is generally entered in *Pañchāṅgs* as the thirtieth *tithi*.

even in Northern India, where the dark fortnight of the month precedes the bright.¹ In *Pañchāṅgs*, the *ghaṭīs* and *palas* of *tithis* are given; and, by them, it is to be understood that the *tithis* end so many *ghaṭīs* and *palas* after sun-rise. In general, the expression *tithi* means the end of a *tithi*; not its beginning, or its duration.

The term *tithi-sūddhi*, *lit.* 'the subtraction of *tithis*,' denotes the number of *tithis* that elapse from the beginning of the month Chaitra (March-April) up to the time of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*. In Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, this term is used to shew the number of *tithis*, calculated from the difference between the moon's mean longitude and the sun's apparent longitude, that elapse from the beginning of Chaitra to the time of the sun's *spashṭa* or 'apparent' *Mēsha-Samkrānti*.² Thus, for Śaka-Samvat 0 expired, at the time of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* the sun's mean longitude was 11 signs, 20 degrees, 46·1 minutes (p. 46); and the apparent longitude obtained from it, according to the method given by Prof. K. L. Chhatre, is 11 signs, 22 degrees, 38·9 minutes. The moon's mean longitude at that time was 4 signs, 25 degrees, 42·4 minutes (p. 87). The difference between the longitudes of the sun and the moon,—the sun's longitude being subtracted from that of the moon.—is, therefore, 5 signs, 3 degrees (= 153 degrees), 3·5 minutes. Then $153^{\circ} 3'5'' \div 12 = 12 + (9^{\circ} 3'5'' + 12)$ *tithis*; that is, 12 *tithis*, and about 45 *ghaṭīs* and 14 *palas*, had elapsed. This, therefore, is given as the *tithi-sūddhi* for Saka-Samvat 0 expired. In one solar year, the mean *tithis* are 371, and 3 *ghaṭīs*, 53·4 *palas*. Dividing 371 by 360, the remainder, 11 *tithis*, 3 *ghaṭīs*, 53·4 *palas*, is given as the variation in the *tithi-sūddhi* in one year (p. 10, col. 4).

The *tithis* obtained from the mean places and mean motions of both the sun and the moon, are *madhyama* or 'mean' *tithis*. So, also, those calculated from the apparent place and motion of the sun and the mean place and motion of the moon,—as in the case of the *tithi-sūddhi* and the mean solar equivalents of *tithis* given in Table III. pp. 13-19, col. 2,—may be called mean *tithis* and not apparent. But the *tithis*, &c., given in our *Pañchāṅgs* are always *spashṭa* or 'apparent';³ that is, they are calculated from the apparent places and motions of the sun and the moon. The *spashṭa-tithi* differs from the *madhyama-tithi* sometimes by nearly twenty-five *ghaṭīs*; and this is chiefly owing to the fact that the moon's apparent longitude differs from her mean longitude sometimes by about five degrees.⁴ Many corrections have to be applied to the mean place of the

¹ In astronomical works, it is always the *Amānta* southern arrangement of the lunar fortnights that is actually taken for calculations.

² In the *Siddhānta-Sirōmaṇi* and other works, the term *tithi-sūddhi* is used in the sense of the number of *tithis*, calculated from the mean places of the sun and the moon, that elapse from the beginning of Chaitra to the time of the sun's *madhyama* or 'mean' *Mēsha-Samkrānti*.

³ Though not always in the strictest sense. I say so, because, in practice, extreme accuracy is not, and cannot be, sought. But, in theory, they are required to be 'apparent' in the strictest sense.

⁴ According to European Tables, the difference is sometimes about eight degrees

moon in order to find her apparent place; but only one of these, called *phala-saṃskāra*, which is 'the equation of the centre.' is taken into account by Hindu astronomers:¹ and this, as given by them, amounts to a little more than five degrees at the greatest. This correction varies according to the moon's *kēndra* or 'anomaly;' which is taken to be her distance from apogee.² From this correction is calculated the correction in time to be applied to the mean *tithi*; it is named *parākhya*; and it is given in Table IV., on p. 20, in the column headed *parākhya*. It evidently varies according to the moon's *kēndra*. One revolution of the moon's *kēndra* is completed in 27 days, 33 *ghaṭīs*, 16'56 *palas*. This period is called *nīchōchcha-māsa*,³ and is known to English astronomers by the name of the 'anomalistic month.' This period, converted into *tithis*,⁴ is equal to 27 *tithis*, 59 *ghaṭīs*, 33'36 *palas*; that is, nearly and practically, 28 *tithis*. It is converted into *tithis* for the sake of convenience; since, the variation in the *kēndra* is one *tithi* of *kēndra* in one *tithi* of time; and it is called *tithi-kēndra*, or 'the anomaly of the *tithi*, expressed in *tithis*.' The moon's mean *kēndra* at the *Mēshu-Saṃkrānti* of Śaka-Saṃvat 0 expired, was 10 signs, 19 degrees, 58'8 minutes (p. 87). This, converted into *tithis*, is equal to 24 *tithis*, 52 *ghaṭīs*, 50 *palas*;⁵ and this is given (p. 10) as the *tithi-madhyama-kēndra*, or 'mean anomaly of the *tithi*,' at the time of the *Mēsha-Saṃkrānti* of Śaka-Saṃvat 0 expired. It shews that so many *tithis* and parts of a *tithi* had elapsed, up to that *Mēsha-Saṃkrānti*, from the moon's preceding arrival at her apogee. The variation in the moon's *kēndra*, in one solar year, is 3 signs, 2 degrees, 6'2 minutes (p. 87, col. 3). This, changed into *tithis* by the rule of three, *vis.*— $360^{\circ} : 92^{\circ} 6'2 :: ti. 27, gh. 59, p. 33'36 : ti. 7, gh. 9, p. 42$,—is given, therefore, as the **variation in the *tithi-kēndra* in one year** (p. 10, col. 5).

A few other points and terms will be explained, as we proceed with the following example.

To find the Week-Day of a given Tithi.

The process will be best illustrated, step by step, by actually working out an example. And, at Mr. Fleet's request, I take, as my example, the date of Śaka-Saṃvat 406

¹ The amount of this correction, adopted by Prof. K. L. Chhatre, in finding out *tithis* in his *Kāla-sādhana* Tables (pp. 1 to 30 of his book), is nearly the same as that adopted by ancient Hindu astronomers. Therefore, the *tithis* obtained by his method, as described above, should agree very closely with those obtained from the methods prescribed in Sanskrit works. But, in the *abḍapa* and other elements, the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* and other authorities themselves slightly differ, one from the other. And, accordingly the difference will be sometimes about five or six *ghaṭīs*. There are, also, some other minute causes of difference.

² In European astronomical works, the anomaly is reckoned from perigee or perihelion; but in Hindu works it is reckoned from apogee or aphelion.

³ In this term *nīcha* means 'perigee;' and *uchcha*, 'apogee.' And *nīchōchcha-māsa* is the period in which the moon comes from perigee or apogee to the same point again.

⁴ One *tithi* is equal to 0'9843529572 of a mean solar day.

⁵ $360^{\circ} : 319^{\circ}58'8 :: ti. 27, gh. 59, p. 33'36 : ti. 24, gh. 52, p. 50$.

expired (A.D. 484-85); the month Âshâdha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the twelfth tithi.

From Table I. p. 10, write down (see Table V. on page 151 below), in three separate columns, three quantities, for Śaka-Saṃvat 0 expired, which are technically called the *kshêpaka* or 'additive quantities;' viz. in (a) the *abdapa*, enter *vâras* 1, *ghaṭīs* 10, *palas* 10; in (b) the *tithi-suddhi*, enter *tithis* 12, *ghaṭīs* 45, *palas* 14; and in (c) the *tithi-madhyama-kêndra*, enter *tithis* 24, *ghaṭīs* 52, *palas* 50. Below each of them respectively, in its proper column, enter, from the same Table, the *bhêda* or 'variation' for the component parts of the given Śaka year; ¹ viz. for 400, in (a) *vâras* 6, *gh.* 30, *p.* 9'3, in (b) *tithis* 15, *gh.* 55, *p.* 49'2, and in (c) *tithis* 9, *gh.* 24, *p.* 45; and for 6 years, in (a) *vâras* 0, *gh.* 33, *p.* 9'1, in (b) *tithis* 6, *gh.* 23, *p.* 20'2, and in (c) *tithis* 14, *gh.* 58, *p.* 39.

Now, as the given year is anterior to Śaka-Saṃvat 1622 expired, a correction, to be arrived at from Table II. p. 12, is to be applied, and is always to be added, in respect of the *tithi-suddhi* and the *tithi-madhyama-kêndra*. The reason for this correction, is this. As explained above, the *tithi-suddhi* and the *tithi-madhyama-kêndra* depend respectively on the mean longitude and the mean anomaly of the moon. But the moon's mean motion is not always the same. Therefore, to her mean longitude and mean anomaly, obtained from the general Table of annual variation in them (Table III. p. 87 f., cols. 2, 3), a correction (Table IV. p. 89 f., cols. 2, 3) is to be applied. Thus, for Śaka-Saṃvat 0 expired, the correction in the moon's mean longitude is 44 seconds, and that in the *kêndra* is 2 degrees, 55 seconds (p. 90). These, turned into *tithis*, are 3 *ghaṭīs*, 40 *palas*, with regard to the *tithi-suddhi*; and 14 *ghaṭīs*, with regard to the *tithi-kêndra*. These figures, therefore, are given as the correction in respectively the *tithi-suddhi* and the *tithi-kêndra* for Śaka-Saṃvat 0 expired. In the Table, this correction is given for intervals of 1000 years each. Taking first the *tithi-suddhi*, the correction for Śaka-Saṃvat 0 expired, is *gh.* 3, *p.* 40; and the correction for Śaka-Saṃvat 1000 expired, is *p.* 32. Therefore, deducting the latter from the former, the difference, *gh.* 3, *p.* 8, or 188 *palas*, is the variation of correction in 1000 years.² Then, by the Rule of Three,—1000 years : 406 years :: 188 *palas* : 76 *palas*. And 76 *palas* are *gh.* 1, *p.* 16. As the quantities are decreasing ones, this is to be subtracted from *gh.* 3, *p.* 40, for Śaka-Saṃvat 0 expired. And the remainder gives us, as the sufficiently approximate correction for Śaka-Saṃvat 406 expired, *gh.* 2, *p.* 24, to be added in (b). Similarly, the correction for the *tithi-madhyama-kêndra*, worked out in the same way, is *gh.* 9, *p.* 8, to be added in (c).

¹ The decimals in the *palas* of (a) the *abdapa* are taken from the *ahargana*, or total number of solar days of the solar year, in col. 2.

² Properly speaking, this variation is for Śaka-Saṃvat 500 expired, midway between Śaka-Saṃvat 0 and 1000. It should be reduced first for the year midway between Śaka-Saṃvat 0 and the given year; in this instance 406. But there is no absolute necessity for such exact precision.

TABLE V.

Calculation of the Week-day of a given Tithi.

Śaka-Saṃvat 406 expired = A.D. 484-85 current.

Āshāḍha (June-July) ; the bright fortnight ; the 12th tithi ; Suraguruvāra (Thursday).

(a) Abdapa.	(b) Tithi-suddhi.	(c) Tithi-madhyama-kēndra.
vāra gh. p.	tithi gh. p.	tithi gh. p.
Śaka-Saṃvat 0 expired (p. 10) 1 10 10	..... 12 45 14	..... 24 52 50
Add variation for 400 Śaka years (p. 11) 6 30 9'3	..... 15 55 49'2	..... 9 24 45
Add variation for 6 Śaka years (p. 10) 0 33 9'1	..... 6 23 20'2	..... 14 58 39
Add correction for a date prior to Śaka-Saṃvat 1622 expired 0 2 24	..... 0 2 24	..... 0 9 8
Week-day and time of the <i>Mēsha-Saṃkrānti</i> of Śaka-Saṃvat 406 expired 1 13 28'4	<i>tithi-dhruva</i> and <i>bhukta-tithi</i> .. 5 6 47'4	21 25 22
	From one <i>tithi</i> . 1 0 0	
	Deduct <i>bhukta-tithi</i> 0 6 47	Add, from (b) the <i>bhōgya-tithi</i> ... 0 53 13
	<i>bhōgya-tithi</i> 0 53 13	<i>tithi-spashṭa-kēndra</i> 22 18 35
	Deduct as many <i>palas</i> as there are <i>ghaṭis</i> in the <i>bhōgya-tithi</i> .. 0 0 53	
	Mean solar day . 0 52 20	
<i>ghaṭis</i> and <i>palas</i> only, from above 0 13 28		
Add, from (b), the mean solar day 0 52 20		
<i>tithi-bhōga</i> 1 5 48		
Add:—		
expired <i>tithis</i> :—		
Chaitra 15		
Vaiśākha 30		
Jyēsthā 30		
Āshāḍha 26		
101		
minus, from (b), <i>tithi-dhruva</i> 5		
expired <i>tithis</i> from end of Chaitra śukla 5 96		
solar equivalent of 96 <i>tithis</i> (p. 14) 94 17 36		
95 23 24		
Add <i>parākhya</i> , obtained from (c) <i>tithi-spashṭa-kēndra</i> of Āshāḍha śukla 12 0 24 19		
Days elapsed up to end of apparent Āshāḍha śukla 12 95 47 43		
Add week-day of <i>Mēsha-Saṃkrānti</i> of Śaka-Saṃvat 406 expired 1		
Reduce to weeks 7) 96 (13		
91		
Remainder, the 5th day, is Thursday 5	Result; Thursday.	
		Add <i>tithi-kēndra</i> of (a) 96 <i>tithis</i> (p. 14) 12 1 20
		<i>tithi-spashṭa-kēndra</i> at end of Āshāḍha śukla 12 6 19 55

Now add together the respective quantities in (a) (b) and (c), bearing in mind that, in doing so, when the *vāras* in (a) the *abdapa* exceed 7, or any multiple of 7, only the remainder, above 7 or its multiple, is to be brought to account, because there are 7 *vāras* or week-days in each week; and that, when the *tithis* in (b) the *tithi-suddhi* and in (c) the *tithi-madhyama-kēndra* exceed 30 and 28 respectively, or any multiple of them, only the remainders above 30 and 28, or their multiple, are to be taken notice of, because there are 30 *tithis* in one lunar month, and, as nearly as possible, 28 *tithis* in one revolution of the *tithi-kēndra*.

We thus obtain in (a) the *abdapa*, *vāras* 1, *gh.* 13, *p.* 28'4. The first quantity, of the days, shews that the week-day on which occurred the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* of the given year, Śāka-Samvat 406 expired, was Sunday. And the remaining quantities shew that the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* took place at the end of *gh.* 13, *p.* 28'4, after sunrise on that Sunday. The small decimal which we have here, as also in (b) the *tithi-suddhi*, under the *palas*, may be disregarded in the following steps of the process.

In (b) the *tithi-suddhi*, we obtain *tithis* 5, *gh.* 6, *p.* 47'4. From this we learn that, when the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* of the given year, Śāka-Samvat 406 expired, occurred, 5 mean *tithis* of the month Chaitra were completed, and also 6 *ghaṭīs* and 47 *palas* of the 6th *tithi* had elapsed. The number of completed *tithis*, here 5, is technically called the *tithi-dhruva* or 'constant of the *tithi*;' because, when it has been determined for any given year, it remains uniform or constant in working out any example in that same year. And the remainder, here *gh.* 6, *p.* 47, is called the *bhukta-tithi* or 'elapsed portion of the (current) *tithi*.'

Subtracting the *bhukta-tithi*, *gh.* 6, *p.* 47, from 1 *tithi* or 60 *ghaṭīs*, the remainder, *gh.* 53, *p.* 13, gives the portion of the 6th *tithi* that was still to run. This is technically called the *bhōgya-tithi*, *lit.* '(that portion of) the *tithi* which is still to be enjoyed.'

In (c), the *tithi-madhyama-kēndra*, we obtain *tithis* 21, *gh.* 25, *p.* 22. This gives us the moon's *kēndra*, reduced to *tithis*, at the time of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* of the given year, Śāka-Samvat 406 expired.

To this, the *bhōgya-tithi*, viz. *gh.* 53, *p.* 13, is to be added. And the result, *tithis* 22, *gh.* 18, *p.* 35, is the *kēndra* at the end of the 6th *tithi* of Chaitra. This is called the *tithi-spasṭa-kēndra* or 'apparent *kēndra* of the *tithi*.'

Next, by subtracting from the *bhōgya-tithi*, viz. *gh.* 53, *p.* 13, as many *palas*, 53, as there are *ghaṭīs* in it,¹ we convert it into a mean solar day, with the result of *gh.* 52, *p.* 20.

¹ i.e. by subtracting the sixtieth part. This proportion is taken for the sake of easy calculation. Properly speaking, to convert a *tithi* into a solar day, the sixty-fourth part should be subtracted; because one mean *tithi* is equal to '984353 of a solar day, i.e., as nearly as possible, sixty-three sixty-fourths of a solar day. The difference, however, does not introduce any material error.

Add this *gh.* 52, *p.* 20, to the *ghatīs* and *palas* only of (a) the *abdapa*. The result, *vāra* 1, *gh.* 5, *p.* 48, shews that the 6th mean *tithi* of Chaitra ended with *gh.* 5, *p.* 48, after sunrise on the following day, Monday, after the day of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*, Sunday. This quantity, *vāra* 1, *gh.* 5, *p.* 48, is called the *tithi-bhōga*, *lit.* 'the enjoyment or duration of the *tithi*;' and it is the end of the *tithi-dhruva*, increased by one *tithi*. It is, of course, a mean *tithi*. And it shews that *days* 1, *gh.* 5, *p.* 48, had elapsed, from sunrise on the day of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*, up to the end of Chaitra *śukla* 6 as a mean *tithi*.

We have now to bring into consideration the **number of tithis elapsed** up to the commencement of the given *tithi*. And, in doing this, we must of course take account of any intercalary month that there may be, preceding the given *tithi*, in the given year.

In our example, however, the result in (b) the *tithi-suddhi*, is less than nineteen *tithis*. And a reference to Table VI. *p.* 22, — which would enable us to determine the intercalary month approximately, if there were one, — shews us that there was, therefore, no intercalary month at all in the given year, Śaka-Samvat 406 expired. The explanation of this, is, that, when the *tithi-suddhi* is less than nineteen, it shews that the *samkrānti* in Chaitra occurred within the first nineteen *tithis* of that month. And, as, generally, the solar months are longer than the lunar months, the *samkrāntis* of the sun, *i.e.* his passage from one sign of the zodiac into the next, occur continuously later in each successive lunar month. But, when the *samkrānti* in Chaitra falls within the first nineteen *tithis*, no *samkrānti*, up to the end of the year, can go beyond the thirtieth *tithi* of any lunar month; and, therefore, no month will be intercalary.

Consequently, from the beginning of Chaitra, up to the commencement of the given *tithi*, Āshāḍha *śukla* 12, there had elapsed only the usual number of one hundred and one *tithis*; *viz.* in the bright fortnight of Chaitra, 15; in Vaiśākha, 30; in Jyēshtha, 30; and in Āshāḍha, 15 in the dark fortnight, and 11 in the bright.¹ From this number of *tithis*, 101, we subtract the *tithi-dhruva*, 5. And the remainder, 96, is the number of *tithis* elapsed from the end of Chaitra *śukla* 5 up to the end of Āshāḍha *śukla* 11. But the *tithi-bhōga*, which we have already arrived at, is the end of Chaitra *śukla* 6; and the same number of *tithis*, 96, expire from the end of Chaitra *śukla* 6 up to the end of Āshāḍha *śukla* 12. Therefore, adding to the *tithi-bhōga* the solar equivalent, now to be introduced, the result will bring us to the end of the given *tithi*, Āshāḍha *śukla* 12.

Turning to Table III. *p.* 14, we find that the equivalent, in mean solar days, of 96 *tithis*, is *days* 94, *gh.* 17, *p.* 36. And, adding this to the *tithi-bhōga*, the result, *days* 95, *gh.* 23, *p.* 24, gives the interval that had elapsed, from sunrise on the day of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti* up to the end of Āshāḍha *śukla* 12 as a mean *tithi*.

¹ We are dealing with a northern date; and that is why the *tithis* are counted in this way. If we were dealing with a southern date, the enumeration would be, in Chaitra, 30; in Vaiśākha, 30; in Jyēshtha, 30; and in the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha, 11. The total is the same, 101, since a bright fortnight is concerned.

Now, however, we have to determine the *spashṭa-tithi*, or apparent *tithi*. For this purpose, we require the *parākhya*-correction, which is to be ascertained through the *tithi-kēndra*.

Turning again to Table III. p. 14, we find that the variation in the *tithi-kēndra* for 96 *tithis* is *tithis* 12, *gh.* 1, *p.* 20. Enter this in (c), below *tithis* 22, *gh.* 18, *p.* 35, which we have already arrived at as the *tithi-kēndra* at the end of Chaitra śukla 6. Add the two quantities together; and the result, — excluding 28 *tithis*, as before, — is *tithis* 6, *gh.* 19, *p.* 55; which is the *tithi-spashṭa-kēndra* at the end of the given *tithi*, Āshāḍha śukla 12.

With this argument, we turn to Table IV. p. 20, for the *parākhya*-correction. In this Table, the correction is given for *tithis* and *ghaṭīs*, at intervals of ten *ghaṭīs*. Thus, for the *tithi-spashṭa-kēndra*, *tithis* 6, *gh.* 10, the *parākhya* is *gh.* 24, *p.* 10; and for *tithis* 6, *gh.* 20, it is *gh.* 24, *p.* 19. The difference, 9 *palas*, is shewn in the last column of the Table, and would serve to calculate the exact *parākhya* for the *tithi-spashṭa-kēndra*. But here it is sufficiently close for our purposes to take the *parākhya* as *gh.* 24, *p.* 19.

Under (a) the *abdapa*, enter this *parākhya* below the sum of the *tithi-bhōga* and the solar equivalent of 96 *tithis*, and, — as is indicated by the sign plus at the top of col. 1 in Table IV., — add it to that sum.

The result, *vāras* 95, *gh.* 47, *p.* 43, gives the number of days, and parts of a day, that had elapsed, from sunrise on the day of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*, up to the end of the apparent Āshāḍha śukla 12. To the days, 95, add 1, the week-day of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*. Divide the sum, 96, by 7, and the result is 13 weeks, and 5 days over; which shews that the current week-day of Āshāḍha śukla 12 was the fifth day in the week; that is Thursday. The remaining quantities, *gh.* 47, *p.* 43, shew the time after sunrise, on that Thursday, on which the given *tithi*, Āshāḍha śukla 12, ended.

The Tables in Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, however, are adapted to the meridian of Bombay. The *ghaṭīs* and *palas*, therefore, of a *tithi* worked out by the method exhibited above, are for Bombay; and are to be reckoned from mean sunrise at Bombay. When the *tithi* is required for any other particular place, the difference of longitude in time (one degree = ten *palas*) is to be added or subtracted, according as the place is east or west of Bombay. In the present instance, as I learned after first working it out, the above Śaka date was selected in consequence of its being the equivalent of the date, in Gupta-Samvat 165, recorded in the pillar inscription of Budhagupta at Êraṇ in the Central Provinces. We have therefore now to determine the *tithi* for Êraṇ itself. The longitude of Bombay is 72° 51'; and that of Êraṇ is 78° 15'; both east of Greenwich. Êraṇ, therefore is 5 degrees, 24 minutes, east from Bombay. Adding (5° 24' × 10 =) 54 *palas* to 47 *ghaṭīs* and 43 *palas*, which we have obtained above for Bombay, the *tithi* at Êraṇ is *gh.* 48, *p.* 37, reckoned from mean sunrise on the same day, Thursday.

The above result is sufficient for all practical purposes. But it is further to be noted that the *tithis* in our *Pañchāṅgs* are intended to be given from apparent sunrise. In practice, however, so much minuteness is not always and everywhere attempted; at least, in the present day, in the Dekkan. For this reason, it seems, Prof. K. L. Chhatre has not noticed this point in his method exhibited above. But I will now give the *tithi* in question from apparent sunrise at Êraṇ. Without going through the process, which is rather too complicated to be given in the présent paper, I will state only the result, that the apparent sunrise at Êraṇ, on the day in question, took place *gh.* 1, *p.* 56, before the mean sunrise; the latitude of Êraṇ used in the process, being $24^{\circ} 5'$. Adding, therefore, *gh.* 1, *p.* 56, to the above result from mean sunrise, we get *gh.* 50, *p.* 33, reckoned from apparent sunrise, as the time at which the given *tithi*, Âshāḍha śukla 12, ended at Êraṇ on the Thursday.

Before dismissing this part of the subject, I would point out that the calculation of a *tithi*, by the above method, is not of necessity absolutely accurate, according to the present absolutely accurate European Tables of the sun and the moon. Absolute accuracy, in this sense, could be ensured only by working from the actual places or longitudes of the sun and the moon, to be determined in strict accordance with the method prescribed for that purpose. The *tithi* obtained by the method exhibited above, will differ, sometimes by as much as ten *ghaṭīs*, from that which would be obtained from the apparent places of the sun and the moon, actually calculated from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables for the sun and the moon. The difference, however, at full-moon and new-moon will be very small, one *ghaṭī* at the greatest; and it reaches its maximum on the eighth *tithi* of the bright and of the dark fortnight. But, in respect of this second possible method of Prof. K. L. Chhatre, it must be stated that we have nothing to do with it in dealing with Hindu *tithis*; for the reason that, with the exception of the *phala-saṃskāra*, the corrections introduced by him in finding the apparent longitude of the moon, were not taken into account by ancient Hindu astronomers.

And, on the other hand, the method exhibited above being in close agreement with Hindu works, it may be claimed that the *tithi* obtained by it will differ but very little from the *tithi* obtained by the method prescribed in the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* and other Hindu works. The difference¹ will amount to five or six *ghaṭīs* at the utmost; and that in but very few cases.

In order, however, that no room may be left for doubt, I have also calculated the *tithi* in the present example actually by the *Āryabhaṭīya* or *Ārya-Siddhānta* of the first Āryabhaṭa, the *Brahma-Siddhānta* of Brahmagupta, the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, the *Siddhānta*.

¹ See page 149 above, note 1.

Sirāmani, and the *Ārya-Siddhānta* of the second Āryabhaṭa.¹ I calculated it first for Ujjain, *i.e.* for the Hindu meridian, reckoning from the mean sunrise there; and then turned it into the *tithi* for Ēran. The longitude of Ujjain is $75^{\circ} 43'$ east of Greenwich. I have also calculated the *ghaṭis* and *palas* from the apparent sunrise at Ēran; and all the results are given in Table VI., on the upper part of page 157 below. From them we see that the *tithi* fell on a 'Thursday,' according to all the authorities.

¹ *i.e.* the work that is usually called the *Laghu-Ārya-Siddhānta*.—There are two distinct and separate works, each bearing the name of Āryabhaṭa as its author. The one published by Dr. Kern contains one hundred and eighteen verses in the Āryā metre, and is called *Āryabhaṭīya* in general and by the author himself, but it may, and justly so, be called *Ārya-Siddhānta*; and it is called so by many Hindu astronomers. The date of this work is Saka-Samvat 421 expired (A.D. 499-500). The other, which, I believe, has not yet been printed, contains about six hundred and twenty-five verses in the Āryā metre, divided into eighteen chapters. The date of it is not given, but, from internal evidence, I find that it is later than the *Brahma-Siddhānta* of Brahmagupta (Saka-Samvat 530 expired; A.D. 608-9); and there is a reference to it in the *Siddhānta-Sirāmani* (Saka-Samvat 1072 expired; A.D. 1150-51). Its date, therefore, lies somewhere between these two limits. In the first verse of it, the author calls himself Āryabhaṭa; and his work, a *Siddhānta*, without *Laghu* or any other epithet. In a manuscript copy of it, I find that it is named *Mahā-Siddhānta* at the end of some chapters, and *Laghu-Ārya-Siddhānta* at the end of others. For the sake of distinction and convenience, it is better to call the authors of these two works, the first and the second Āryabhaṭa. The numbers of the revolutions of the planets &c. given, as belonging to the *Ārya-Siddhānta*, in the Rev. L. Burgess' Translation of the *Ārya-Siddhānta* and in some instances those given by Prinsep (*Prinsep's Essay*, Vol. II. Useful Tables, n. 15) as belonging to the same authority, belong really to the second Āryabhaṭa. Probably, when these gentlemen wrote, they had not themselves seen the *Siddhānta* of the first Āryabhaṭa. Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, also, was not, it seems, aware of the two different Āryabhaṭas, when he wrote (*Indian Era*, p. 88) "according to Warren the number of days assigned by Āryabhaṭa to a *Malayuga* of 2,320,000 years is 1,577,917,500 in the south of India and 42 more in the MSS. preserved in Bengal." Of these two numbers, the former belongs to the first, and the latter to the second, Āryabhaṭa.

² *i.e.* on a Hindu Thursday.—It must be borne in mind that the Hindu week-day is reckoned, with the solar day and night, from sunrise to sunrise, as stated at page 146 f. above; but the English week-day, and the civil date coupled with it, from midnight to midnight. In comparing Hindu and English dates, the only course is to take mean sunrise and mean midnight (6^h 0 A.M. and 12^h 0 P.M. respectively), and to give, as the English equivalent, that week-day, with its civil date, which is actually running during these eighteen hours, when of course the same week-day is running in India; *i.e.* the week-day which is identical for the greater part by both the English and the Hindu reckonings. And, if the difference in mean time between Greenwich and Ujjain, *viz.* 5 hours, 2 minutes, 52 seconds (using the same longitude for Ujjain, $75^{\circ} 43'$, taken from Keith Johnston's Atlas, that is used by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshīt for his calculations in this paper and for the *Sāyana-Pañchāṅg*) be taken into consideration, of course the week-days of the two places are absolutely identical, except for the space of 57 minutes, 8 seconds, or 2 *ghaṭis*, 22⁸ *palas*, at the end of the Hindu week-day; during that time, while at Ujjain a Hindu Thursday for instance, is still running, at Greenwich the week-day will be Friday. Owing to this, there may sometimes be a nominal discrepancy in the resulting English week-day for a given *tithi*; but the instances will be few and far between, as very few *tithis* will be found to end so late after sunrise; and the discrepancy will be confined mostly to such occurrences as the heliacal rising of Jupiter (see, for instance, the double dates which it has been necessary to quote at page 104 ff. above). In the present case, not one of the ending-points of the given *tithi* falls within the debatable period; either for Ujjain, or for Ēran, which is appreciably to the east of Ujjain.—J. F. F.]

TABLE VI.

The Times, after Sunrise, of the ending of a given Tithi.

Saka-Samvat 406 expired = A.D. 484-85 current.

Āshāḍha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the 12th tithi; Suraguruvāra (Thursday).

The Time, after Sunrise, at which the Tithi ended.	By K. L. Chhatre's method exhibited above.	By the Arya-Siddhānta of the first Āryabhaṭa.	By the Brahma-Siddhānta of Brahma-gupta.	By the Śūrya-Siddhānta.	By the Siddhānta-Sirōmani.	By the Ārya-Siddhānta of the second Āryabhaṭa.
	gh. p.	gh. p.	gh. p.	gh. p.	gh. p.	gh. p.
Reckoned from mean sunrise at Bombay ..	47 43	49 19	49 46	50 42	52 52	54 24
„ „ „ „ „ Ujjain ...	48 12	49 48	50 15	51 11	53 21	54 53
„ „ „ „ „ Ēran	48 37	50 13	50 40	51 36	53 46	55 18
„ „ apparent sunrise at Ēraṇ ..	50 33	52 9	52 36	53 32	55 42	57 14

TABLE VII.

Calculation of the English Date of a given Tithi.

Śaka-Samvat 406 expired = A.D. 484-85 current.

Āshāḍha (June-July); the bright fortnight; the 12th tithi; Suraguruvāra (Thursday).

	days	gh.	p.
Date of the <i>Mēsha-Samkrānti</i> in March of A.D. 0 (p. 30)	13	59	10
Add variation for 400 years A.D. (p. 30)	3	30	9
„ „ 84 years A.D. (p. 27)	0	44	7
<hr/>			
Date of the <i>Mēsha-Samkrānti</i> in March of A.D. 484	18	13	26
Add days elapsed from the <i>Mēsha-Samkrānti</i> up to the given <i>tithi</i> , from col. (a) of the previous process	95		
<hr/>			
	113		
Deduct number of days in completed months from the 1st March:—			
March	31		
April	30		
May	31		
<hr/>			
	02		
<hr/>			
Remainder is the current day of the next month, and the current day of the given <i>tithi</i> ..	21		
<hr/>			
Result; 21st June, A.D. 484			

If, by the calculations detailed above, we find that a certain *tithi* ended nearly at the end of a Hindu day,—for instance, fifty-seven *ghaṭīs* after sunrise on a Sunday; *i.e.* three *ghaṭīs* before sunrise on Monday,—there may be the possibility that it really ended shortly after sunrise on the following day, Monday. And, on the other hand, if our results shew that a certain *tithi* ended shortly after the commencement of a Hindu day,—for instance, three *ghaṭīs* after sunrise on a Sunday,—there may be the possibility that it really ended shortly before the termination of the preceding day, Saturday.

In dealing with a particular record that, on a certain week-day, there was a certain *tithi*, we can only be sure of absolute accuracy in our results, if we can ascertain, so as to apply, the actual authority and method used by the author of the calendar which the drafter of that record consulted in preparing his statement. The method exhibited above, however, may be safely relied on for all practical purposes.

To find the English Date for a given Tithi.

The materials for this process are to be found in Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, in Table IX. on page 27, and in Table XI. on page 30.

The English date answering to the given Hindu date in our present example, has obviously to be worked out according to the Julian Calendar, or Old Style; being long anterior to A.D. 1752, when the Gregorian Calendar, or New Style, was introduced.

From the heading of Table XI. p. 30, we find that, in A.D. 0, the Hindu *Mēsha-Samkrānti* occurred on the 13th March, and *gh.* 59, *p.* 10, after sunrise (civil time). Enter these quantities (see Table VII. on the lower part of page 157 above). And below them, enter the *bhēda* or variation for the component parts of the given current year A.D., in this instance A.D. 484-(85), which is always obtained by adding A.D. 78-(79) to the given expired Śaka year; *viz.* for 400, *days* 3, *gh.* 30, *p.* 9, from Table XI.; and for 84, *days* 0, *gh.* 44, *p.* 7, from Table IX.

Add these quantities together. The result, for A.D. 484, is *days* 18, *gh.* 13, *p.* 26. And this shews that, in A.D. 484, the Hindu *Mēsha-Samkrānti* occurred on the 18th March, and 13 *ghaṭīs* and 26 *palas*¹ after sunrise.

Add 95, which we have already ascertained, in the previous process, under (a) the *abdapa*, to be the number of days that had elapsed from sunrise on the day of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*, up to sunrise on the day on which the given *tithi* ended. The sum, 113, gives the number of days up to, and inclusive of, the given *tithi*, from, and inclusive of, the 1st March.

¹The *ghaṭīs* and *palas* ought to agree with the *ghaṭīs* and *palas* of the *abdapa* of Śaka-Samvat 406 expired, in col. (a) of the previous process. Here there is a difference of 2·4 *palas*; which shews that there is a small mistake somewhere in the Tables.

From this sum subtract the number of days in as many entire months as were completed within the total of 113 days; *vis.* in the present instance, in March, 31 days; in April, 30; and in May, 31; total, 92.

The remainder, in this instance 21, gives the current day of the next month, corresponding to the given *tithi*. The result, therefore, in the present instance, is the **21st June, A.D. 484, Old Style**. The identification of this date with the week-day previously obtained for the given *tithi*, may be verified by any of the ordinary means available. For instance, from General Sir A. Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, Table II. p. 98, we find that the 1st January, A.D. 484, Old Style, was a Sunday. And then, turning, as the given year was a Leap-year, to the right-hand side of his Table I. p. 97, we find that the 21st June of the same year was a **Thursday**, as required.

APPENDIX III.

The Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter.

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The names of the *samvatsaras*, or years, of the **Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter**, are determined in accordance with the following rule in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira, adhyāya viii. verse 1, — *nakshatrēṇa sah=ôdayam upagachchhati yēna dēvapati-mantri*¹ | *tat-samjñam vaktavyam varsham māsa-kramēṇ=aiva* II, — “with whatever *nakshatra* (Jupiter) the counsellor of (Indra) the lord of the gods attains (*his*) rising, the year is to be spoken of (*as*) having the appellation of that (*nakshatra*), in accordance with the order of the months.”

Here, by the word *udaya*, ‘rising,’ we have to understand, not the daily rising of Jupiter, but his **heliacal rising**. Jupiter becomes invisible for some days before and after his conjunction with the sun. The sun’s daily motion is faster than that of Jupiter. So, when the sun in his course comes near Jupiter, the latter becomes invisible, on the west side of the horizon; and he is then said to set. He remains from twenty-five to thirty-one days in this state of invisibility. And, when he is left behind by the sun, he again becomes visible, in the east; and then he is said to rise. Generally, in India, when the interval between the daily settings or risings of the sun and Jupiter amounts to forty-four minutes

¹ The reading that I give, is from an old manuscript in my possession. But the commentator, Utpala, explains the verse with the reading—*nakshatrēṇa sah=ôdayam astam vā yēna yāti sura-mantri*,—‘with whatever *nakshatra* (Jupiter) the counsellor of the gods attains (*his*) rising or setting.’ It is curious that the text, in my manuscript copy, stands as given above. The copyists, however far they might go wrong in ordinary transcribing, could not, unless intentionally, turn the letters *mastam vā yēna yāti sura*, if they were original at all, into *mupagachchhati yēna dēvapati*. And Utpala himself gives the note—*Ṛishiputr-ādibhiḥ udaya-nakshatra-māsa-samjñā-kramēṇa varsham jñātavyam ity=uktam*,—“it is said by Ṛishiputra and others, that the year is to be known according to the order of the name of the month of the *nakshatra* of the rising (of Jupiter).” Also, all the other authorities, which I find giving the rule of naming the years of the cycle according to the risings of Jupiter, make each year take its name from only the rising of the planet; not from its setting.—[The reading in the text above, is the one adopted by Kern, in his edition of the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*, p. 47. His translation (*Four. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 45*) is—“each year (during which Jupiter completes a twelfth part of his revolution) has to bear the name of the lunar mansion in which he rises; the years follow each other in the same order as the lunar months.” Both in his *Various Readings*, p. 6, and in the note to his translation, he notices the reading *sah=ôdayam astam vā yēna yāti sura-mantri*. But he points out that “the comparison of the MSS leaves little doubt that this reading is a correction, suggested by the remark of Utpala, that, in case the planet should set in one and rise in another *nakshatra*, only that name must be taken which agrees with the order of the month.—J. F. F.]

(of time), then the so-called setting or rising of Jupiter, *i.e.* his heliacal setting or rising, takes place.

To such a system, as is taught in this verse of Varāhamihira, and by no less than eleven other authorities, as will be seen further on, or determining the commencement of a *samvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle, and of naming it, from Jupiter's heliacal-rising, I would give the name of the **heliacal-rising system**, in order to distinguish it from the other system in which the duration and name of a *samvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle are determined from the particular sign of the zodiac in which Jupiter stands with reference to his mean longitude, and which latter system, to be mentioned more fully, further on, I would name the **mean-sign system**.

Now, the years of the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter and of the Twelve-Year Cycle according to the mean-sign system, are determined by his mean longitude,¹ which sometimes differs from his apparent longitude by as much as fifteen degrees. But, as the disappearance or reappearance of Jupiter is no imaginary thing, it is evident that it can be calculated, and is to be calculated, only according to Jupiter's actual place, that is, his apparent longitude (or right ascension), and not from his mean longitude. And, consequently, the beginning of each *samvatsara* of the Twelve-Year Cycle according to the heliacal-rising system, depends on Jupiter's apparent longitude at the time of his heliacal rising.

One revolution of Jupiter, in the zodiac, is completed in about twelve years; and, in twelve years, there are twelve revolutions of the sun (that is, of the earth). So that, in this period of about twelve years, there are only eleven conjunctions of the sun and Jupiter. Therefore, in twelve years there are only eleven heliacal risings of Jupiter.² The interval between two risings is generally 399 days. And thus, in each cycle of the heliacal-rising system, there are only eleven *samvatsaras* in twelve years; the duration of each being about 400 days, and one *samvatsara*, determined by the circumstances of the particular cycle, being altogether omitted.

The names of the lunar months are used as the names of the *samvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter. And the names of these months are given to the *samvatsaras*, in accordance with the particular *nakshatra* in which Jupiter's heliacal rising takes place. Of the twenty-seven *nakshatras*, two are assigned to each of nine of the twelve months; and three to each of the remaining three months. The rule for this is given in the *Bṛihat-Samhitā*, viii. 2, — varshāṇi Kārttik-ādīny=āgnēyād bha-dvay-ānuyōgini | kramaśas tri-bhaṁ tu pañchamam upāntyam antyam cha yad varsham ||,—“the years Kārttika and others (*that follow*) combine two *nakshatras*, from (*the nakshatra*) belonging

¹ The mean longitude of a heavenly body is the longitude of an imaginary body, of the same name, conceived to move uniformly with the mean motion of the real body.

² In his note on the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, xiv. 17 (see the Rev. E. Burgess' Translation, p. 271), Prof. Whitney says that Jupiter “would set and rise heliacally twelve times in each revolution, and each time about a month later than before.” But this is evidently a mistake.

TABLE VIII.

Regulation of the Names of the *Saṁvatsaras* from the *Nakshatras*.

Names and Grouping of the <i>Nakshatras</i> .	Names of the Months to be allotted to the <i>Saṁvatsaras</i> .
Kṛittikā; Rôhinî	Kārttika
Mṛiga; Ârdrâ	Mārgaśīrsha
Punarvasu; Pushya	Pausa
Âślêshâ; Maghâ	Māgha
Pûrvâ-Phalgunî; Uttarâ-Phalgunî; Hasta	Phālguna
Chitrâ; Svâtî	Chaitra
Viśâkhâ; Anurâdhâ	Vaiśâkha
Jyêshthâ; Mûla	Jyêshthâ
Pûrvâ-Ashâdâ; Uttarâ-Ashâdâ; (Abhijit)	Âshâdha
(Abhijit); Śravana; Dhanishthâ	Śrâvâṇa
Śatatârakâ; Pûrvâ-Bhâdrapadâ; Uttarâ-Bhâdrapadâ	Bhâdrapada
Rêvatî; Âśvinî; Bharaṇî	Âśvina (Âśvayuja)

to Agni (*as the starting-point*),¹ in regular succession; but that year which is the fifth, (*or*) the last but one, or the last, has three *nakshatras*.² And, from this and similar authorities, we obtain the results exhibited in Table VIII. above, for the naming of the *saṁvatsaras* from the *nakshatras*.³

Now, the twenty-seventh part of the ecliptic circle is called a *nakshatra*. And 360 degrees, divided by 27, gives 13 degrees, 20 minutes (of arc). Therefore, according to such a division of the circle into equal parts, there is this much distance from the beginning of one *nakshatra* to the beginning of the next following. And, when the longitude of a heavenly body exceeds *nil*, but does not exceed 13 degrees, 20 minutes, it is said to be in Âśvinî; and so on. The longitudes of the ending-points of all the *nakshatras*, on this system of equal spaces, are given in the last column but two

¹ *i.e.* from Kṛittikâ. Agni is the regent of the *nakshatra* Kṛittikâ, which was, at one time, the first in order of the lunar mansions.

² [Kern's text is the same. His translation is—"the years Kārttika and following comprehend two lunar mansions beginning with Kṛittikâ, and so on, in regular succession, except the fifth, eleventh, and twelfth years, to each of which appertain three asterisms."—J. F. F.]

³ I should state, however, that there is a little difference of opinion on this point. Utpala, the commentator on the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, has discussed it at length; and arrived at the conclusion which is exhibited in Table VIII. In the ancient and modern works that I have referred to, I find ten authorities,—and such ancient names as those of Vṛiddha-Garga and Kaśyapa among them,—giving the rule regulating the names of the *saṁvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle by the *nakshatras*. Out of these ten, Garga (not Vṛiddha-Garga), and Parâśara, as quoted by Utpala,—but these two only,—hold that the tenth and eleventh months, Śrâvâṇa and Bhâdrapada, have three *nakshatras* each; *viz.* Śrâvâṇa, Dhanishthâ, and Śatatârakâ, are assigned to Śrâvâṇa; and Pûrvâ-Bhâdrapadâ, Uttarâ-Bhâdrapadâ, and Rêvatî, to Bhâdrapada; and, consequently, Âśvina has only Âśvinî and Bharaṇî.

usual twenty-seven *nakshatras*, on a similar arrangement of unequal spaces, amounts to only 355 degrees, 45 minutes, 45 seconds, the remainder,—4 degrees, 14 minutes, 15 seconds,—is allotted to Abhijit, as an additional *nakshatra*, placed between Uttarā-Ashādhā and Śravaṇa. This system, which I would name the **Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces**, is best explained by Bhāskarāchārya,¹ in his *Siddhānta-Śirōmaṇi*, Part iii., chapter 2 (Grahagaṇitaspaṣṭādhikāra), verses 71 to 74. His text, and his own commentary on it, are as follows, —

sthūlam kṛitaṁ bh-ānayanam yad ētaj jyōtirvidāṁ samvyavahāra-hētōh || 71 || Sūkshmaṁ pravakshyē=tha muni-praṇītaṁ vivāha-yātr-ādiphala-prasiddhyai | adhyardha-bhōgāni shaḍ atra taj-jñāḥ prōchur Viśakh-Āditibha-dhruvāni || 72 || Shaḍ ardha-bhōgāni cha Bhōgi-Rudra-Vāt-Āntak-Ēndr-ādhipa-Vāruṇāni | śēshāny=ataḥ pañchadaś=aika-bhōgāny=uktō bha-bhōgaḥ śaṣi-madhyabhuktiḥ || 73 || Sarv-arksha-bhōg-ōnita-chakra-liptā Vaiśv-āgrataḥ syād Abhijid-bha-bhōgaḥ | 74 ||

Commentary.—Iha yan nakshatr-ānayanam kṛitaṁ tat sthūlam lōka-vyavahār-ārtha-mātraṁ kṛitaṁ || Atha Pulīśa-Vasishṭha-Garg-ādibhir yad vivāha-yātr-ādaḥ samyak-phala-siddhyartham kathitaṁ tat sūkshmam idānīm pravakshyē || Tatra shaḍ adhyardha-bhōgāni | Viśakhā Punarvasu Rōhiṇy=Uttarā-trayam | atha shaḍ ardha-bhōgāni | Āślēśh=Ārdra Svātī Bharanī Jyēshṭhā Śatabhishak | ēbhyaḥ śēshāni pañchadaś=aika-bhōgāni || Bhōga-pramāṇam tu śaṣi-madhyabhuktiḥ 790 35 | adhyardha-bhōgaḥ 1185 52½ | ardha-bhōgaḥ 395 17½ || Sarv-arksha-bhōgair ūnitānām chakra-kalānām yach chhēśham sō=Bhijid-bhōgaḥ 254 15 ||

Translation.—“This bringing out of *nakshatras* (*i.e.* the method of finding *nakshatras*, with their *ghaṭīs* and *palas*) which has been made (*in the preceding verses*), (*is*) rough, (*and is only*) for the practical purposes of astrologers. Now I will explain the accurate (*method*) taught by [Pulīśa, Vasishṭha, Garga, and other] sages, for the purpose of securing [good] results in the case of a marriage, a journey, &c. On this point, those who are versed in that (*branch of the science*) say, that six (*nakshatras*) have (*each*) a space which is one-and-a-half (*times of the average space*); (*viz.*) Viśakhā, Āditibha (Punarvasu), and the *dhruvās* (Rōhiṇī, Uttarā-Phalgunī, Uttarā-Ashādhā, and Uttarā-Bhādrapadā). And six have a half space (*each*); (*viz.*) those the lords of which are Bhōgin, Rudra, Vāta, Antaka, and Indra, and Vāruṇa [Āślēśhā, Ārdra, Svātī, Bharanī, Jyēshṭhā, (*and*) Śatabhishaj (Śatatārakā)]. The remaining fifteen (*nakshatras*) have one space (*each*). The (*average*) space of a *nakshatra* is declared to be the (*daily*) mean motion of the moon [790' 35" (=13° 10' 35")]. [A one-and-a-half space (*is*) 1185' 52½" (=19° 45' 52½")]. A half space (*is*) 395' 17½" (=6° 35' 17½")]. The space of the *nakshatra* Abhijit, (*which comes*) next after Vaiśva (Uttarā-Ashādhā), is [the remainder, 254' 15" (=4° 14' 15"), of] the minutes of the whole circle, diminished by the spaces of all the (*other*) *nakshatras*.” The longitudes of the ending-points of all the *nakshatras* according to this system, are given in the last column of Table IX., on page 165 above. And, as before,

¹ The system explained by Bhāskarāchārya, now given, is just the same as that in the *Brahma-Siddhānta*. It seems unnecessary, therefore, to give the verses from the *Siddhānta* itself.

TABLE X.
Details of two Twelve-Year Cycles of Jupiter.

Solar-Sanskrit, etc.	English Date.	Longitude of Jupiter.	Nakshatra.	Month and Name of the Samskrata.
1780	Ābhika-Jyēṣṭha sūkla 10	7th June, 1858	41° 47'	Rōhini Kārttika
1781	Āshāḍha sūkla 14	13th July, 1859	77 2	Punarvasu Pausa
1782	Śrāvaṇa kṛishṇa 13	15th August, 1860	110 20	Āślāḣhā Māgha
1783	Bhādrapada sūkla 13	16th September, 1861	141 38	Uttarā-Phalgunī Phālguna
1784	Āṣvina kṛishṇa 9	17th October, 1862	171 55	Chitrā Chaitra
1785	Kārttika sūkla 6	16th November, 1863	201 32	Vaiśākha Vaiśākha
1786	Māgadhya kṛishṇa 3	16th December, 1864	232 3	Mūla Jyēṣṭha
1787	Māgha sūkla 2	18th January, 1866	263 48	Uttarā-Āshāḍhā Āshāḍha
1788	Māgha kṛishṇa 4	22nd February, 1867	298 0	Dhanishṭhā Śrāvaṇa
1790	Chaitra sūkla 5	20th March, 1868	334 3	Uttarā-Bhādrapadā Bhādrapada
1791	Ābhika-Vaiśākha kṛishṇa 10	6th May, 1869	10 27	Āṣvini Āṣvina
1792	Jyēṣṭha sūkla 12	12th June, 1870	46 39	Rōhini Kārttika
1793	Śrāvaṇa sūkla 1	18th July, 1871	81 47	Punarvasu Pausa
1794	Śrāvaṇa kṛishṇa 1	19th August, 1872	114 45	Māgha Māgha
1795	Bhādrapada kṛishṇa 14	20th September, 1873	145 53	Uttarā-Phalgunī Phālguna
1796	Āṣvina sūkla 11	21st October, 1874	175 52	Chitrā Chaitra
1797	Kārttika kṛishṇa 8	20th November, 1875	205 39	Vaiśākha Vaiśākha
1798	Pausa sūkla 1	16th December, 1876	235 21	Mūla Jyēṣṭha
1799	Pausa sūkla 15	18th January, 1878	267 22	Uttarā-Āshāḍhā Āshāḍha
1800	Phalgunā sūkla 6	27th February, 1879	302 46	Dhanishṭhā Śrāvaṇa
1801	Phālguna kṛishṇa 10	4th April, 1880	339 0	Uttarā-Bhādrapadā Bhādrapada
1803	Vaiśākha sūkla 12	11th May, 1881	15 30	Bharani Āṣvina

the entries of $\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in the previous sub-column, mark the spaces which differ from the average space.

Now, the additional nakshatra Abhijit, introduced in this system, is not taken into account among the *nakshatras* from which the names of the months are derived.¹ The question, therefore, occurs,—What name is to be given to the *samvatsara*, when Jupiter rises in Abhijit? It can be solved thus. Abhijit is considered to be composed of the last quarter of Uttarā-Āshāḍhā, and the first fifteenth part of Śrāvaṇa. This is stated in the following verse of Vasishṭha, as quoted in the commentary, called *Pīyūṣhadhārā*, on the *Muhūrta-Chintāmaṇi*;—Abhijid-bha-bhōgam ētaḍ Viśvédēv-āntya-pādam akhilam tat lāḍya-chataśro nāḍyō Haribhāsyā,—“this (*is*) the longitude of Abhijit; the whole last quarter of Viśvédēva (Uttarā-Āshāḍhā), (*and*) the first four *ghaṭi*s (*i.e.* the fifteenth part) of Haribha (Śrāvaṇa).” And other later authorities give the same rule. A quarter of a *nakshatra* is 3 degrees, 20 minutes; and a fifteenth part is 53 minutes, 20 seconds; and the sum of the two amounts to 4 degrees, 13 minutes, 20 seconds. In other words, Abhijit consists of nineteen parts; of which, the first fifteen come from, and properly belong to, Uttarā-Āshāḍhā; and the last four come from, and properly belong to, Śrāvaṇa. And the name of the *samvatsara* is to be determined as Āshāḍha or Śrāvaṇa, according to the particular part of Abhijit in which Jupiter rises.

As a practical illustration of the application of the rules, I give in Table X. above, a list, in which the dates of the heliacal risings of Jupiter are shewn for twenty-

¹ See the verse *varshāni Kārttik-ādini*, &c., at page 162 above.

four years, from Śaka-Samvat 1780 to 1803 (expired);¹ with Jupiter's apparent longitudes at the time, and his *nakshatras* determined from those longitudes. The dates of the risings of Jupiter are taken from ordinary *Pañchāṅgs* in my possession, printed in different Presses at various places. The lunar months in which the risings took place, are all given by the *Amānta* southern reckoning.² The longitude of Jupiter at each rising, is calculated from his longitude, given in the '*Pañchāṅgs*, at some stated interval; for instance, of seven or fifteen days. In naming the *nakshatras*, the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, in the last column of Table IX. on page 165 above, is the one that has been resorted to. In the last column, the months, that is, the names of the *saṁvatsaras* which then began, are given. It will be seen, that Mārgaśīrsha is omitted in each of these two cycles. Other *saṁvatsaras* also may be omitted, in the same way, according to the circumstances of the particular cycle

From this Table X. it will be seen that, from one rising of Jupiter to another, the motion of the planet amounts to from 30 to 36 degrees. . By the systems of unequal spaces, some months, and the *saṁvatsaras* which are named from them, have the average space of one and a half *nakshatras*; that is, about 20 degrees only; they are Mārgaśīrsha, Māgha, Chaitra, and Jyēṣṭha; and these are **the saṁvatsaras that are most apt to be omitted**. For example, in Śaka-Samvat 1780 expired, when Jupiter rose, he was in Rôhīṇī. The following rising took place in Punarvasu; that is, from the first rising, he passed entirely through Mriga and Ārdra, before the next rising occurred. And, therefore, Mārgaśīrsha was omitted. Again, by these two systems, Śrāvaṇa contains the average space of two *nakshatras*; that is, about 26 degrees, 40 minutes; and, therefore, it also is liable to be omitted. Kārttika, Pausha, Vaiśākha, Āshāḍha, and Āśvina, contain the average space of two and a half *nakshatras* each; that is, about 33 degrees; and will but rarely be omitted. And Phālguna and Bhādrapada, containing not less than 40 degrees each, will never be omitted. So also, by the system of equal spaces, the nine months that contain two *nakshatras* each (excluding Abhijit), are sometimes likely to be omitted. But the remaining three, *viz.* Phālguna, Bhādrapada, and Āśvina, containing three *nakshatras* each, will never be omitted.

On the other hand, sometimes it is possible that **a saṁvatsara may be repeated**. By either system of unequal spaces, this may happen in respect of Kārttika, Pausha, Phālguna, Vaiśākha, Āshāḍha, Bhādrapada, and Āśvina; but, by the system of equal spaces, only in respect of Phālguna, Bhādrapada, and Āśvina. And, whenever a *saṁvatsara* is repeated, then two *saṁvatsaras* will be omitted in the same cycle; one, under ordinary circumstances; and one, on account of the repetition.

¹ Out of these years, in Śaka-Samvat 1789 expired, and again in 1802 expired, no heliacal rising took place.

² See page 148 above, note 1.

In the preceding remarks, my object has been to explain concisely the system of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter that is based on his heliacal risings; and the three methods for determining the *nakshatra* with which the heliacal rising takes place. I have now to make a few observations of a more general kind; and to introduce the eleven other authorities of which I have spoken at page 162 above. Before doing so, however, I must refer more fully to another system, which also has been incidentally mentioned, of naming the *samvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle according to Jupiter's passage from one sign of the zodiac into another, with reference to his mean longitude.

The rule for that which I have named the mean-sign system, is thus given by Āryabhaṭa in his *Ārya-Siddhānta* or *Āryabhaṭīya*, Kālakriyāpāda, verse 4,—Guru-bhagaṇā rāṣi-guṇās tv=Āśvayuj-ādyā Gurōr abdhāḥ,—“the revolutions of Jupiter, multiplied by the signs (twelve), (are) the years of Jupiter, the first of which is Āśvayuja.” And it is given, in very similar words, by Brahmagupta, in his *Brahma-Siddhānta*, adhyāya xiii. verse 42,—Guru-varshāṇy=Āśvayujād dvādaśa-guṇitā Gurōr bhagaṇāḥ. In this rule, the revolutions (*bhagaṇa*) are meant to be taken from the beginning of the Kalpa, or of a Mahāyuga. But, for practical purposes, we need not go back so far. One Twelve-Year Cycle is completed in one revolution. And, therefore, we can determine the *samvatsara* for a given year, or for any given date in it, by taking Jupiter's signs, including the current sign, of the current revolution, and counting from Āśvayuja. In this system, the signs are intended to be taken, and in practice are taken, according to Jupiter's mean longitude. Now, suppose that on a certain day Jupiter's mean longitude is 9 signs and 12 degrees; i.e. that he is in the tenth sign. Then, counting from Āśvayuja, we have Āśhāḍha, as the current *samvatsara* for the given day.¹

The names of the *samvatsaras* of the Sixty-Year Cycle also,—according to that which is usually called the northern system, but which is, in reality, the only truly astrono-

¹ In his treatment of the Twelve-Year Cycle (*Indian Eras*, p. 26 ff.), Gen. Sir A. Cunningham opens the subject by quoting Kern's translation (see page 161 above, note 1) of the same verse in the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā* which I use for the same purpose. But, for the rest, he altogether ignores the force of the reference to Jupiter's rising, and treats the subject as if the heliacal-rising system, described by me above, did not exist at all. What he has deduced from the verse, is only the mean-sign system, which the verse does not really refer to at all; and in respect of which he is wrong in making the *samvatsaras* of both the Twelve-Year and the Sixty-Year Cycle, begin and end with the luni-solar years. The rules that he applies give, at the best, only the *samvatsaras* of the Twelve-Year Cycle by the mean-sign system, and of the Sixty-Year Cycle, that are current at the commencement of a given solar year; they do not provide for the essential point in both the cycles, viz. the determination of the exact day on which a given *samvatsara* of either cycle commences.—I have not had an opportunity of seeing the writings of Davis and Warren on this subject. But, with all due deference, I may safely say that the Twelve-Year Cycle by the heliacal-rising system, has hitherto remained quite unknown to European scholars.—I would take this opportunity of remarking that I can find no authority for the introduction, in Kern's translation, of the bracketed words “(during which Jupiter completes a twelfth part of his revolution).” Jupiter completes a twelfth part (*rāṣi*) of his revolution in about three hundred and sixty-one days; while the interval between two of his heliacal risings is about four hundred days.

mical system of it, and was current, as is shewn by many epigraphical quotations of it, in Southern India also,—are determined by Jupiter's mean place. And the rule is thus given in the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, i. 55,—*dvādaśa-ghnā Gurōr yāta-bhagaṇā vartamānakaiḥ* | *rāśibhiḥ sahitāḥ suddhāḥ shashtyā syur Vijay-ādayaḥ* ||,—“the expired revolutions of Jupiter, multiplied by twelve, (*then*) increased by the current signs (*of the current revolution*), (*and then*) divided by sixty, are (*i.e.* the remainder is) (*the samvatsaras counted from*) Vijaya as the first.” In fact, the Sixty-Year Cycle, and the Twelve-Year Cycle of the mean-sign system, are quite identical with regard to the day of the commencement of each *samvatsara*; and, consequently, with regard also to its duration, which, according to Jupiter's mean motion as given in the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, is 361 days, 1 *ghaṭī*, 36 *palas*. The Twelve-Year Cycle of the mean-sign system, therefore, with regard to its other details, may be most properly described with the Sixty-Year Cycle, which I shall treat of fully on a separate occasion. And I have introduced the present brief mention of it, only because references to it are unavoidable in the following observations.

The eleven authorities for the heliacal-rising system, in addition to the *Bṛihat-Samhitā*, of which I have spoken, are as follows;—(1) *Parāśara* says—*Kṛitikā-Rōhinīś=ūditē kshuch-chhastr-āgni-vṛishṭi-vyādhi-prābalyam* *Chitrā-Svātyōr uditē nṛipa-sasya-varsha-kshēm-ārōgya-karaḥ*.—(2) *Garga* says—*pravās-āntē sah=arkshēṇa hy=uditō yuga-pach charē* | *tasmāt kālād ṛiksha-pūrvō Gurōr abdaḥ pravartatē* ||.—(3) *Kaśyapa* says—*samvatsara-yugē ch=aiva shashty-abdē¹=ngirasas sutaḥ* | *yan-nakshatr-ōdayam kuryāt tat-samjñam vatsaram viduḥ* ||.—(4) *Ṛishiputra* says—*yasmin tishṭhati nakshatrē saha yēna pravardhatē* | *samvatsaras sa vijñēyas tan-nakshatr-ābhidhānakāḥ* ||.—(5) Also, in the following, *Ṛishiputra* quotes *Vasishṭha* and *Atri*, in addition to *Parāśara*, who is separately referred to above,—*Tishy-ādika-yugam prāhur Vasishṭh-Ātri-Parāśarāḥ* | *Bṛhaspatēs tu Saumy-āntam sadā dvādaśa-vārshikam* || *Udēti yasmin māsē tu pravās-ōpagatō=ngirāḥ* | *tasmāt samvatsaraḥ*.—(6) In the *Samāsa-Samhitā*, a short work by *Varāhamihira*, we have²—*Gurur udayati nakshatrē yasmin tat-samjñitāni varshāṇi*.—(7) *Bṛhaspati*, as quoted in the *Kiraṇāvali*, a commentary by *Dādābhāi* on the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, says—*yadā Gur-ūdayō bhānōr Gurōr abdas tad-āditāḥ*.—(8) In the *Nārada-Samhitā*, *Guruchārādhyāya*, we have — *yad-dhishṇy-ābhyuditō Jivas tannakshatr-āhva-vatsaraḥ*.—(9) In the *Muhūrta-Tattva*, *Guruchāra*, verse 7, we have — *dvy-ṛikshō=Gnēḥ Kārttikāt try-ṛiksha ishu-ravi-Śivō=bdāḥ sa yēn=ōdit=Ējyah*.—(10) In the *Jyōtishadarpaṇa*, *adhyāya v.*, we have — *yasminn abhyuditō Jivas tan-*

¹ From this, it appears that the *samvatsaras* of the Sixty-Year Cycle also, were originally determined by the heliacal risings of the planet. And corroboration of this is afforded by a verse of *Varāhamihira*, quoted further on. The above verse of *Kaśyapa*, evidently applies to the Twelve-Year Cycle also.

² I have taken this, and the preceding five quotations, from *Utpala's* commentary on the *Bṛihat-Samhitā*.

nakshatrasya vatsarah. — It is unnecessary to translate these ten quotations; as the general purport of all of them is the same; viz. that “a *samvatsara* is to be named after that *nakshatra* in which Jupiter attains his rising.”—(11) In the remaining authority, the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, the rule appears to be a little different from that of all the other authorities; though the general features are the same. And, for this reason, though the work is one of the earliest, I have quoted it last. The rule is given in the verse—*Vaiśākh-ādishu kṛṣṇe cha yōgaḥ pañchadaśē tithau | Kārttik-ādīni varshāni Gurōr ast-ōdayāt tathā ||*,—“and the years Kārttika and others (*that follow*) (*are to be named*) from the rising, after setting, of Jupiter,¹ according to the occurrence (*of Kṛittikā and other nakshatras*)² on the fifteenth *tithi* in the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha and other (*months that follow*).” The application of this rule seems to be thus:—The years are to be named, according as Kṛittikā and other *nakshatras*,—evidently those in which the sun and the moon stand,—occur on the *amāvāsyā* of Vaiśākha and others, immediately preceding or following³ the day on which Jupiter rises; that is, on whatever day Jupiter may rise, the *nakshatra* on either the preceding, or the following, *amāvāsyā*, gives the name to the *samvatsara*. This rule seems to have been alluded to, though not in the name of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, by Utpala; but it is rejected by him. It may possibly have been occasionally in use; but it certainly does not apply to the Gupta records.

Now, all these quotations distinctly refer, in some form or another, to the rising of Jupiter; which it is impossible to understand as meaning anything but his heliacal-rising. And, if the rising referred to is the heliacal-rising, then no astronomer can deny that, in the period of about twelve solar years, there are only eleven conjunctions of Jupiter

¹ I should remark that Raṅganātha, one of the best commentators on the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, explains this verse with the understanding, into which he seems to have been led by Utpala's comments on the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā*, viii. 1, that *ast-ōdayāt* means “from the setting or rising.” He adds, however, — *idānīm udaya-varsha-vyavahārō gṛahakair ganyatē*,—“at the present time, the practice of (naming) the year by the rising, is taken into account by astronomers.” For the sake of consistency, it is justifiable to translate the expression *ast-ōdayāt* as I have translated it above; and the use of the compounded base in the singular, supports that translation. I also find that Dādābhāṭi, in his commentary on the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, explains it in the same way; his words being — *tath=āstād udaya-kālē Gurōs tad-yukta-nakshatra-saṃjñō Gurōr abdō jñēyah*,—“so the year of Jupiter is to be known as having the appellation of that *nakshatra* with which he is joined at the time of (his) rising after setting.”—[There can be no doubt that *ast-ōdayāt* is used here in the sense of “from the rising after setting;” compare such compounds as *supt-ōtthita*, ‘having arisen from sleep;’ *lit.* ‘having slept and then having risen.’—J. F. F.]

² These words, in connection with *yōgaḥ*, have to be supplied from the preceding verse, in which the result exhibited in Table VIII. page 163 above, is given.

³ Which of the two, cannot be determined from the context; and I can find no commentator who has explained the point properly. I myself think that the following *amāvāsyā* is intended. But seems that Utpala, in his allusion to this rule, takes the preceding *amāvāsyā*.

and the sun, and consequently eleven heliacal risings of the planet. And, this fact being established, the interval of about four hundred days between two successive risings, —the same period, for the duration of each *samvatsara*,—the omission of one *samvatsara* in each cycle of twelve years,—and all the other points described by me,—follow of necessity

It will, doubtless, have been noticed that I have not been able to give any quotations from the first *Āryabhaṭa* (born A.D. 476) or *Brahmagupta* (born A.D. 598), in support of the heliacal-rising system. And it might be sought to base some argument against its existence, on the grounds that these two early authorities, who moreover may be said to be the originators of two of the three schools of astronomers in India, are silent about it, though they do give the mean-sign system. But the facts only prove the early existence and use of the mean-sign system; which I do not seek to deny. They do not prove, either that the heliacal-rising system did not exist; or that, having existed, it had gone out of use in their time. To take another instance, *Āryabhaṭa* and *Brahmagupta* give no rule for finding the *samvatsaras* of the Sixty-Year Cycle; but, to say that this cycle was not known to either of them, would hardly be sensible. The mean-sign system for the Twelve-Year Cycle is undoubtedly early. But the heliacal-rising system is earlier still. Among the authorities quoted above, the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*¹ is as early a work as the *Āryabhaṭīya*, if not earlier. And, that *Parāśara*, *Garga*, and *Kaśyapa*, are earlier than *Āryabhaṭa*, cannot be denied. *Utpala* quotes a verse of *Garga*, which, with some proposed emendations, I give as it stands in my manuscript copy,—*ēvam Āśvayujam ch=aiva Chaitram ch=aiva Bṛhaspatiḥ | samvatsarō(?ram) nāma(?śa) yatē saptaitēda (? saptaty-abda)-śatē=dhikē ||*² This verse seems to refer to the mean-sign system; though I can say nothing definitely about it, without seeing the context; of which I have not the opportunity at present. But, supposing that it does refer to the mean-sign system, still it is not unfavourable to the heliacal-rising system; for the same *Utpala* also quotes a verse of the same *Garga*, given at page 170 above, in which *Garga* says—“when Jupiter, after dwelling together (*with the sun*),³ rises and walks along with a *nakshatra*, then commences the year of Jupiter, of which the first part (*of the name*) is the (*name of that*) *nakshatra*.”

Not only that the heliacal-rising system is very early, but that it alone is the original system of the Twelve-Year Cycle, is self-evident. The heliacal rising of Jupiter is a natural phenomenon. No scientific apparatus is needed for the observation of it; nor are

¹ To say that the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* is a work of *Varāhamihira*, is simply a mistake. I cannot enter into this point at present; but would refer any who hold that view, to *Varāhamihira's Pañcha-Siddhāntikā*, and to *Kern's Preface* to his edition of the *Bṛhat-Samhitā*.

² [Gen. Cunningham also has quoted this verse (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 114); and in such a way, his authority giving *nāśyatē*, where Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's MS. gives *nāmayatē*, as to shew that, in the second half of it, we certainly have to read *nāśyatē saptaty-abda-śatē*.—J. F. F.]

³ *pravāsantē* may be translated by “after having completed his journey;” i.e. having completed a revolution of some kind or another.

any calculations required.¹ But such is not the case with the passing of Jupiter from one sign of the zodiac into another. No kind of apparatus can determine Jupiter's mean longitude. It is to be found only by calculations, the rules for which must have been established after observations carried on during a very long time; to lay down the means of determining Jupiter's mean yearly or daily motion, is not a thing that can be accomplished in a few years. It seems, therefore, quite evident that the system of naming the *saṃvatsaras* after the *nakshatras* in which Jupiter rises, *i.e.* the heliacal-rising system, is the only original one.

So much, as regards the antiquity of the heliacal-rising system. Let us now look into its somewhat later use. Varāhamihira is later than Āryabhaṭa. And his verse with which I have opened my account of the Twelve-Year Cycle, undoubtedly refers to this system. So, also, another of his verses, in the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā*, viii. 27, points to the same thing. It runs—*ādyam Dhanishṭhām samabhiprapannō² Māghē yad=āyaty=udayam Surējyaḥ* |

¹ The phenomenon, moreover, is one to which much attention has always been paid in India. Even in the present day, almost all the Hindu *Pañchāṅgs* give the dates of the heliacal rising and setting of Jupiter. This is for religious purposes; since, when Jupiter is invisible, some duties and ceremonies, such as investiture with the sacred thread, marriage, pilgrimages, &c., are not to be performed; and the dates in question are necessary, in order to know when he is visible, and when he ceases to be so. In *Pañchāṅgs* printed in Mahārāṣṭra, the custom of naming the *saṃvatsaras* after the months is not in use; in fact, the Twelve-Year Cycle is now almost unknown to the people at large of the Dekkan. But in a *Pañchāṅg* prepared by Jwālāpati Siddhānti, and printed in the Jñānasūryōdaya Press at Madras, I find that the author, in the *saṃvatsara-phala*, after giving the two *saṃvatsaras* of the Sixty-Year Cycle, according to the northern and the southern reckoning, goes on to say—*sarvatra Gur-ūdaya-vaśāt (Chaitr)-ābdō grāhyaḥ*,—"all over (India) a (certain) year (*i.e.* such *saṃvatsaras* as Chaitra, &c.), which depends on the rising of Jupiter, is to be taken;" from which it is evident that some such rising-system, as that described above, is followed in this *Pañchāṅg* from Madras. Also, in the *Chāṇḍu-Pañchāṅg*, prepared for the meridian of Jōdhpur in Mārṇād, and used there and by Mārṇādis in other parts of India, the *saṃvatsaras* are named as Chaitra-Varsha, Vaiśākha-Varsha, &c.; the system adopted in that *Pañchāṅg*, however, for naming the *saṃvatsaras*, is the mean-sign system.

² The reading that I give, is from my manuscript copy. But, *s* and *ś* being very liable to confusion, the reading *ādyam Dhanishṭh-āmsam abhiprapannō*, which is given in some printed copies, may also be of some authority. By calculation, however, I find that Jupiter does not always stand just at the beginning of Dhanishṭhā, at the time of his rising at the commencement of the Prabhava *saṃvatsara*. And I think, therefore, that the reading which I give, is the author's original reading. I take *ādyam* to qualify the word *nakshatram* understood. And Varāhamihira calls the *nakshatra* in question "the first," because his opinion was, I think, that Dhanishṭhā was the first *nakshatra* of the Sixty-Year Cycle, as it was of the Five-Year Cycle of the Vēdāṅga-Jyautisha [see its verse—*svar ākramētē sōm-ārkaḥ yadā sākaḥ sa-Vāsavaḥ syāt tad=ādi-yugam Māghaḥ*,—"when the moon and the sun, being in (the *nakshatra*) Vāsava (Dhanishṭhā), go together in the heavens, then there is the beginning of the Yuga (and of the month) Māgha"], which two he intends to reconcile.—[Kern would seem to have known only the reading *ādyam Dhanishṭh-āmsam*. His translation (*Four. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 49 f.*), which follows also the reading of *pravartatē* for *prapadyatē*, is—"when Jupiter, on reaching the first quarter of Dhanishṭhā, rises in the lunar month of Māgha, then begins the first year of the cycle of sixty, named Prabhava, a year salutary to all beings." And he adds the

shashty-abda-pûrvaḥ Prabhavaḥ sa namnâ prapadyatê bhûta-hitas tad=âbdaḥ II.—“when Jupiter, having come to the first (*nakshatra*) Dhanishthâ, attains (*his*) rising in (*the month*) Mâgha, then commences that year, beneficial to beings, which is named Prabhava, the first of the sixty years.” Now, in eighteen centuries from the beginning of the Śaka era, the Prabhava *saṁvatsara* has occurred thirty times. And, by approximate calculations, I find that Varāhamihira’s assertion, though not quite correct, is nearly so by the heliacal-rising system. Out of the thirty occasions, Jupiter rose, according to the *Amānta* southern arrangement of the fortnights,¹ twenty-six times in the month of Mâgha; three times early in Phâlguna; and once in Pausa, nearly at the end of it. And, on many occasions he rose in the Dhanishthâ *nakshatra*; and on some, in Śravaṇa. The assertion, however, is not correct for the mean-sign system. According to that system, at the commencement of the Prabhava *saṁvatsara*, which always begins when Jupiter, by his mean longitude, enters Kumbha or Aquarius, he evidently always stands in the middle of Dhanishthâ.² But the Prabhava *saṁvatsara* may begin, and as a matter of fact I find by calculation that it has begun, in any of the twelve months; as will be shewn when I treat of the Sixty-Year Cycle. It is evident, therefore, that the verse in question supports the heliacal-rising system. Moreover, the word *udaya* itself is used in it. It might be argued that Varāhamihira’s rule (*Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, viii. 22; êk-aikam abdêshu nav-âhatêshu, &c.) for finding the *nakshatra* of Jupiter, has reference to his mean longitude; and, consequently, that it gives the mean-sign system. But it is absurd to suppose that so learned an astronomer as he, stating the rule that a *saṁvatsara* is to be named from the *nakshatra* in which Jupiter rises, did not know that the *nakshatra*, at the time of his rising, can be determined only from his apparent longitude. The reason why he gives a rule for finding the mean longitude only, is, in my opinion, this:—Anyone conversant with Hindu mathematical astronomy, knows how tedious a task it is to find the mean longitude of a planet from the *ahargana*, or number of elapsed days, counted from the beginning of the Kalpa or of a Yuga. But, when once it has been found, it is much less tedious to calculate, from it, the apparent longitude by the general rules. So, Varāhamihira, I think, gives a simple rule for finding the mean longitude of Jupiter on a given day, and leaves to the astronomer the calculation of the apparent longitude. Or, it may also be said, as the difference between the mean and the apparent longitudes of Jupiter, on the day of his heliacal-rising, is not very much,—sometimes about five degrees, and sometimes nearly nil, as I have found from several calculations,—Varāhamihira gives the simple rule for rough practical purposes only; leaving it to the

note—“cf. Davis, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. III. p. 220. The word *amśa* also means ‘degree,’ but is here rendered by ‘quarter,’ according to Utpala, who explains it by *pâda*.”—J. F. F.]

¹ See page 148 above, note 1.

² The sign Kumbha commences in the middle of Dhanishthâ, and ends at the end of the third quarter of Pûrvâ-Bhâdrapadâ.

astronomer to make more detailed calculations, when absolute accuracy is required. But, even supposing that the said verse of Varāhamihira implies the mean-sign system, it will only prove that he gives both systems.

Let us now turn to the more modern period. Of the authorities quoted above in support of the heliacal-rising system, the *Muhūrta-Tattva* and the *Jyōtishadarpaṇa* are comparatively modern. The author of the first is the father of the well-known Gaṇeśa Daivajña, the author of the *Grahalāghaṇa*; and, therefore, its date is about Śaka-Saṃvat 1420 expired (A.D. 1498-99); and it was written at Nandgaum on the western coast, about forty-five miles south of Bombay. The date of the second, as I have determined from certain data in it, is Śaka-Saṃvat 1479 expired (A.D. 1557-58); and it was written at Koṇḍapalli, somewhere in the Kārnāṭaka country. And, in addition to these two, a third reference to the heliacal-rising system has been given above, at page 171 note 1, from Raṅganātha's commentary on the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*. The date of this commentary is Śaka-Saṃvat 1525 expired (A.D. 1603-1604); and it was written at Benares. These details suffice to shew that the heliacal-rising system is referred to in works of a modern period, and belonging to different parts of the country.

It is true that the use of the Twelve-Year Cycle is rare. This is shewn by the fact that some astronomical works do not refer to it, in either system, though it would not have been beyond their sphere to do so; and by the fact that, out of many hundreds of inscriptions, only seven have been found, mentioning the *saṃvatsaras* of it.¹ But, if the use of the heliacal-rising system is rare, the use of the mean-sign system is still more so. The *saṃvatsaras* mentioned in the four records of the Early Gupta period, which give full details for calculation, are proved to belong to the heliacal-rising system. And, while I have been able to quote no less than eleven authorities referring to that system, a distinct reference to the mean-sign system is to be found in only two; *viz.* Āryabhaṭa and Brahmagupta, as quoted above. If to these we add an interpolated verse in the *Siddhānta-Śirōmaṇi*, and also hold that Garga and Varāhamihira give the system, even then the number comes to only five.² And, in about eight of such works as would be expected to refer to the system, of a date later than A.D. 1478, which I have examined, I find a reference to it in none at all.

Looking to the present time, if the mean-sign system is used in one part of the country, the heliacal-rising system is used in another;³ while, in others, both systems are almost, if not quite, unknown. The mean-sign system is doubtless the more convenient

¹ *viz.* the five records of the *Mahārājas* Hastin and Saṃkshōbha; and the two grants of the Kadamba chieftain Mṛigēśavarman, referred to at page 106 above, note 1.

² A verse containing a reference to the system, is given, as belonging to Śrīpati, in Pandit Bāpu Deva Shastri's edition of the *Siddhānta-Śirōmaṇi*, p. 13, note; but I do not find it in the *Ratnamālā* of Śrīpati.

³ See page 173 above, note 1.

of the two; since the duration of the *samvatsara*, roughly three hundred and sixty-one days, approaches so near to that of the solar year; and the omission of a *samvatsara* occurs only once in about eighty-five years. And this point of convenience seems to be the reason for which the system was invented by the astronomers. But, as both the systems are given in astronomical works, both of them must certainly have been actually used. And such will always be the case, as long as those works exist.

APPENDIX IV.

The Chronology of the Early Rulers of Nêpâl.

The inscriptions which give the matter for this Appendix all belong to Khâtmandu and its vicinity, and consist of fifteen collected by the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, and published by him and Dr. Bühler in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.; and of four obtained by Mr. Bendall, of which the most important one was published originally in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 97 f., and has been reprinted in his *Journey in Nêpâl and Northern India*, p. 72 ff. and Plate viii., with the first publication of the other three, p. 74 ff. and Plates ix. x. and xi.

The historical results of the former set were discussed at length by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in his paper entitled "Some Considerations on the History of Nêpâl," edited by Dr. Bühler, and published in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 411 ff. His results, however, are unfortunately vitiated by a radical error; viz. the reference of one series of the dates to the Vikrama era, instead of to the Gupta era nearly four hundred years later. This was due, partly to the misinterpretation of an important verse in the inscription of Jayadêva II. of Harsha-Samvat 153; and partly to the want of the key-note supplied by Mr. Bendall's inscription of Gupta-Samvat 316. And it was, of course, the publication of this last inscription that led me to look carefully into the whole matter, and at length to hit upon the fundamental mistake, without a recognition of which it might still be argued that Mr. Bendall's date of 316, for Śivadêva I. and Amśuvarman, stands alone in belonging to the Gupta era, and that, in spite of it, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji was right in referring the other larger dates to the Vikrama era.

Taking the inscriptions in question in regular chronological order, the dates and other important points are as follows:—

A.—Mr. Bendall's inscription No. 1; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 97 f., and *Journey in Nêpâl*, p. 72 ff. and Plate viii.—The charter recorded is issued from the house or palace called Mânagriha (line 1). The inscription is one of the *Bhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārāja*, the called Mânagriha (line 1). The inscription is one of the *Bhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārāja*, the illustrious¹ Śivadêva I. (l. 2 f.), the banner or glory of the Lichchhavikula.² And it records a grant made by him on the advice, or at the request,³ of the Mahāsāmanta Amśuvarman (l. 6 f.). The *Dittaka* is the *Svāmin* Bhôgavarman (l. 15.)⁴ The date

* *Lichchhavi-kuta-kêtu*, line 2.

¹ *śrī*.

² *mahāsāmanta-Amśuvarmanayā vijñāpitēna mayā*; line 6-7.

³ *mahāsāmanta-Amśuvarman's sister's son, who is mentioned in in . .*
⁴ This person would seem to be Amśuvarman's sister's son, who is mentioned in in . . below.—He must not be confused with Śivadêva II.'s father-in-law, the Maukhari Bhôga. is mentioned in inscription R. below, and was at least a full generation later.—See page note 3, on another point.

(l. 15), in numerical symbols here and throughout the series, is (Gupta)-Samvat 316, Jyaishṭha-śukla-divā-daśamyām; which, with the epoch of A.D. 319-20, answers, approximately, to the 3rd May, A.D. 635.

B.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 5; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 168 f.—The charter is issued from **Mānagriha** (line 1). The inscription is one of the *Bhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Śivadêva I.** (l. 2 f.), the banner of the **Lichchhavikula**. It recorded some act, the details of which are broken away and lost, done by him, as in inscription A., on the advice, or at the request, of the *Mahāsāmanta*, the illustrious **Amśuvarman** (l. 8 f).¹ The date, and the name of the *Dūtaka*, are broken away and lost in line 11 ff.

C.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 6; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 169 f.—The charter is issued from the house or palace called **Kailāsakūṭabhavana** (line 1). The inscription is one of the *Mahāsāmanta*, the illustrious **Amśuvarman** (l. 2). The *Dūtaka* is the *Mahāsarva[daṇḍand]yaka* Vikra[masēna] (l. 14).² The date (l. 14) is (Harsha)-Samvat 34, Jyaishṭha-śukla-daśamyām; which, with the epoch³ of A.D. 605-606, answers, approximately, to the 18th May, A.D. 639.

¹ As in page 177 above, note 3.

² This is the name as completed by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji. But, if we accept it as correct, we must be careful not to confuse this person with the *Rājaputra* Vikramasēna who was the *Dūtaka* of inscription S. below, more than two hundred years later.—I have not seen the original rubbing of this inscription.

³ This epoch is taken from Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculation of the date in the Dighwā-Dubauli grant of the *Mahārāja* Mahēndrapāla. At the end (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 113, line 14) we have, for the assignment of the charter, the year 155, Māgha śu di 10; and from line 12 we learn that, when making the grant, the *Mahārāja* had bathed on the occasion of the *Kumbha-Samkrānti* or entrance of the Sun into Aquarius. The epoch of the era is fixed approximately by a statement of Albêrûnî (*Albêrûnî's India*, Translation, Vol. II. p. 5), to the effect that, in a Kaśmîrî almanac, he had read that Harshavardhana was six hundred and sixty-four years later than Vikramāditya. Subject to some doubt as to whether Albêrûnî is speaking of the epoch of the era, or of its first current year, and as to whether the Vikrama year indicated by him is to be taken as current or as expired, this statement indicates, approximately, Śaka-Samvat 528 expired, and 529 current (A.D. 606-607), as the epoch or year 0 of the era. And this is the epoch selected by Gen. Cunningham (*Indian Eras*, pp. 64 f., 157 ff.), on the authority of Albêrûnî's statement. By calculations based on the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, however, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that an epoch one year earlier than this is required, in order that the details of the date in the Dighwā-Dubauli grant may work out correctly. Thus, with the basis of Harsha-Samvat 155 + Śaka-Samvat 527 expired = Śaka-Samvat 682 expired, the *Kumbha-Samkrānti* occurred at 43 *ghaṭīs*, 40 *palas*, on Monday, the 19th January, A.D. 761; and the ninth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha ended about four hours later, at 53 *ghaṭīs*, 15 *palas*, on the same day. Or, by the *Ārya-Siddhānta*, the times were, for the *Samkrānti*, 42 *ghaṭīs*, 30 *palas*; and for the *tithi*, 52 *ghaṭīs*, 41 *palas*. In both cases, the *ghaṭīs* and *palas* are from mean sunrise at Ujjain. And he adds the note—"the *punya-kāla* or meritorious time for performing religious duties in connection with a *samkrānti*, is, according to some authorities, from sixteen *ghaṭīs* before, to sixteen *ghaṭīs* after, the time of the *samkrānti*; and, according to others, in the case of some *samkrāntis*, from ten to

D.—Mr. Bendall's inscription No. 2; *Journey in Népal*, p. 74 f., and Plate ix.—The charter is issued from Kailāsakûṭabhavana (line 1). The inscription is one of an illustrious *Mahāsāmanta*, whose name is effaced, but may with tolerable certainty be restored as *Amśuvarman* (l. 2). And it records the grant of two fields, for the purpose of providing for the repairs of some building. The *Dātaka* (l. 17) is the *Mahābalādhyaksha* Vindusvāmin. The date (l. 16) is (Harsha)-*Samvat* 34, *prathama-Pausha-śukla-dvitiyāyām*; which should answer,¹ approximately, to the 3rd December, A.D. 639.

E.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 7; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 170 f.—The charter is issued from Kailāsakûṭabhavana (line 1). The inscription is one of the illustrious *Amśuvarman* (l. 5), to whom no formal titles are allotted here. It mentions

sixteen or even forty *ghaṭīs* before the *saṃkrānti*, up to the time of the *saṃkrānti*, and, in the case of the other *saṃkrāntis*, from the time of the *saṃkrānti*, up to from ten to sixteen or even forty *ghaṭīs* after it. But generally, when a *saṃkrānti* occurs at midnight,—as it did, roughly, in the present instance,—the *punyakāla* is held to be on the following day. And, in the present case, there is every probability of the bathing &c. having been performed on the following day; *i.e.* on *Māgha śukla daśamī*."—With other years, the given *saṃkrānti* cannot be brought into accordance with the given day and *tithi*. Thus, with Śaka-Samvat 680 expired, the *saṃkrānti* occurred six or seven days after the given *tithi*, on the *Pūrṇimānta* Phālguna kṛishṇa 2; with 681 expired, on the *Pūrṇimānta* Phālguna kṛishṇa 13; with 683 expired, on the *Pūrṇimānta* Phālguna kṛishṇa 5; with 684 expired, on *Māgha śukla 1*; and with 685 expired, on *Māgha śukla 12*. It is certain, therefore, that the correct English equivalent is the one obtained with Śaka-Samvat 682 expired. And, taking the given Harsha year as a current year, and treating it as having the same scheme with the northern Śaka year, the epoch is Śaka-Samvat 527 expired, or A.D. 605-606 current; and 528 years have to be added, to convert current Harsha years into current Śaka years, and 527, to convert them into expired Śaka years as the basis of calculations. The commencement or first current year of the era, is A.D. 606-607 current.—I should remark, as I did when editing the grant, that a slight doubt may be felt as to the value of the third numerical symbol, in the units place, which I interpret as 5. And the exact epoch would be varied, by allotting a different value to this symbol. But the choice lies only between 4, 5, and 8. I do not think that any authority can be found for interpreting it as 4. And, if it were interpreted as 8, then the epoch of the era would be A.D. 602-603; and its first current year would be A.D. 603-604, for which year, as the commencement of the reign of Harshavardhana, there seems to be no authority whatever.—I should also point out that the next inscription, D. below, of Harsha-Samvat 34, refers to an intercalation of the month Pausha; and that Prof. Adams of Cambridge, and Prof. Schram of Vienna, as reported by Dr. Bühler in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 338 (see also *Journey in Népal*, p. 76), obtained a mean intercalation of Pausha in A.D. 640; which would necessitate the adoption of A.D. 606-607 as the epoch. But this intercalation remains to be examined in detail; and, for the present, I have only a note by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit that, according to the verse *Mēsh-ādi-sthē savitārī &c.* (see page 88 above, note 5), the intercalated period should be called *Mārgaśīrsha*; and that, in calling it Pausha, exactly the contrary is done of the process by which we obtain *Mārgaśīrsha* as the name of the intercalated period that is referred to in the Kaira grant of Dharasēna IV. of the year 330 (see page 93 ff. above).—The question will, I hope, be treated more fully by Mr. Dikshit hereafter. Meanwhile, for present purposes, I adopt A.D. 605-606 as the epoch.

¹ As regards the equivalent English date, however, see a remark, in the preceding note, on the indicated intercalary nature of this month Pausha.

Amśuvarman's sister Bhôgadêvî, who was the wife of the *Râjaputra* Sûrasêna,¹ and the mother of the illustrious Bhôgavarman² and Bhâgyadêvî. It records certain orders addressed by Amśuvarman to the officials of the Western Province (*paśchim-âdhikaraṇa-vṛttibhujah*, lines 5-6; and *paśchim-âdhikaraṇa*, line 14), in connection with three *linga* forms of the god Îśvara or Śiva. The *Dâtaka* is the *Yuvarâja* Udayadêva.³ The date (l. 22) is (Harsha)-Samvat 39, Vaiśākha-śukla-divā-daśamyâm; answering, approximately, to the 24th April, A.D. 644.

F.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 8; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 171.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place. It simply records that, by the favour of the illustrious Amśuvarman (line 2), a *praṇālî* or 'conduit' was caused to be built by the *Vârta*⁴ Vibhuvarman, for the increase of his father's religious merit. The date (l. 1) is (Harsha)-Samvat⁵ 44 or 45, Jyêsthâ-śukla, which has its equivalent in the month of May or June, A.D. 649, or May, A.D. 650.

G.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 9; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 171 f.—The charter is issued from Kailâsakûtabhavana (line 3 f.). The inscription is one of the illustrious Jishnugupta (l. 4). It records that, at the request of the *Sāmanta* Chandravarman, a *tilamaka* or 'water-course,' which had been constructed by the *Bhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâjadhirâja*, the glorious Amśuvarman (l. 6 f.), was made over by Jishnugupta to Chandravarman, to be repaired; &c. The *Dâtaka* (l. 21) is the *Yuvarâja*, the illustrious Vishnugupta. The date (l. 21) is (Harsha)-Samvat 48, Kârttika-śukla-2; answering, approximately, to the 30th September, A.D. 653.—Lines 1 and 2 of this inscription mention Mânagriha,⁶ and, in connection with it, the *Bhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâja Dhruvadêva*; but the passage is much mutilated, and does not in itself suffice to explain the connection between Dhruvadêva and Jishnugupta.⁷

¹ The original is somewhat damaged, but it has undoubtedly *s* in the first *akshara* of this name; not *ś* as given by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in his text and translation. And the spelling is the same in line 3 of an inscription of the Sûrasêna family published by him in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 34 ff. But very probably *ś* is the more correct spelling; especially as line 8 of the present inscription mentions the *linga* named Śûrabhângêśvara.

² See page 177 above, note 4.

³ The dates seem to prevent the identification of this person with the Udayadêva of the Ṭhâkuri family, mentioned in inscription R. below.—He was perhaps a Lichchhavi, as suggested by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji. If so, in this Lichchhavi *Dâtaka* of a Ṭhâkuri charter, we have an instance parallel to the Ṭhâkuri *Dâtaka* of a Lichchhavi grant, suggested in page 177 above, note 4.

⁴ Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji took *Vârta* as a family or tribal name. It seems more likely, however, that, as suggested by himself, it is an official title, synonymous with the *vṛttibhuj* of inscription E. above; and that the correct form is *vârta* (with the double *t*) from *vṛtti*.

⁵ The second symbol is doubtful; but it is either 4 or 5.—I have not seen the original rubbing of this inscription.

⁶ The two syllables *mâna*, immediately after *svastî*, are clear enough in the original rubbing, though they hardly shew in the lithograph, and were not given by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in his text.

⁷ The purport of it, however, must have been the same as in the next inscription H.

II.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 10; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 173 f.—The charter is issued from Kailâsakûtabhavana (line 6). The inscription is one of the illustrious Jishnugupta (l. 7). The details are much mutilated; but the subject is a *tilamaka* or 'water-course,' which had been constructed by the *Mahâsâmantâ*, the illustrious¹. *dêva*. The name of the *Dâtaka*, and the date, have peeled off and are lost.—Lines 3 and, 4 of this inscription again mention *Mânagriha*, and, in connection with it, the *Bhaḥḥāraka* and *Mahârāja*, the illustrious Dhruvadêva, the banner of the Lichchhavikula. Between *mânagriha* and *dita-chitta* in line 4, there are four (or perhaps five) *aksharas* which are much damaged, and are quite uncertain even in the rubbing; but the *ha* (not *ka*) is distinct enough; and this, and the whole construction, shews that we have here,—not *Mânagrihât*, the formal ablative of issue,—but the base *Mânagriha*, as the first member of a compound, ending with *santati*, that qualifies *śrī-Dhruvadêva*, and means something like "who belonged to a lineage which had its thoughts [gladdened by residing] at *Mânagriha*." As regards the connection between Dhruvadêva and Jishnugupta,—in line 5, after *śrī-Dhruvadêva*, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji read *purassaré sakala*, and interpreted the passage as shewing that Jishnugupta acknowledged Dhruvadêva as his lord paramount. The interpretation is possibly correct; though the text may equally well mean nothing more than a courteous reference by Jishnugupta to one whose position was equal to his own. But, from the rubbing, the proper reading is certainly *purassara-sakala*, in composition. The whole passage, in fact, from *Mânagriha*, line 4, down to *mânasa*, lines 5-6, is one continuous compound, meaning, in the latter part, that Jishnugupta's mind had been brought into a state of contentment by devising the means of freeing from calamity all the people headed by Dhruvadêva. &c. And the expression *Dhruvadêva-purassara-sakala-jana* is analogous in its purport to the *sa-nṛpâtér-jjagatô (hitāya)*, " (for the welfare) of the world (*i.e.* of all the people), together with the king," of line 2 of inscription M. below.

I.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 11; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 174.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place. It simply records certain grants made in the augmenting victorious reign of the illustrious Jishnugupta (line 9). The era-date, if any was recorded, is lost with lines 27 ff.

J.—Mr. Bendall's inscription No. 3; *Journey in Népal*, page 77 ff. and Plate x.—The charter is issued from Kailâsakûtabhavana (line 1). The king's name is lost, somewhere in lines 2 to 7. The inscription provides for the worship of the god Vajrêśvara (l. 17), and other religious matters. The *Dâtaka* (l. 28) is the *Bhaḥḥāraka*, the *Yuvarāja* Skandadêva. The date (l. 29) is (Harsha)-Samvat 82, Bhâdrapada-śukla-divâ; which has its equivalent in the month of August, A.D. 687.

¹In the original rubbing, *śrī* is very distinct at the beginning of line 14. Two *aksharas* are illegible between it and *dêvna*.

Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji read it as (Harsha)-Samvat 143, Jyaishtṥa-śukla-divā-trayôdaśyām; answering, approximately, to the 25th May, A.D. 748. There is, however, the possibility that the second numerical symbol is 20 or 30, instead of 40.

O.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 14; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 177 f.—All the introductory part of this inscription, recording the palace whence the charter was issued and the name of the king, is broken away and lost. The *Dūtaka* (line 17) is the *Yuvarāja* Vijayadēva. The date (l. 17) is (Harsha)-Samvat 145, Pausa-śukla-divā-tritīyāyām; answering, approximately, to the 6th December, A.D. 750.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, taking Vijayadēva as a "vicarious" name of Jayadēva II., allotted the inscription, chiefly on this account, to Śivadēva II. As far as the date goes, the inscription may be one either of him, or of Jayadēva II. But Vijayadēva cannot be a "vicarious" name of Jayadēva II. Occasional instances may be cited, in which the special terminations of names vary; thus, the Vasantasēna of inscription P. below, appears in R. line 10, and in the *Vaṁśāvalī*, as Vasantadēva; and Jayadēva I. of R. line 8, perhaps appears in the *Vaṁśāvalī* as Jayavarman. But even this is rare enough. And, apart from the substitution of *birudas* or secondary titles, the only epigraphical instance that I can quote, of any variation in the first and really distinctive part of a king's name, is to be found in line 46 ff. of the Kauthêṁ grant¹ of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya V., of Śaka-Samvat 930, where the Daśavarman of other inscriptions is called Yaśovarman. But that instance is not a very satisfactory one.² And in the present case there is not any metrical exigency, as there is in the places where the name of Daśavarman occurs, to justify any variation. If the present inscription is one of Śivadēva II., then Vijayadēva was another son of his; if, as seems to me more probable, it is one of Jayadēva II., then Vijayadēva was a son of the last-mentioned person.

P.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 3; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 167.—The charter is issued from Mānagriha (line 1). The inscription is one of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Vasantasēna.³ The *Dūtaka* (l. 21) is the *Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka* and *Mahāpratīhāra* Ravigupta. The date (l. 20 f.) is (Gupta)-Samvat 435, Aśvayujī śukla-divā-1; answering, approximately, to the 23rd September, A.D. 754.

Q.—Mr. Bendall's inscription No. 4; *Journey in Népal*, p. 79 f. and Plate xi.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place; nor does it give any king's name. It only records a grant by a private person to a *Pāñchaka* or Committee. The date (line 1) is (Harsha)-Samvat 151, Vaiśākha-śukla-dvītiyāyām; answering, approximately, to the 8th April, A.D. 756.

R.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 15; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 178 ff.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place. The inscription, which gives a

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 23.

² See *id.* p. 19 f.

³ In inscription R. below, line 10, he is called Vasantadēva.

good deal of genealogical information, to be commented on below, is one of **Jayadêva II.** (line 14), who also had the second name or *biruda* of Parachakrakâma (l. 18). The object of it is to record that he caused a silver water-lily to be made, for the worship of Śiva under the name of Paśupati; and that it was worshipped and installed by his mother Vatsadêvi. The date (l. 35) is (Harsha)-Samvat 153, Kârttika-śukla-navamyâm; answering, approximately, to the 16th. October, A.D. 758.

S.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 4; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 168.—The commencement of the inscription, recording the place whence the order was issued and the king's name, is broken away and lost. And the inscription, therefore, is of importance only as indicating the period during which the era that is referred to in it, continued to be used. The *Dâtaka* (line 17) is the *Râjaputra* Vikramasêna.¹ The date (l. 18) is (Gupta)-Samvat 535, Śrâvaṇa-śukla-divâ-saptamyâm; answering, approximately, to the 1st July, A.D. 854.

When Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji summed up, according to his view of them, the historical results of his inscriptions, Mr. Bendall's inscription No. 1, A. above, was not known; and the only available clue was the mention, in B. C. E. F. and G., of Amśuvarman, who was evidently to be identified with the king of that name who was reigning during, or shortly before, Hiuen Tsiang's visit to Northern India, in or about A.D. 637. Acting on this identification, he very properly referred the dates of (C.) 34, (E.) 39, (F.) 44 or 45, (G.) 48, (L.) 119, (N.) 143 (?), (O.) 145, and (R.) 153, to the era dating from the commencement of the reign of Harshavardhana of Kanauj in A.D. 606 (or 607).

Mr. Bendall's discovery of the Gôlmâdhiṭṭl inscription, furnished the key-note for the interpretation of the whole matter. For, mentioning Amśuvarman as the contemporary of Śivadêva I., and giving for the latter the date of the year 316, it shews that this date, and all belonging to the same uniform series, must be referred to an era commencing just about three centuries before the Harsha era; i. e. to the so-called Gupta era, with the epoch of A.D. 319-20; for then the year 316 + A.D. 319-20 = A.D. 635-36, which is in the closest possible accordance with the first recorded date of Amśuvarman, in A.D. 639.

But, when Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji wrote, nothing was certain about the other larger dates of (K.) 386, (M.) 413, (P.) 435, and (S.) 535; except that all the circumstances of the case shewed that they were not of the same series with the smaller dates belonging to the Harsha era. And, after examining the theory of the Śaka era, commencing A.D. 78, and rejecting it on the grounds that even this was not early enough, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji finally referred them to the Vikrama era commencing B.C. 58.

Curiously enough, the Nêpâl *Vamśâvali* states that Vikramâditya came to Nêpâl, and established his era there. And, as we have seen at page 74 f. above, an offshoot of the Vikrama era certainly was introduced into Nêpâl in A.D. 880. But the statement of the *Vamśâvali* refers to the time of the predecessor of Amśuvarman; i. e. to the end of the

¹ See page 178 above, note 2.

sixth, or the beginning of the seventh, century A.D. And Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī shewed¹ that the statement is certainly quite wrong as regards the name of the king and the particular era intended; and that what it probably contains, is a reminiscence of the conquest of the country by Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and the adoption of the Harsha era as the result. This statement, therefore, can have influenced him but little, if at all, in his assignment of the above-mentioned dates to the Vikrama era.

The real grounds for his doing so,—grounds which, in spite of the existence of the date of (Gupta)-Śaṁvat 316 for Śivadēva I. and Aṁśuvarman, still require to be cleared away, in order that we may properly adjust the whole of the early chronology of Nēpāl,—are to be found in his erroneous treatment of R., the inscription of Jayadēva II. of (Harsha)-Śaṁvat 153.

Starting with a mythological genealogy, this inscription carries the descent from the god Brahman (line 3), through Sūrya or the Sun,² Manu, Ikshvāku, and others, down to Raghu, Aja, and Daśaratha (l. 6). After Daśaratha, there were eight kings, in lineal succession of sons and sons' sons, who are passed over unnamed; and then there was the illustrious Lichchhavi (l. 6). Then comes verse 6, which records that "even still," at the time of the writing of the inscription, "there exists a family which bears the pure second name of Lichchhavi;"—svachchham Lichchhavi-nāma vi(bi)bhrad=aparam vaṇṣaḥ, (l. 7). Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī, in his lithograph, text, and translation, gave *aparō vaṇṣaḥ* "a new race which bears the pure name Lichchhavi." But, on examining his original rubbing, I find that the real reading is *aparam (nāma)*, "another name, a second name;"—not *aparō (vaṇṣaḥ)*, "another race, a new race." This verse, therefore, is of some interest, in shewing that,—in addition to the appellation of Lichchhavivamśa or Lichchhavikula, the latter of which actually occurs in inscriptions A. B. and H. above,—the family had another original name, which, however, is not recorded. After Lichchhavi there came some kings, who again are passed over unnamed, and the number of whom is illegible³ at the end of line 7 and the beginning of line 8; and then the illustrious king Supushpa (l. 8) was born at the city of Pushpapura.⁴ After him, "omitting in the interim (to mention the names of) twenty-three kings," there was another⁵ king, the famous

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 421 f.

² In accordance with this, the *Vaṁśāvalī* enters the historical Lichchhavis of this inscription as members of a Sūryavamśi family.

³ But the number was probably twelve, as *hitv=āpa[raṇ=dvādaśa]* seems to suit best the metre and such traces as are discernible in the rubbing.

⁴ *i.e.* Pāṭaliputra, the modern Patna in Bihār; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 180, note 44.—This part of the inscription, therefore, relates to a period antecedent to the settlement of the Lichchhavis in Nēpāl.

⁵ As no previous Jayadēva, with whom this one could be contrasted, is mentioned in the inscriptions, *apara* seems to introduce another branch of the Lichchhavi family, not directly descended from Lichchhavi and Supushpa.

Jayadêva I. (l. 8), who was treated by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji as the first really historical member of the family, and the founder of the Nêpâl branch of it,¹ and on the Vikrama-Samvat theory, was placed about A.D. 1. After this "victorious" Jayadêva I., and again "omitting in the interim (*to mention the names of*) eleven kings," the inscription gives the first unbroken succession of names that it contains; *vis.*—Vṛishadêva (l. 9);—his son, Śamkaradêva;—his son, Dharmadêva;—his son, Mânadêva (l. 10);—his son, Mahidêva;—and his son, Vasantadêva. The first four of these names have already been made known by inscription K. above; and the sixth, in the form of Vasanta-sêna, by inscription P. And these six kings plainly belong to the family, the genealogy of which forms the subject of all the preceding part of the inscription; *vis.* the Lichchhavikula.

Then follows, in lines 10 and 11, the eleventh verse, which was entirely misunderstood by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, and which, through that misunderstanding, led to the erroneous reference of the larger dates of his inscriptions to the Vikrama era. He read this verse—*asy=ântarê=py=Udayadêva iti kshitiśāj=jâtās=trayôdaśa [tata]ś=cha Narêndradêvah mân-ônnotô nata-samasta-narêndra-mauli-mâlâ-rajô-nikara-pâmśula-pâdapiṭhaḥ*; and translated—"afterwards came thirteen (*rulers*), sprung from king Udayadêva (l. 10),² and then Narêndradêva (l. 11), who was proud, and whose footstool was covered with the dust from the row of diadems worn by numerous prostrated kings." With the exception that the original has *pâmśula*, not *pâmśula*, the reading and translation of the second half of the verse represent the original correctly. It is the first half that has not been properly treated. In the first place, *asy=ântarê* does not mean 'afterwards,' or 'after him.' The literal meaning of *antara* is 'an interval;' and in *anantaram* it helps to make up the equivalent of 'afterwards,' only from its meaning in the first place 'no interval after.' But, standing without the negative particle, *antara* can have only the meaning of 'interval;' and it is used twice before by the composer of this inscription, in lines 8 and 9, distinctly in that sense. *Asy=ântarê* can only mean "in an interval of this;" and, supplying *vaṇśasya*, from the *vaṇśaḥ* of line 7, in apposition with *asya*, we have "in an interval, *i.e.* at an intervening point, of this (*lineage that has just been detailed*)." The expression plainly introduces some names, in respect of which it is intended to be conveyed that they are of another family or branch; and that the last of them comes contemporaneously with or immediately after the name of Vasantadêva, the last mentioned of the immediately preceding succession, and the first comes at some unspecified point intervening between Vṛishadêva and Vasantadêva. In the second place, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's reading of *kshitiśāj=jâtās* cannot be maintained. In the two syllables *jâtā*, the rubbing shews distinctly the double *jj*, of which, in the lithograph, the lower one is only sketched in faintly, as if it were doubt-

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 424.

² Or, again,—"after him (Vasantadêva), followed thirteen, sprung from the lord of the earth called Udavadêva;" *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 425, note.

ful; but the second is as distinctly *ta*, not *tā*, as is in fact shewn in the lithograph. There is a slight abrasion mark between the *ta* and the following *akshara*, which does not appear in the lithograph; but the rubbing shews most distinctly that this mark is no remnant of a half-obliterated *ā*, and that the stroke for *ā*, for which in fact there is no room, never was engraved here. The reading of the original, in short, is *jātas*, the nominative singular; not *jātās*, the nominative plural. This is the first objection to the more serious error, the introduction of *trayōdaśa*, 'thirteen,' immediately after *jātas*. The second is, that, of the six following *aksharas* which are read *s-trayōdaśa* [*tata*], the only parts that can be pronounced on with any certainty, are *s*, as part of the first, and, at the beginning of line 11, *da*, the third, which is well preserved and unmistakable. The others are hopelessly injured and unrecognisable; and,—with the exception that the first probably had a *t* below the *s*; and that the second looks more like *thā* (*tathā*), or *dā* (*tadā*), or *pō* (*tapō*), than *jō*,—it is quite impossible, even from the rubbing, to say what they may be. But the culminating and final objection to the reading of *trayōdaśa* [*tata*]*ś=cha* is, that, in the passage, as thus read, there is no such word as *vyatitya*, *vihāya*, *hitvā*, or *tyaktvā*, "having passed over or omitted (*to mention the names of*)," which we have in lines 4, 6, 7, 8, and 9, where, in each case, a specified number of kings is passed over; and that the metre does not allow of our introducing any such word. The *lacuna* at the end of line 10 and the beginning of line 11 render it, as I said, impossible to decide what the original reading may have been. But the whole structure of the passage leaves no doubt whatever that the original contained nothing but an epithet, or perhaps two, of Narēndradēva; and that, so far from thirteen rulers having intervened between him and Udayadēva, he was the son of Udayadēva.

Narēndradēva's son was Śivadēva II. (line 12), who married Vatsadēvī, of the family of the Maukharis who abounded in strength of arm,¹ the daughter of the illustrious Bhōgavarman, and the daughter of the daughter of "the great" Ādityasēna, the lord of Magadha (l. 13). And their son was the Rāja, the illustrious Jayadēva II. (l. 14), also called Parachakrakāma (l. 18), whose wife was Rājyamati, of the family of king Bhagadatta or of the Bhagadatta kings (l. 16), the daughter of Harsha, king of Gauḍa, Ōdra; &c., and Kaliṅga, and Kōsala (l. 15). The rest of the inscription details the beauty of the silver water-lily which Jayadēva II. caused to be made, and how it was worshipped and installed by his mother Vatsadēvī; and then concludes with the date.

Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's acceptance of Udayadēva as the successor of Vasantadēva, and insertion of thirteen rulers between him and Narēndradēva, led of necessity to the reference of the dates for Mānadēva of (K.) 386 and (M.) 413, and for Vasantadēva of (P.) 435, to the Vikrama era. It is unnecessary to repeat his calculations in full. But, starting with fifteen names between Vasantadēva and Śivadēva II., or nineteen from Māna-

¹ The original has *dēvī vā(bā)hu-va(ba)l-ādhyā-Maukhari-kulā śrīvarmma* &c.; not *kula-śrī-varmma*, in composition, as in the published text.

dēva to Śivadēva II. (both included), all of which denote "*generations* of kings, not reigns of *collaterals*,"¹ and taking twenty-one years as the smallest possible average for these generation-reigns, he found that no era later than the Vikrama era would meet the requirements of the case; and that that era would meet them. For, on the Vikrama-Saṃvat theory, Mānadēva's first date represented A.D. 329; the interval from this to A.D. 759, the date of Jayadēva II., was 430 years; and this, divided by nineteen gave about twenty-two years and three-quarters as the average for each generation-reign. This was all right enough from his point of view.

But let us now take the matter from the correct point of view; *viz.* that Udayadēva did not come after Vasantadēva. This frees us at once from the necessity, under which Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji laboured, of forcing Vasantadēva and his ancestors back to such early times; and leaves us at liberty to follow the analogy of inscription A., and to refer his date and Mānadēva's to the Gupta era. The result is, that we have for Vasantasēna the date of (P.) A.D. 754, just synchronous with the dates of perhaps (O.) A.D. 750, and certainly (R.) A.D. 758, for Jayadēva II., exactly what inscription R. seeks to convey; and we have for Mānadēva, the grandfather of Vasantasēna, the dates of (K.) A.D. 705 and (M.) A.D. 732-33, just about one generation before Jayadēva II.'s father Śivadēva II., for whom we have the dates of (L.) A.D. 725 and probably (N.) A.D. 748 (?).

Here the question naturally suggests itself:—As Udayadēva and his descendants were not successors and descendants of Vasantasēna, who were they? I think the answer is perfectly plain:—That they were successors of Amśuvarman; and, though not his direct lineal descendants, belonged, like him, to the family which in the *Vaṃśāvali* is called the Thākuri family

Inscription R., in fact, furnishes another instance of the **double government of Nêpāl**, to which Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji drew attention in the case of Śivadēva I. and Amśuvarman; and which is illustrated in the most pointed way throughout these inscriptions.² We have two separate families, ruling contemporaneously and mostly on equal terms, but each preserving certain distinctive characteristics of its own.

On the one side (see Table XI. page 189 below), we have the **Lichchhavikula** of the inscriptions,—the **Sūryavaṃśi** family of the *Vaṃśāvali*,—issuing its charters from the house or palace called Mānagṛiha; and using the **Gupta era**. To this family belong inscriptions A. B. K. M. P. and S.; and it was represented in A.D. 635 by

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 425.

² So also in later times. See, for instance, the colophon of a manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* (Bendall's *Catalogue of Buddhist MSS.* p. 4), dated in Nêpāl-Saṃvat 128 (A.D. 1007), which speaks of the double rule of Nirbhaya and Rudradēva; and another manuscript bearing the same title (*id.* p. 151), dated in Nêpāl-Saṃvat 135 (A.D. 1015), which speaks of the government being enjoyed, half by Bhôjadēva and Rudradēva, and half by Lakshmīkāmādēva.

TABLE XI.
List of the Early Rulers of Nêpâl.

THE LICHCHHAVI OR SŪRYAVANŚI FAMILY OF MĀNAGRĪHA.		THE THĀKURĪ FAMILY OF KAILĀSAKŪṬABHAVANA.	
	1. Jayadêva I.—About A.D. 330-355.		
	2. }		
	3. }		
	4. }		
	5. }		
	6. } Names not re-		
	7. } corded in the		
	8. } inscription. } A.D. 355-630.		
	9. }		
	10. }		
	11. }		
	12. }		
Śivadêva I., <i>Mahārāja</i> .—A.D. 635.	13. Vṛishadêva.—About A.D. 630-655.	Amśuvarman, <i>Mahāsāmanta</i> , and afterwards <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> .—A.D. 635, 639, 644, and 649 or 650.	
Dhruvadêva, <i>Mahārāja</i> .—A.D. 653.	14. Śatkaradêva, son of preceding.—About A.D. 655-680.	Jishnugupta. — A.D. 653.	
	15. Dharmadêva, son of preceding.—About A.D. 680-704.		Udayadêva. — About A.D. 675-700.
	16. Mānadêva, son of preceding.—A.D. 705 and 732.		Narêndradêva, son of preceding. — About A.D. 700-724.
	17. Mahîdêva, son of preceding.—About A.D. 733-753.		Śivadêva II., <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> , son of preceding. — A.D. 725 and 748 (?).
	18. Vasantasêna, or Vasantadêva, <i>Mahārāja</i> , son of preceding.—A.D. 754.		Jayadêva II., <i>Rāja</i> , son of preceding.—A.D. 750 (?) and 758.

Śivadêva I., (in A.D. 653 by Dhruvadêva),¹ in A.D. 705 and 732-33 by Mānadêva, and in A.D. 754 by Vasantasêna or Vasantadêva.

And, on the other side, we have a family, the name of which is not given in the inscriptions hitherto brought to notice, but which in the *Vaṃśāvalī* is called the Thākuri family; issuing its charters from the house or palace called Kailāsakūṭabhavana; and using the Harsha era. To this family belong inscriptions C. D. E. F. G. H. I. J. L. N. O. Q. and R.; and it was represented in A.D. (635),² 639, 644, and 649 or 650, by Amśuvarman, in A.D. 653 by Jishnugupta, in A.D. 725 and 748 (?) by Śivadêva II., and in A.D. 750 (?) and 758 by Jayadêva II.

From the fact that each of the two families issued its charters from a palace, not a town, and the fact that all the inscriptions are either at Khātmanḍu itself, or close in the neighbourhood, the two palaces of Mānagrīha and Kailāsakūṭabhavana appear to

¹ From Jishnugupta's inscription, G.

² From inscription A. of Śivadêva I.

have been in the immediate vicinity of each other, in different divisions of one and the same ancient capital. And, though the inscriptions give no specific information on this point, from the fact that the order of *Amśuvarman*, recorded in inscription E., is issued to the officials of the western province, and from the way in which, in inscription K., *Mānadēva* is described as marching to the east and reducing to obedience the rebellious *Sāmantas* there, and then returning to the west, it seems pretty clear that the Lichchhavikula or *Sūryavamśi* family had the government of the territory to the east of the capital; and the *Thākuri* family, of the territory to the west of it.

Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji treated *Amśuvarman* as if he was at first the feudatory of *Śivadēva I.* There is, however, nothing in the inscriptions to support this. The inscriptions of *Śivadēva I.*, it is true, record acts that were done by him "on the advice," or "at the request," of *Amśuvarman*; but this expression, though often used in respect of feudatories and officials, does not of necessity imply any state of subordination. And, whereas *Śivadēva I.* uses in respect of himself only the feudatory title of *Mahārāja*, in his own inscriptions he allots to *Amśuvarman* the equal title of *Mahāsāmanta*; not simply *Sāmanta*, as represented almost throughout by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji. *Śivadēva I.* and *Amśuvarman* were only co-ordinate feudatories of a paramount sovereign, *viz.* Harshavardhana of Kanauj. During the time when *Amśuvarman* was a *Mahārājādhirāja* or paramount sovereign, as recorded in inscription G., the Lichchhavis must have been feudatory to him. This was after his inscription C. of A.D. 639. His other two inscriptions E. and F., which give him no titles except that of *śrī*, "the illustrious, or the glorious," perhaps belong to a transitional period, when he hesitated about adopting the paramount title, and yet was unwilling to use a feudatory title any longer. He probably assumed the paramount rank and title, on the death of Harshavardhana; when, as Matwanlin tells us,¹ the kingdom of Kanauj fell into a state of anarchy, and the minister *Nafoti-a-la-na-shun* usurped the supreme power. And *Amśuvarman* is probably the king of Népāl, who came with seven thousand horsemen to help the Chinese general Wang-hiwen-tse who defeated the usurper. In the time of *Dhruvadēva* and *Jishnugupta*, it is possible that the *Thākuri* family may to a certain extent have acknowledged the Lichchhavis as superior to them. But *Śivadēva II.* again had the paramount title and rank; and the Lichchhavis were then, of course, again the feudatories of the *Thākuri* family. Finally, the fact that the Lichchhavi genealogy is given in the *Thākuri* inscription R., coupled with the use by *Jayadēva II.* in this inscription of no title but that of *Rāja* (line 14), with the epithet *śrī*, 'the illustrious,' may perhaps indicate that at this latter time the *Thākuri*s again acknowledged a certain amount of superiority on the part of the Lichchhavis. Or it may be nothing more than another expression of the mutual courtesy of the two families, already exhibited in the inscriptions of *Śivadēva I.* and *Jishnugupta*.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 20.

In the Lichchhavi family, the earliest name for which we have as yet a definite date, is that of Śivadêva I., A.D. 635. And either Śivavṛiddhivarman, No. 14 in the *Vaṃśāvali* list of the Sūryavaṃśi family, or Śivavarman, No. 16 in the same, seems to be intended for him. The next name is that of Dhruvadêva, A.D. 653, who is not given or represented in the *Vaṃśāvali*. The connection between Śivadêva I. and Dhruvadêva, is not as yet explained. But they probably belonged both to one branch of the family; though, from their not being mentioned in inscription R., certainly not to the same branch with Vasantadêva and his ancestors. Their contemporaries of the Ṭhākuri family were respectively Amśuvarman and Jishnugupta. They were followed by another branch of the same family, introduced about A.D. 630 (not A.D. 260, as proposed by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji) by Vṛishadêva, who was the contemporary of Śivadêva I.; and represented, as far as definite dates go, by Mānadêva in A.D. 705 and 732-33 (not A.D. 329 and 356), and by Vasantasêna or Vasantadêva in A.D. 754 (not A.D. 378). The six names from Vṛishadêva to Vasantasêna, are given correctly in the *Vaṃśāvali*, as Nos. 18 to 23 of the Sūryavaṃśi family. If inscription R. is to be accepted throughout, this branch of the family was founded by Jayadêva I. He is doubtless the person who is intended by Jayavarman, No. 3 in the *Vaṃśāvali* list of the Sūryavaṃśi family. And, calculating back fifteen generations, at the average rate of twenty-five years, from Mānadêva, whose generation is represented by his recorded dates, we have for Jayadêva I. the initial date of about A.D. 330 (not A.D. 1). But, if Vṛishadêva was a direct lineal descendant of Jayadêva I., it is rather peculiar that the composer of inscription R., writing only five generations after him, was unable to give the names of the persons, only eleven in number, who intervened before him and after Jayadêva I. It would seem, therefore, that, though the number of generations may be accepted, there was at this point a break in the direct succession.

In the Ṭhākuri family, the earliest name is that of Amśuvarman, with the extreme dates of A.D. 635 and 649 or 650; and the next is that of Jishnugupta, A.D. 653. Amśuvarman is mentioned in the *Vaṃśāvali*, under exactly the same name, as the founder of the Ṭhākuri family; but Jishnugupta's name is not given or represented. The connection between them is not as yet explained. They were followed by Udayadêva (about A.D. 675, not A.D. 400) and his descendants, who, from there being no mention of Amśuvarman and Jishnugupta in inscription R., plainly belonged to another branch of the family. Udayadêva was contemporaneous with Dharmadêva of the Lichchhavi family; he is not mentioned in the *Vaṃśāvali*, being certainly not the Udayadêvarman, No. 24 in the *Vaṃśāvali* list of the Sūryavaṃśi family. His son, Narêndradêva, is possibly the person intended by Narêndradêva, No. 7 in the *Vaṃśāvali* list of the Ṭhākuri family. His son, Śivadêva II., A.D. 725 and 748 (?), is not mentioned in the *Vaṃśāvali*. His son, Jayadêva II., A.D. 750 (?) and 758, is possibly the person intended by Jayadêva, No. 11 in the *Vaṃśāvali* list of the Ṭhākuri family.

APPENDIX V.

System of Transliteration.

The system of transliteration followed in this volume, except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, is this:—

Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	अ	a	ज	झ	ja
आ	आ	ā	झ	झ	jha
इ	इ	i	ञ	ञ	ña
ई	ई	ī	ट	ट	ṭa
उ	उ	u	ठ	ठ	ṭha
ऊ	ऊ	ū	ड	ड	ḍa
ए	ए	ṛi	ढ	ढ	ḍha
ऐ	ऐ	ṛī	ण	ण	ṇa
—	—	lṛi	त	त	ta
ए	ए	e	थ	थ	tha
ऐ	ऐ	ai	द	द	da
—	—	o	ध	ध	dha
ओ	ओ	ō	न	न	na
औ	औ	au	प	प	pa
Visarga	Visarga	ḥ	फ	फ	pha
<i>Ṣihvāmūliya</i> , or old <i>Visarga</i> be- fore क् and ख् }	—	ḥ	ब	ब	ba
<i>Upadhṛmāniya</i> , or old <i>Visarga</i> be- fore प् and फ् }	—	ḥ	भ	भ	bha
<i>Anusvāra</i>	<i>Anusvāra</i>	m̐	म	म	ma
<i>Anunāsikā</i>	—	m̐	य	य	ya
क	क	ka	र	र	ra
ख	ख	kha	—	—	ra
ग	ग	ga	ल	ल	la
घ	घ	gha	ळ	ळ	ḷa
ङ	ङ	ṅa	—	—	la
च	च	cha	व	व	va
छ	छ	chha	श	श	śa
			ष	ष	ṣa
			ह	ह	ha

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on

into the next line ; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities have been made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *saṃdhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virāma* attached to it ; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary ; except where there is the *saṃdhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palæographical standard of the original texts.

The *avagraha*, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions, and does not occur at all in the present series. Where it does occur, I find it most convenient to represent it by its own *Dēvanāgarī* sign.

So also, practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary *Dēvanāgarī* marks of punctuation ; than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points ; and square brackets, for letters which are damaged and partially illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets, than to have recourse to footnotes ; as the points to which attention is to be drawn, attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be ; and, in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akshara* or syllable.

THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

No. I; PLATE I.

ALLAHABAD POSTHUMOUS STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA.

THIS inscription appears to have been first brought to the notice of the public in 1834, when, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. III. p. 118 ff., Captain A. Troyer published his reading of the text and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate vi.), which was reduced by Mr. James Prinsep from a copy commenced by a brother of Lieutenant T. S. Burt, of the Engineers, finished by a Munshi, and revised by Lieutenant Burt himself.—In the same volume, p. 257 ff., the Revd. Dr. W. H. Mill, working from the same lithograph, published a revised version of the text and translation; followed, at p. 339 ff., by a supplementary paper containing the first genealogical tree of the dynasty. His version, however, though it was an improvement on that of Captain Troyer, still fell very far short of exhibiting the original completely or accurately; especially in his failing, like Captain Troyer, to recognise that the inscription is a posthumous one; in his misreading lines 11 and 21, in such a way as to introduce into the translation and genealogical tree, without any foundation whatever in the original, the independent princess Samhârikâ, with a daughter, name unknown, who was the wife of Samudragupta, other mothers-in-law of the same king, and a royal issue expected at the date of the inscription; and in his treatment of line 30, where, instead of *âchakshâṇa iva bhuvô bâhur=ayam=uchchhritah stambhah*, “this lofty column (*is*) as it were an arm of the earth, proclaiming (the fame of Samudragupta),” he read *rôma-charmanah ravi-bhuvô bâhur=ayam=uchchhritah stambhah*, and translated “of this child of the Sun, though clothed in hairy flesh, this lofty pillar is the arm,” which led him to refer Samudragupta and his dynasty to the Solar Race, a mistake that sometimes seems to have been not even yet completely eradicated.—In 1837, in the same *Journal*, Vol. VI. p. 969 ff., Mr. James Prinsep gave a fresh and much improved lithograph of the inscription and its alphabet (*id.* Plate iv.), reduced from impressions on cloth and paper made by Captain Edward Smith, of the Engineers; and, with it, his own version of the text and translation.¹ His rendering of the inscription still failed to represent the original with any real approach to accuracy and completeness. But it was a very great improvement on the two versions that had preceded it; especially in avoiding the leading mistakes of Dr. Mill, pointed out above. And it has remained the standard version up to the present time; except that in 1872

¹ The translation is reprinted in Mr. Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 233 ff.

in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX. p. cxvi. ff., Dr. Bhau Daji notified, from a copy on cloth made by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī, some corrections in the historical part, in the names of the kings and countries conquered by Samudragupta.¹

The round monolith sandstone column, thirty-five feet in height, on which this inscription is, dates from the third century B.C., as is shewn by the famous edicts of Aśoka on it. It now stands in a conspicuous position inside the Fort at Allahābād (properly Iliāhābād), the seat of Government of the North-West Provinces. It is doubtful, however, whether the column was originally erected at this place, or whether, as has been suggested by General Cunningham,² it was first set up at the ancient Kauśāmbī, now represented by the village of Kōsam³ on the left bank of the Jamnā, about twenty-eight miles west by south from Allahābād; and, being still at that place when the present inscription was engraved, was afterwards moved from there to Allahābād by one of the early Musalmān kings of Dehli, just as the two Aśoka columns now at Dehli were brought there from original positions at Mēraṭh and in the Siwālik hills. The points in favour of the latter supposition are (1) that the column contains a short Aśoka edict addressed to the rulers of Kauśāmbī;⁴ and (2) that the Chinese pilgrim Hsien Tsiang makes no mention of this column in his account of *Po-to-ye-hia*, i.e. Prayāga or Allahābād.⁵

The writing, which covers a space of about 6' 8" broad by 5' 4" high, commences on the north of the column, towards the north-east, and in the longest part, line 30, runs all round the column, except for a space of about 1' 9". The bottom line is about 6' 0" above the point where the column starts from its present pedestal. There is a large crack in the column, from above the first word of the first line, and extending down to the beginning of the fourteenth. And the upper part of the inscription has suffered very much, partly from some of the mediæval inscriptions, which are so abundant on the column, being engraved on and between the original lines here, and partly from the peeling off of the surface of the stone in several places. But nothing of a historical nature appears to have been lost; except, perhaps, after the mention of Nāgasena in line 13, and in connection with the mention of Pushyapūra in line 14. A few letters, again, have been damaged or destroyed by the peeling off of the stone near the beginning of line 23, and in the centre of lines 23, 24, 31, and 32; but, except in line 32, the letters can be supplied without any doubt. The really important part of the inscription, the historical and genealogical passages commencing with line 19 and ending in line 30, is fortunately in a state of

¹ This notice was published in 1872; but it was read before the Society two years earlier, on the 11th August 1870. It records that Dr. Bhau Daji submitted to the Society a revised facsimile, text, and translation, of the inscription; but they do not appear to have been ever published, or to be now forthcoming. His suggestions were perhaps more correct in his own notes, than in the form in which they stand printed in the *Journal*.

² *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I. p. 39.

³ The 'Kosam and Kosim Kheraj' of maps; about eight miles to the south of Karāṭ, the chief town of the Karāṭ Parganā in the Manjhanpur or Manjhandpur Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Allahābād District. *Indian Atlas*, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 22' N.; Long. 81° 27' E.

⁴ *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. I. pp. 39, 116, 121, and Pl. xxii.; see also after the end of line 10 of the present inscription in the Plate now published.

⁵ *Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I. p. 230 ff.; Stanislas Julien's *Hsien Tsiang*, Vol. II. p. 275 ff.—At the same time, it must be noted that Hsien Tsiang also makes no mention of any such column in his immediately following account of *A-New-shan-wei* or Kauśāmbī.

excellent preservation, and is decipherable without the slightest doubt from beginning to end.—The size of the letters (by which I mean, here and throughout, the height of such letters as *cha*, *da*, *pa*, *ma*, *ba*, *va*, &c., which are formed entirely within the limits of, so to speak, the lines of writing, without any projections above or below) varies from $\frac{7}{16}$ " to $\frac{3}{4}$ ". As regards the palæography of this and the other inscriptions in the volume, this division of the subject is so extensive as to require a separate treatise to itself; and I cannot here do more than touch in a general way on such special points as call for particular notice. The characters of the present inscription belong to what it has been customary to call the Gupta Alphabet. This, however, like all other similar dynastic appellations, is an unsatisfactory and misleading term. In the first place, these characters were not confined to the inscriptions of the Early Gupta dynasty; for they were used, with slight modifications, but not such as to affect their essential nature, on the coins of the later Indo-Scythian kings of the Pañjāb. Even in respect of a character of such leading importance as the letter *m*,—though some of these coins exhibit what is called the Indo-Scythic form,¹ in distinction from the *m* of the northern Gupta inscriptions, yet, on one coin which I had the advantage of examining in General Cunningham's collection, and which has on it the name of Samudra,² the *m* that is used is the so-called Gupta *m*, somewhat later than the *m* of the present inscription, but of exactly the same shape with the *m* of *mahārāja* in line 8 (to choose a clear example) of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4 below, Plate iiiA. And in the second place, the inscriptions of the Early Guptas themselves were by no means written exclusively in this alphabet. To say nothing of the frequent use of the Indo-Scythic *m* on Samudragupta's coins,—illustrated, for

¹Setting aside the few exceptional instances that we have of irregular usage, confined, I think, entirely to coins, this letter is in itself sufficient to shew, for the whole period covered by the inscriptions in this volume, whether the characters of a particular record belong to the northern or to the southern class of alphabets. The *m* of the Indo-Scythic inscriptions, a good representation of which may be seen in the word *mahārājasya* at the beginning of the Mathurā inscription of Huvishka of the year 39 (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. Pl. xiv. No. 1), is simply a stiff angular development of the *m* of the Aśoka period. This particular form was not confined, however, to the Indo-Scythian records. We have it, in all its angularity, in the word *svāmi* in the Sāñchi pillar inscription, No. 73 below, Plate xliiA.; and, with very little modification, in the early inscriptions from Nāsik and that neighbourhood published in the *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. Plates xlv. ff. And in the slightly modified form, with simply the angles rounded off, which it must have had in the earliest stages of development of the southern alphabets, we have it throughout the Sāñchi inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 5 below, Plate iiiB., e.g. in *mahāvihārē*, line 1; the Gaṅgdhār inscription of Viśhvarman, No. 17 below, Plate x., e.g. in *appratimēna*, line 4; and the Mandasār inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvvarman, No. 18 below, Plate xi., e.g. in *bhavanam=idam=udārak*, line 23. While, in a more modified form, which must have been of later development, though the instances in this volume happen to be of earlier date, we have it throughout the Éraṇ inscription of Samudragupta, No. 2 below, Plate iiA., e.g. in *samara*, line 21; and throughout the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 82, No. 3 below, Plate iiB., e.g. in *mahārāja*, at the beginning of line 2.—The *m* of the inscription now under notice must also be simply a development of the Aśoka *m*, arrived at by forming the left part of the letter in a different way, viz. by one unbroken movement, leading gradually to its being separated entirely from the right part, which then eventually assumed a straight form, instead of curved. And, though the instances in this volume happen to be of later date, undoubtedly the form that we have in, for instance, *mahārāja*, in line 8 of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4 below, Plate iiiA., must have preceded the form used in the inscription now under notice.

²The three components of the name are written one above the other, inside the spear and under the left arm of the king, on the obverse; and they are practically identical with the components of the same name on the coin of Samudragupta given by Mr. V. A. Smith in *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. Pl. ii. No. 6.

instance, by the coins given by Mr. V. A. Smith in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. Plate ii. Nos. 3, 7, 9, 10, and 11,—we meet with at least two perfectly distinct alphabets in their inscriptions, in addition to the one now under notice. The Êraṇ inscription of Samudragupta, No. 2 below, Plate iiA., and the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 82, No. 3 below, Plate iiB., are in a 'box-headed' and 'nail-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, which has hitherto been called the Nerbudda Alphabet and the Vākāṭaka Alphabet, and which, in addition to the very distinctive form of *m*, has all the leading characteristics of the southern alphabets. The Sāñchi inscription of Chandragupta II., again, No. 5 below, Plate iiiB., is distinctly in the characters of the southern alphabets. And the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta is in a somewhat later modification of the Saurāshṭra or Kāthiāwāḍ alphabet, exhibited with all its leading characteristics in the inscription of Rudradāman, on the same rock, of which we have a lithograph in the *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 128, Plate xiv. It is perfectly plain that the alphabets varied, not according to dynasties, but according to localities; and, in establishing any system of comparative palæography, we must select territorial, not dynastic, names. I would propose calling the alphabet of the inscription now under notice, the general North India Alphabet of the fourth century A.D. The characters include two letters which, after the Pāli period, lay for a long time in disuse in the southern alphabets, and were not revived for a considerable time after the present period; *viz.* the lingual *ḍ*, as distinct from the dental *d*, exhibited in *krīḍatā*, line 14, *ḍavāka*, line 22, and *vrīḍita*, line 27; and the lingual *ḍh*, exhibited in *vīrūḍha*, line 18. On the other hand, in the *l* which occurs in *vyāluḥita*, line 8, *kaurāḷaka* for *kairāḷaka*, line 19, *saimhaḷaka*, line 23, and *laḷita*, lines 27 and 30, they include a letter which properly belongs exclusively to the southern alphabets and languages; and its occurrence here seems to furnish an unconscious piece of evidence to the effect that some, at least, of the conquests attributed to Samudragupta in the south of India, were actual facts; in the other inscriptions in this volume, this letter occurs only in the word *aḷi*, 'a bee,' in line 1 of the Tuṣām rock inscription, No. 67 below, Plate xlA. In *śobhā*, line 18, *viśhṇugōpa*, line 19, and *gōḥata*, line 25, the vowel *ō* is formed in rather a peculiar way, which, so far as the right-hand stroke is concerned, is followed also in the vowel *ā* as attached to the same consonants, *e.g.* in *śāsana*, lines 23 and 24, and *gāṅgam*, line 31. In respect of *r* in combination with a following *y*, we have to notice that, as in the case of other consonants, *unc y* is doubled, and the *r* is written above the line, *e.g.* in *vīryya*, line 13; whereas, in a somewhat later development of this alphabet in Central India, it became the custom, as in the case of *y* in conjunction with other letters, to write the *r* on the line, with a single *y* attached below it, *e.g.* in *marvādayā*, line 6-7, and *kuryat*, line 12, of the Majhgawām plates of the Mahārāja Hastin, No. 23 below, Plate xiv. The characters also include, in the numbering of the verses, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 3, 4, and 8; the intervening symbols are destroyed.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse as far as the end of line 16, and the rest in prose.—In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *parākkrama*, line 17, *kkriyā*, lines 27 and 28, and *vikkrama*, line 30; (2) the doubling of *dh* (by *d*, as required by the rules), in conjunction with a following *y* and *v*, in *addhyēya*, line 16, and *sāddhu-asāddhu*, line 25; and (3) the use of the southern *l*, in the instances pointed out a few lines above.

The **inscription** is non-sectarian, being devoted entirely to a recital of the glory, conquests, and descent, of the **Early Gupta** king **Samudragupta**. It is not dated; but, as it describes Samudragupta as deceased, it belongs to the time of his son and

successor **Chandragupta II.**, and must have been engraved soon after the accession of the latter. Its great value lies in the abundant information which, in the conquests attributed to **Samudragupta**, it gives us as to the divisions of India, its tribes, and its kings, about the middle of the fourth century A.D. This, however, is a subject for detailed treatment in the historical chapters which will form the second part of this volume.

In connection with **Samudragupta**, there is mentioned, in line 14, a city named **Pushpapura**, which is spoken of in such a way as to indicate apparently that it was his capital. **Pushpapura**, **Pushpapurî**, and **Kusumapura**, all meaning 'the town or city of flowers,' were names of **Pâtaliputra**, which is now represented by the modern **Patna** in Bihâr, on the Ganges; the original city, **Pâtaliputra** itself, stood on the opposite south bank of the river, at the place where, in ancient times, the **Śôn** used to flow into it. The antiquity of the name **Kusumapura** is vouched for by Hiuen Tsiang,¹ who speaks of the city under both names,—*K'u-su-mo-pu-lo*, or *Keu-su-mo-pu-lo*, which he also explains by the Chinese Hwa-kong or Hwa-kung, 'flower-palace,' and Hiang-hu-kong-sh'ing, 'city or royal precinct of the scented flower;' and *Po-ch'a-li-tsu-ch'ing*, 'the city of **Pâtaliputra**.' He tells us that **Kusumapura** was the more ancient name of the two. And, though I cannot find any early authority for it apart from the present passage, there is no reason for declining to think that the synonym **Pushpapura** was in use in early days, quite as much as it was at the time when the *Daśakumāracharita* and other books, which give us this form and **Pushpapurî**, were written. This passage, therefore, may furnish good grounds for locating **Samudragupta's** capital at **Pâtaliputra**. At the same time, I have to draw attention to the following points, as requiring consideration in determining this question. (1) Until the time of **Skandagupta**, no inscriptions of this dynasty have been found anywhere in the neighbourhood of **Pâtaliputra**.² (2) Though **Pâtaliputra** is mentioned, under its own proper name, in two of the inscriptions³ of **Chandragupta II.**, yet neither of these passages connects the city with him, as his capital. And (3) Hiuen Tsiang⁴ mentions another ancient **Kusumapura**,—for which the synonym **Pushpapura** would be equally acceptable,—far distant, and quite distinct, from **Pâtaliputra**. He tells us that the old capital of **Kanyâkubja**, or **Kanauj**, was originally called **Kusumapura**. And, though he is not absolutely specific on the point, yet the way in which he describes how the town came to be invested with the name of **Kanyâkubja**, seems to indicate that he understood **Kusumapura** to be the ancient name of the very site which, in his time, was called **Kanyâkubja**. A capital here, or anywhere in this neighbourhood, would be far more in accordance with the localities at which all the earlier inscriptions of the dynasty exist; and still more so with the selection of a column either at **Allahâbâd** or at **Kausâmbî**, to contain the record of the conquests of **Samudragupta**, by whom the power of the family was brought to maturity and was placed on an extensive footing. It is a matter for regret that the last *pāda* of the verse that mentions **Pushpapura**, is so hopelessly illegible; it evidently contained a reference to some river, which might have

¹ *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 83 ff.

² I exclude intentionally, of course, the spurious Gayâ grant of **Samudragupta**, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.

³ The Udayagiri cave inscription, No. 6 below, Plate ivA. l. 4; and the Gadhwâ inscription of the year 88, No. 7, Plate ivB. l. 12.

⁴ *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 207.

made the point quite clear. As it is, we must look for the clue in the identification of the Kôta family, tribe, or dynasty, which is mentioned in the same verse. But, for this name, I have not as yet succeeded in obtaining any other reference.

TEXT.¹

- 1 [Yah²] kulyaiḥ svai ātasa
.....
- 2 ya(?)sya(?) [II*] [1]
- 3 Pu(?)m̐v
tra
- 4 sphā(?)ra-dra(?) kshah sphuṭ-
ôddhva[m]sita pravitata [II*] [2]
- 5 Yasya³ prajñ-ānushaṅg-ôchita-sukha-manasaḥ śāstra-tattv-ārttha-bharttuḥ [— —]
stabdh-ô[— — — —]ni[— — — —]n-ôchchhri[— — — —]
- 6 [sa]t-kāvya-śrī-virôdhān=budha-gunī-guṇ-ājñ-āhatān=ēva kṛtvā v[i]dval-lôkē
vi[— —]sphuta-bahu-kavitā-kīrti-rājyaṁ bhunakti [II*] 3
- 7 [Ā]ryyô⁴ h=ity=upagunya bhāva-piṣunair=utkarṇitai rômabhiḥ sabhyēsh=
ûchchhvasitēshu tulyakulaja-mīlān-ānan-ôdvikshi[ta]ḥ
- 8 sn[ē]ha-vyālulitēna bāshpa-gurūṇā tattv-ēkshīṇā chakshushā yah pitr=
ābhihitō ni[r]iksh[y]a nikhi[lām pāhy=ēva]m=[u]rv[v]im=iti [II*] 4
- 9 [Dri]shṭvā⁵ karmmāny=anēkāny=amanuja-sadṛśāny=adbhut-ôdbhinna-harshā
bh[ā*]vair=āsvādaya[— — — — — — — — — —] [kē]chit
- 10 vīry-ôttaptāś=cha kēchich=chharaṇam=upagatā yasya vṛittē pranāmē=
py=art[t]ē(?)[— — — — — — — — — —] [II*] [5]
- 11 Saṁgrāmēshu⁶ sva-bhuja-vijitā nityam=uchch-āpakārāḥ śvaḥ-śvō māna-
pra[— — — — — — — — — —]
- 12 tōsh-ôttuṅgaiḥ sphuta-bahu-rasa-snēha-phullair=mmanôbbhiḥ paśchāttāpam
va[— — — — — —]ma[m(?)]] sy[ā]d=vasa(?)nta[m(?)]] [II*] [6]
- 13 Udvēl⁷-ôdita-bāhu-vīrya-rabhasād=ēkēna yēna kshaṇād=unmūly=Āchyuta-
Nāgasēna-g[— — — — — — — — — —]
- 14 daṇḍair=grāhayat=aiva Kôta-kula-jam Pushp-āhvayē kriḍatā sūryyē
nē[— — — — — —]tata[— — — — — —] [II*] [7]
- 15 Dharmma⁸-prāchīra-bandhaḥ śaśi-kara-śuchayah kīrttayah sa-pratānā vaidu-
shyam tattva-bhēdi praśama[— — — —]uku[—]y k[—]mu(?)t[—]t-ārttham(?)
- 16 addhyēyah sūkta-mārggaḥ kavi-mati-vibhav-ôtsāraṇam ch=āpi kāvyam kō nu
syād=yō=sya na syād=guṇa-mati-v[i]dushām dhyāna-pātram ya ēkah [II*] 8
- 17 Tasya vividha-samara-śat-āvatarāṇa-dakshasya sva-bhuja-bala-parākkram-aika-
bandhōḥ parākkram-ānkasya paraśu-śara-śaṅku-śakti-prās-āsi-tōmara-

¹ From the original column.

² The first four lines, containing the first two verses, are almost entirely destroyed; and the few letters that remain of them do not suffice to shew what the metres were.

³ Metre, Sragdharā.

⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁵ Metre, Sragdharā.

⁶ Metre, Mandākrāntā.

⁷ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁸ Metre, Sragdharā.

- 18 bhindipāla-n[ā]rācha-vaitastik-ādy-anēka-praharāṇa-virūḍh-ākula-vraṇa-śat-āṅka-
śobhā-samuday-ōpachita-kāntatara-varshmanah
- 19 Kausalaka-Mahēndra-Māh[ā*]kātāraka-Vyāghrarāja-Kaurāḷaka¹-Maṇ-
tarāja-Paiśṭapuraka-Mahēndra-giriKauṭṭūraka-Svāmidatt²-Airāṇḍa-
pallaka-Damana-Kāñchēyaka-Vishṇugōp-Āvamuktaka-
- 20 Nilarāja-Vaiṅgēyaka-Hastivarmma-Pālakkak-Ōgrasēna-Daivarāśhṭraka-
Kubēra-Kausthalapuraka-Dhanañjaya-prabhṛiti-sarvva-dakshināpatha-
rāja-grahāṇa-mōksh-ānugraha-janita-pratāp-ōnmiśra-māhābhagyasya
- 21 Rudradēva-Matila-Nāgadatta-Chandravarmma-Gaṇapatināga-Nāgasēn-
Āchyuta-Nandi-Balavarmma-ādy-anēk-Āryyāvartta-rāja-prasabh-ōddharaṇ-
ōdvṛitta-prabhāva-mahataḥ parichārakikṛita-sarvv-ātāvika-rājasya

¹ Read *kairāḷaka*, for which the word in the text is obviously a mistake.—The text, as it stands, would give “the country, or city, of Kurāḷa,” but, though *kurāḷa* occurs in the sense of ‘a light bay horse with black legs,’ it is not known as the name of a country or a city. Kēraḷa, on the other hand, is so well known as one of the countries in the south of India, that it would be strange if it were omitted in a passage like the present one; and it is easy to see how the engraver, or perhaps the writer from whose draft he engraved, formed *kaurāḷaka*, by mistake for *kairāḷaka*, through a stroke on the right of the top of the *k* in *kai* and of the *ra*.

² This is not altogether an easy passage to deal with. In the first instance,—coming immediately after the mention of the city of Piśṭapura, which is the modern Piṭṭapuram (the ‘Pittapooram’ of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 94; Lat. 17° 6’; Long. 82° 18’), the chief town of the Piṭṭapuram Zamindāri or Estate, twelve miles north by east of ‘Cocanada’ in the Gōdāvarī District in the Madras Presidency,—the syllables *mahēndragiri* suggest at once a reference to the famous Mahēndra mountain in the Gañjām District, among the Eastern Ghats, the ‘Mahendragiri’ of maps (Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 108; Lat. 18° 58’ N.; Long. 84° 26’ E.), which is mentioned in other early inscriptions; for instance, as Mahēndrāchala, in lines 1 and 3 of the two ‘Chicacole’ grants of the Mahārāja Indravarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. pp. 120, 123). And this tempts us to divide the passage thus, *Paiśṭapuraka-MahēndragiriKauṭṭūraka-Svāmidatta*, and to translate “Svāmidatta of Piśṭapura and of Kōṭṭūra on Mahēndragiri.”—Another rendering that might suggest itself is “Svāmidatta of Piśṭapura, Mahēndragiri, and Kōṭṭūra:” which, in fact, except in respect of his mistake of Kudura, for Kōṭṭūra, was adopted by Dr. Bhau Daji (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. cxcviii.) But this is not admissible, because it would require *mahēndragirika* in the text, instead of *mahēndragiri*; and, though it is possible to find the final *ka* in the text as it stands, yet this would give us as the next word, instead of Kōṭṭūra (Kōṭṭūr), which is a Drāviḍian name of frequent occurrence, Oṭṭūr, for which I can find no authority at all, or Hoṭṭūr (if we assume an omission of the initial *h*), which occurs, but not in connection with any place of importance.—If *mahēndragiri* is to be taken as one word, and as denoting the mountain, the translation that I have noted above is the one that must be adopted. And it might be supported by the fact that we have a Kōṭṭūr on almost the same range of hills as that to which the Mahēndragiri belongs; viz. the ‘Kailaskotta and Kylascottah’ of the map (Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 107; Lat. 19° 14’; Long. 83° 36’ E.), which represents Kailāsa-Kōṭṭa or Kailāsa-Kōṭṭūr, and seems to be a place of importance.—But the objection to this interpretation is, that none of the other kings’ names, mentioned in this inscription, are coupled with more than one locality. This leads us to connect Svāmidatta with Kōṭṭūra only, and to find the name of another king in connection with Piśṭapura.—The first inclination then might be, to divide the text thus, *Paiśṭapuraka-Mahēndragiri-Kauṭṭūraka-Svāmidatta*; and to translate, “Mahēndragiri of Piśṭapura, and Svāmidatta of Kōṭṭūra.” But, though *giri* or *gīr* is a very common termination of proper names in the present day, my experience is, that it is used only as a religious title, and is affixed only to the names of Gōsāvis; and even among them it would seem to be confined to one particular division of the Daśanāmī-Gōsāvis (see H. H. Wilson’s Works, Rost’s edition, Vol. I. p. 202; Molesworth’s Marāṭhī Dictionary, s. v. *gīr*; and Monier Williams’ Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v. *giri*). I think, therefore, that, in the absence of any other analogous instance, it would in all probability be incorrect to accept it as a suitable termination for a king’s name.—I accordingly divide this passage thus, *Paiśṭapuraka-Mahēndra-giriKauṭṭūraka-Svāmidatta*; and translate, “Mahēndra of Piśṭapura, and Svāmidatta of Kōṭṭūra on the hill.” And this Giri-Kōṭṭūra, or “Kōṭṭūra on the hill,” may either be found in the

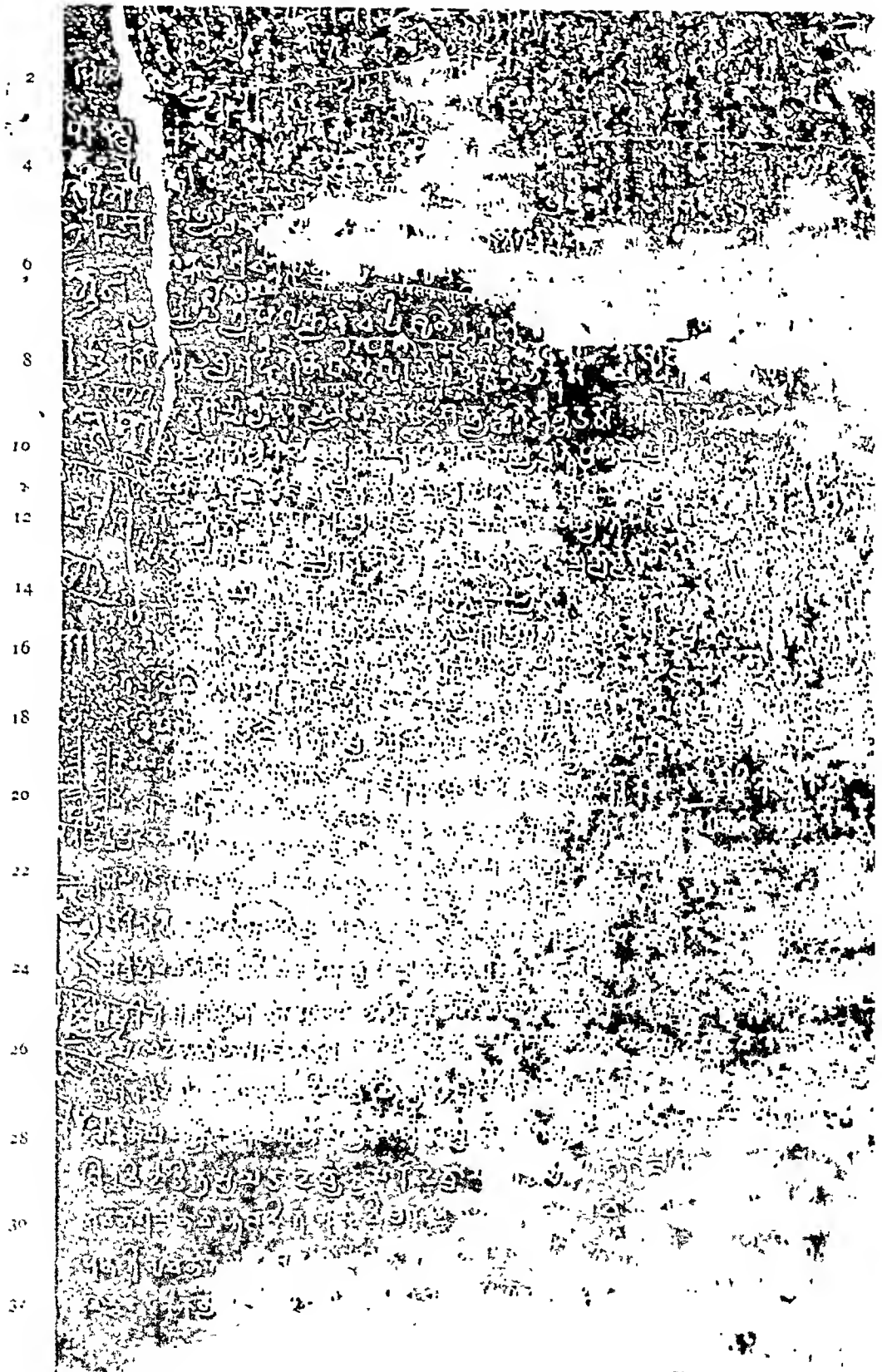
- 22 Samatata-Davâka-Kâmarûpa-Nêpâla-Karttripur-âdi-pratyanta-nripatibhir
Mmâlav-Ârjunâyana-Yaudhêya-Mâdrak-Âbhîra-Prâdjuna-Sanakâ
nika¹-Kâka-Kharaparik-âdibhiḥ=cha sarvvakaradân-âjñâkaraṇa-praṇâmâ-
gamana-
- 23 paritôshita-prachanda-śâsanasya anêka-bhrashta-râjyôtsanna-râjavamśa-pratishthâ-
pan-ôdbhûta-nikhila-bh[uva]na-vich[ra]na-śânta-yaśasaḥ Daivaputra-Shâhi-
Shâhânushâhi-Saka-Murundaiḥ Saimhalak-âdibhiḥ=cha
- 24 sarvva-dvîpa-vâsibhir-âtmanivêdana-kanyôpâyanadâna-garutmadaṅka-svavishayabhu-
kti-śâsana[y]âchan-âdy-upâya-sêva-kṛita-bâhu-vîryya-prasara-dharaṇi-bandhasya
pri(pri)thivyâm=a-pratirathasya
- 25 sucharita-śat-âlaṅkṛit-ânêka-guṇa-gaṇ-ôtsiktibhiḥ=charaṇa-tala-pramṛiṣṭ-ânya-nara-
pati-kirttêḥ sâddhv-asâdh-ûdaya-pralaya-hêtu-purushasya-â-chintyasya bhakty-
avanati-mâtra-grâhya-mṛidu-hṛidayasya-ânukampâvatô=nêka-gô-śata-sahasra-pra-
dâyinaḥ²
- 26 kṛipaṇa-dîn-ânâth-âtura-jan-ôddharana-sa(ma)ntradiksh-âdy-upagata-manasaḥ sa-
middhasya vigrahavatô loka-ânugrahasya Dhanada-Varuṇ-Êndr-Ântaka-
samasya sva-bhuja-bala-vijit-ânêka-narapati-vibhava-pratyarpṇâ-nitya-vyâpṛit-
âyuktapurushasya
- 27 niśita-vidagdha-mati-gândharvva-lalitair=vṛidita-tridaśapatiguru-Tumburu-Nârad-
âdêr=vividvaj-jan-ôpajîvy-ânêka-kâvyâ-kkriyâbhiḥ pratishṭhita-kavirâja-śabdasya
suchira-stôṭavy-ânêk-âdbhut-ôdâra-charitasya
- 28 loka-samaya-kkriy-ânuvidhâna-mâtra-mânushasya loka-dhâmnô dēvasya mahâ-
râja-śrî-Gupta³-prapautrasya mahârâja-śrî-Ghaṭôtkacha-pautrasya mahâ-
râjâdhirâja-śrî-Chandragupta-putrasya
- 29 Lichchhavi-dauhitṛasya mahâdēvyâm Kumâradēvyâm=utpha(tpa)nnasya
mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-Samudraguptasya sarvva-prithivî-vijaya-janit-ôdaya-
vyâpta-nikhil-âvanitalâm kirttim=itas=tridaśapati-

Kailâsa-Koṭṭa, mentioned by me above; or, Koṭṭûr (from Koṭṭapura) being a very common Drâviḍian name, may be looked for in any Koṭṭûr of note, in a mountainous part of Southern India, e.g. possibly Koṭṭûr in the 'Coimbatore' District, at the foot of one of the passes in the 'Anaimalai' Hills, (Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 61 or 62; Lat. 10° 32' N.; Long. 77° 2' E.)

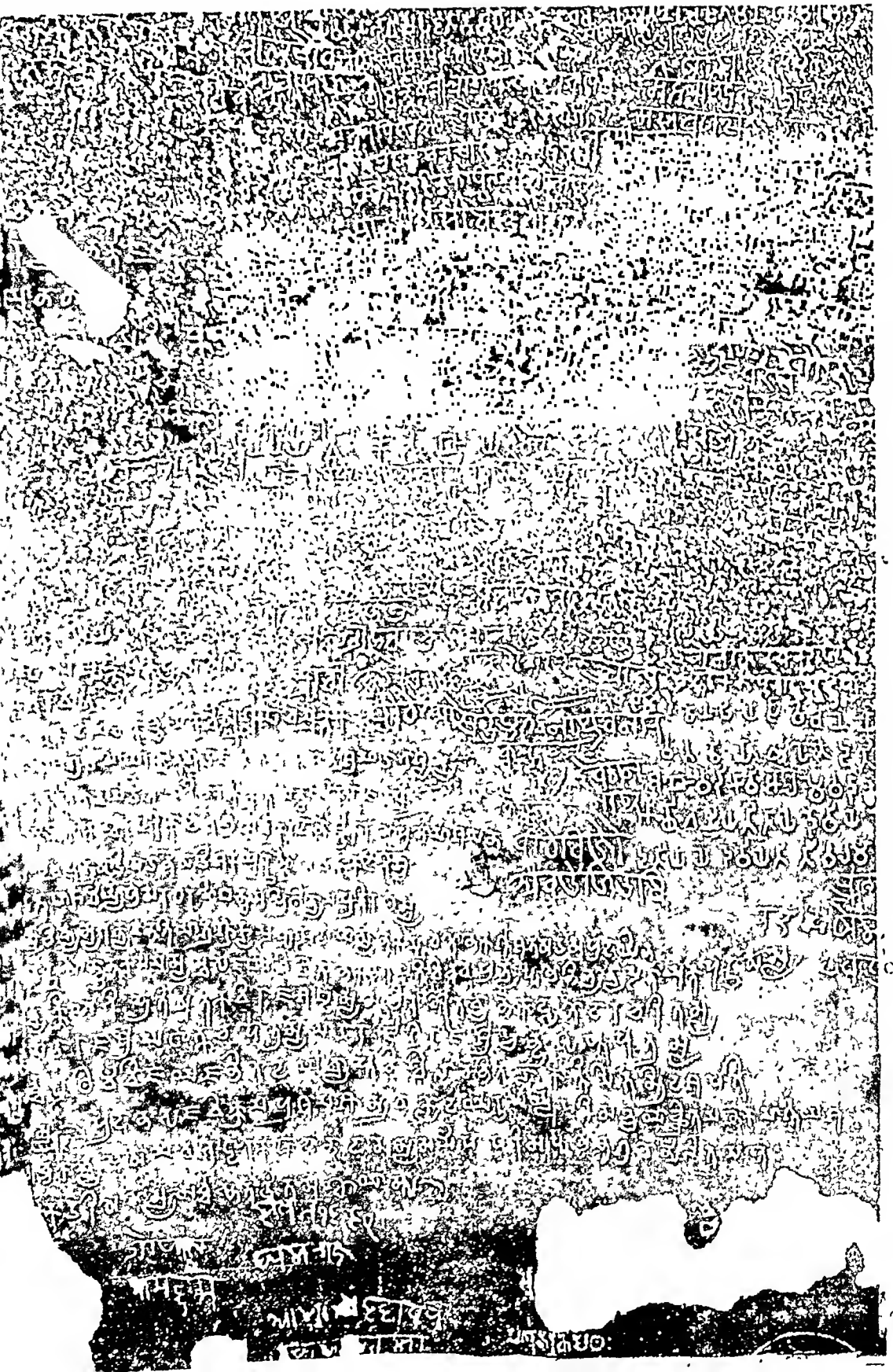
¹ In line 2 of the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 82, No. 3 below, Plate iiB, this name occurs with the short vowel *i* in the fourth syllable.

² This *visarga* is imperfect, the engraver having omitted the upper half of it.

³ Mr. V. A. Smith (*Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 119, and note) has suggested that this name was not simply Gupta, as it is usually accepted, but Śrîgupta, which form he has used throughout; i. e. that, in this instance, *śrî* is an integral part of the name, not the honorific prefix. His grounds for this opinion are (1) that the past participle *gupta*, 'protected,' can hardly stand alone for a proper name, whereas Śrîgupta, 'protected by (the goddess) Śrî or Lakshmî,' would be a complete name, giving a suitable meaning; and (2) that the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing (in India from about A.D. 673 to 693) speaks of a king or *Mahârâja* called Śrîgupta, who preceded his time by about five hundred years (*Four. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 571; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 110), and who has been identified by some with the founder of the Gupta family.—In addition to the instance quoted just above, Śrîgupta occurs as the name of a persecutor of Buddha (Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 151 f.) as the name of a Jain saint (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 252); and as the name of a merchant (Nêpâl inscription, No. 13, line 12; *id.* Vol. IX. p. 176).—But, with regard to the present passage, I have to point out (1) that, as it is now certain that the era used by the Early Guptas commenced A.D. 319-20, the *Mahârâja* Śrîgupta, mentioned by I-tsing and referred by him to about A.D. 175, cannot be identified with the founder of the Early Gupta family, who lived in



of the inscription of Samudra Gupta



- 32 Khādyatapākikasya mahādandanāyaka-Dhruvabhūti-putrasya sāndhivigrahika-kumārāmātya-ma[hādandanāya]ka-Harishēnasya sarva-bhūta-hita-sukhāy-āstu I(II)
- 33 Anushṭhitam cha paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-anudhyātēna mahādandanāyaka-Tilabhaṭṭakēna I(II)

TRANSLATION.

(Line 29.)—This lofty column (is) as it were an arm of the earth,¹ proclaiming the fame,—which, having pervaded the entire surface of the earth with (its) development that was caused by (his) conquest of the whole world, (has departed) hence (and now) experiences the sweet happiness attained by (his) having gone to the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods,²—of the *Mahārājādhirāja*,³ the glorious⁴

¹ By taking an alternative meaning of *uchchhritak*, we might translate—"This column has been erected, as if it were an arm of the earth," &c. But this would include the assumption that the column had fallen, and was set up again in the time of Chandragupta II.; and in that case *sthāpitak* would have been a better word to use than *uchchhritak*, and the word would have stood better after, instead of before, *stambhak*. It seems best to adopt a translation that does not bind us to either view.—Prinsep considered it to be proved that the column had fallen, and was set up again expressly to display the present inscription. His grounds for this opinion (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 967 f.) are, that there are several names on it which he considered to be in characters of a type intermediate between those of the Aśoka and the Gupta inscriptions, and one of which, at least, it would have been exceedingly inconvenient, if not impossible, to have cut while the column was erect. But this particular name, with several of the others referred to by him, is in characters that are certainly of considerably later date than the Gupta inscription; and none of the names are in characters that are any earlier than the inscription.

² i.e. on his death.—Compare the expression in line 23 f. of the Kārdā grant of Kakkā III. of Śaka-Samvat 894.—"and when (his) elder brother, the glorious Krishnarājādēva, had ascended to the skies, as if from a desire to conquer the realm of Indra" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 265, 268); compare also line 14, verse 30, of the Gwālior inscription of Mahipāla of Vikrama-Samvat 1150 (*id.* Vol. XV. pp. 37, 43).—"Padmapāla, still a youth, through the adversity of fortune, obtained a seat [on the lap] of Samkrandana (Indra)."

³ *Mahārājādhirāja*, lit. 'supreme king of *Mahārājas*' (see page 15 below, note 4), is one of the titles indicative of supreme paramount sovereignty, and is the only expression that properly and fully answers to our idea of a 'king.' I use it and all other technical titles and terms, without translation, because, if only for the sake of uniformity and convenience of comparison, it is much better to use them in this way, than to attempt to render them into English by expressions which must always vary according to the idiosyncracies of the translators, and which can never suffice to give exact and complete equivalents for the original titles.—The present title, *Mahārājādhirāja*, in somewhat later times, is almost always coupled with two others, *Paramīśvara*, 'supreme lord,' and *Paramabhaktāraka*, 'most worshipful one,' e.g. in line 50 ff. of the Alinā grant of Śīlāditya VII, No. 39 below, Plate xxv. And the connection of the three titles was so constant, that a Rīmā grant (unpublished) of Trailokyamalla, dated Vikrama-Samvat 1297, considers it unnecessary to give all three titles in full, and contents itself with describing him as *paramabhaktāraka-diyādhirājādhirāja-śīlāditya*, "possessed of the three kingly titles (lit. succession) commencing with *Paramabhaktāraka*."—Other titles of paramount sovereignty, occurring in this series, are *Rājādhirāja* and *Chakravartin*.

⁴ *śri*, 'fortune, majesty, glory,' and *śrīmat*, 'possessed of fortune, majesty, glory,' are words of constant occurrence as honorific prefixes to the names of persons, gods, places, &c. I render them by 'glorious,' in the case of paramount sovereigns and their wives; 'illustrious,' of feudatories and other ordinary persons; 'saintly,' of priests, teachers, &c.; 'Loh,' of gods; or 'famous,' of towns, &c.—The usual rule seems to have been, to use *śri* before a consonant, and *śrīmat* before a vowel; thus *śrī-mat-Indrabhaktāraka* *śrī-Nannaddiśya* *tanayapādpati* *śrī-Mat-līnāditya* *śrī-dhī*, in the Rājā grant of the Rājā Tivara IV, No. 81 below, Plate xiv. l. 10 ff. But instances of deviation from this occur; thus, without *śrīmat* or the euphoric joining of vowels, *śrī-dhīmat-śrī-dhī*, in the Shāhpar image inscription, No. 43 below, Plate xix. A. l. 2 f., and *śrī-dhīmat-śrī-dhī* and *śrī-dhī*

Samudragupta,¹—

(L. 1.)—[Who] by his own kinsmen
;—whose;—

(L. 3.)—[Who]
 twanging (*of the bow-string*) burst open and
 scattered dishevelled;—

(L. 5.)—Whose happy mind was accustomed to associate with learned people;—
 who was the supporter of the real truth of the scriptures; firmly fixed
; —who, having overwhelmed, with the (*force of the*) commands of the col-
 lective merits of (*his*) learned men, those things which obstruct the beauty of excellent
 poetry, (*still*) enjoys, in the world of the wise, the sovereignty of the fame (*produced*) by
 much poetry, and of clear meaning;—

(L. 7.)—Who, being looked at (*with envy*) by the faces, melancholy (*through the
 rejection of themselves*), of others of equal birth, while the attendants of the court breathed
 forth deep sighs (*of happiness*), was bidden by (*his*) father,—who, exclaiming “Verily
 (*he is*) worthy,” embraced (*him*) with the hairs of (*his*) body standing erect (*through plea-
 sure*) (*and thus*) indicati ot (*his*) sentiments, and scanned (*him*) with an eye turning

Ijjādēvyām, in the Dēś-Baraṇārī inscription of Jivitagupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxixB., lines 2 f. and 5 f.; and, on the other hand, *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmat-Suvarṇavarshadēva-prithivīvallabha-śrīmad-Vallabhanarēndradēva*, used in respect of the Rāsh-ṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda V in his Sāṅgī grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 251, l. 39 f.); and numerous other instances.—It has been suggested that only *śrī*, not *śrīmat*, is used in the case of paramount sovereigns. But this is not the case. In addition to the passage noted above in connection with Gōvinda V., we have *paramēśvara-śrīmad-Avantivarmanā*, in the Dēś-Baraṇārī inscription, l. 15; *śrīmad-Ādityavarman-prithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara*, applied to the Western Chalukya king Ādityavarman in his Kaṇṇūl grant (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 234, l. 12 f.); *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-Dhārāvarshadēva*, applied to the Rāsh-ṭrakūṭa king Dhruva, in the Waṇi grant of Gōvinda III. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 159, l. 33 f.); *śrīmad-Amōghavarsha-Nripatūṅga*, used of king Amōghavarsha I. of the same dynasty, in his Sīrūr inscription (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 219, l. 16); *śrīmad-Vikramāditya-śrīmat-Tribhuvanamalladēva*, used of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya V., in his Kaṭhēm grant (*id.* Vol. XVI. p. 24, l. 73); and many other examples of the same usage.

¹As regards the termination *gupta*, the *Vishnu-Purāṇa*, Book iii. Chap. 10, verse 9, says—“ (The termination) *śarman* is prescribed for a Brāhman; *varman* belongs to a Kshatriya; (and) a name characterised by *gupta* or *dāsa* is approved of in the case of (respectively) a Vaiśya and a Śūdra.” The commentary in the Bombay edition gives, as examples, Sōmaśarman, Indravarmān, Chandragupta, and Śivadāsa. (See also F. E. Hall’s edition of H. H. Wilson’s Translation, Vol. III. p. 99 f.)—So also in the *Mānavadharmasāstra*, ii. 31 (Burnell’s Translation, p. 20), a rule of the same tendency is laid down, though without specifying any particular terminations.—On this authority, it has been suggested that the Early Guptas were not of high rank, being at the best of the Vaiśya caste; and that this is the reason why they felt such pride in their alliance with the Licchhavis, as shewn by the record of the name of Kumāradēvī and of her family on some of the gold coins of Chandragupta I., and by the epithet, “daughter’s son of Licchhavi (or of a Licchhavi king),” that is always applied to Samudragupta in the genealogical passages.—No doubt some such rules as those prescribed by the *Vishnu-Purāṇa* and *Mānavadharmasāstra*, were followed more or less in early times. But, as instances of deviation from them, we have the name of the well-known astronomer Brahmagupta, who it can hardly be doubted was a Brāhman; and Dāsavarman occurs, as the name of a Brāhman, in line 36 of the Nerūr grant of Vijayāditya, dated Śaka-Saṃvat 627 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 131; *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 20); and doubtless numerous similar instances might be found, if proper indexes were available.

round and round in affection, (*and*) laden with tears (*of joy*), (*and*) perceptive of (*his noble*) nature,—[to govern of a surety] the whole world;¹—

(L. 9.)—Whose some people (*were accustomed to*) taste with affection, displaying exceeding great joy when they beheld (*his*) many actions that resembled nothing of a mortal nature; (*and*) whose protection other people, afflicted by (*his*) prowess, sought, performing obeisance,;—

(L. 11.)—[Whose] doers of great wrong, always conquered by his arm in battle, to-morrow and to-morrow pride
..... repentance, with minds filled with contentment (*and*) expanding with much clearly displayed pleasure and affection, the spring (?);—

(L. 13.)—By whom,—having, unassisted, with the force of the prowess of (*his*) arm that rose up so as to pass all bounds, uprooted **Achyuta** and **Nâgasêna**
...;—(*by whom*), causing him who was born in the family of the **Kôtas** to be captured by (*his*) armies, (*and*) taking his pleasure at (*the city*) that had the name of **Pushpa**, while the sun the banks;—

(L. 15.)—(*Of whom it used to be said*),—"The building of the pale of religion; fame as white as the rays of the moon, (*and*) spreading far and wide wisdom that pierced the essential nature of things; calmness; the path of the sacred hymns, that is worthy to be studied; and even poetry, which gives fre: vent to the power of the mind of poets; (*all these are his*); (*in short*) what (*virtue*) is here that does not belong to him, who alone is a worthy subject of contemplation for those who can recognise merit and intellect?;"—

(L. 17.)—Who was skilful in engaging in a hundred battles of various kinds;²—whose only ally was the prowess of the strength of his own arm;—who was noted for prowess;³—whose most charming body was covered over with all the beauty of the marks of a hundred confused wounds, caused by the blows of battle-axes, arrows, spears, pikes, barbed darts, swords, lances, javelins for throwing, iron arrows, *vaitastikas*,⁴ and many other (*weapons*);—

(L. 19.)—Whose great good fortune was mixed with, so as to be increased by (*his*) glory produced by the favour shewn in capturing and then liberating **Mahendra** of

¹ This verse seems to indicate that Chandragupta I. specially selected Samudragupta, from among several brothers, to conquer the land and to succeed him on the throne.—A clear indication of some such custom of selection is afforded by the epithet *tat-parigrihîta*, "accepted (as his favourite son and chosen successor) by him (Samudragupta)," which is always applied to Chandragupta II. in the genealogical passages; e.g. in line 9-10 of his Mathurâ inscription, No. 4 below, Plate iiiA.—And, that occasionally the widow of a deceased king selected his successor, is perhaps indicated by the way in which, in one of the Nêpâl inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. pp. 164, l. 18 ff. and 165, v. 8 ff.), Râjyavatî, the widow of Dharmadêva, is described as bewailing the uselessness of her own life after her husband's death, and as directing her son, Mânadêva, to reign, that she may follow her deceased lord.

² With this expression, compare the legend on some of Samudragupta's gold coins,—*Samara-sata-vitata-vijayô jita* *dêvô jayati*; see, for instance, *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. Pl. ii. Nos. 3, 4, 5.

³ With this expression and the preceding, compare the word *parâkramaḥ*, 'prowess,' on the reverse of the coins referred to in the preceding note.

⁴ This word is not explained in the dictionaries. It must be a derivative from *vitasti*, 'a long span, measured by the extended thumb and little finger.'

Kôsala, Vyâghrarâja of Mahâkântâra, Maṇṭarâja of Kêraḷa,¹ Mahêndra of Pishtapura,² Svâmidatta of Kottûra on the hill,³ Damana of Êraṇḍapalla, Vishṇugôpa of Kâñchi, Nîlarâja of Avamukta, Hastivarman of Veṅgi, Ugrasêna of Palakka,⁴ Kubêra of Dêvarâshṭra, Dhanamjaya of Kusthalapura, and all the other kings of the region of the south;⁵—

(L. 21.)—Who abounded in majesty that had been increased by violently exterminating Rudradêva, Matila, Nâgadatta, Chandravarman, Gaṇapatinâga, Nâgasêna, Achyuta, Nandin, Balavarman, and many other kings of (the land of) Âryâvarta;⁶—who made all the kings of the forest countries⁷ to become (*his*) servants;—

¹ See page 7 above, note 1.

² and ³ See page 7 above, note 2.—As regards the introduction of the mountain Mahêndragiri in this passage, Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 10) accepted it, and identified the mountain with the conical hill close to Mahiyar (the 'Maihar, Meyhar, Meyhere, Myhere, and Myhir,' of maps, &c.; Lat. 24° 16' N.; Long. 80° 47' E.), the chief town of the Mahiyar State, a little to the south of Uchaharâ, in the Baghêlkhand division of Central India. Mahiyar may perhaps be derived from Mahêndragiri; but, under any circumstances, this identification cannot be upheld.

⁴ Or perhaps Palakka, with the long vowel *ā* in the first syllable.

⁵ *dakṣiṇâpatha*, lit. 'the path or road of the south; the southern road,' was the technical expression for Southern India.—The analogous technical expression for Northern India was *uttarâpatha*, lit. 'the path or road of the north; the northern road.' It does not occur in the present series. But it is of constant use in connection with the great king Harshavardhana of Kanauj, e.g. *samarasamsakta-sakalôttarâpathêśvara-śrī-Harshavardhana*, 'the glorious Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the north,' in line 8 of the Nerūr grant of the Western Chalukya king Vijayāditya, dated Saka-Samvat 622 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 127); and, in line 20 f. of the same grant, it is contrasted with the *dakṣiṇâpatha*, which is there mentioned under the synonym of *dakṣiṇâśā*, 'the southern quarter or region.'—A perhaps better known name of Northern India is Âryâvarta, 'the abode of the Âryas, or excellent or noble people,' which occurs in line 21 of the present inscription.—In the *Mānavadharmasāstra*, ii. 22 (Burnell's Translation, p. 18) Âryâvarta is defined as the land between the Himâlaya and Vindhya mountains, extending to the eastern and to the western sea. But a more precise division between the *uttarâpatha* and the *dakṣiṇâpatha* is given by the poet Râjashêkhara, who, in the *Bâlarâmāyaṇa*, Act 6 (see V. Sh. Apte's *Râjashêkhara: his Life and Writings*, p. 21), speaks of the river Narmadâ (the 'Nerbudda'), which rises in, and runs along close to the south of, the Vindhya range, as "the dividing-line of Âryâvarta and the *dakṣiṇâpatha*."

⁶ i.e. "of northern India;" see the preceding note.

⁷ Compare the passage in line 8 f. of the Khôh grant of the *Mahârâja* Saṁkshôbha, No. 25 below, Pl. xvB., describing his ancestor Hastin as ruling over his hereditary kingdom of Dabhâlâ, together with the eighteen forest kingdoms.—I have not been able to trace any definition of the terms *âtavika-râja*, 'forest-kings' or 'kings of forest countries,' and *âtavî-râjya*, 'forest-kingdoms;' much less to obtain any enumeration of the eighteen forest-kingdoms referred to in connection with the *Mahârâja* Hastin. But Hastin's territories lay in the direction of Bundêlkhand, Baghêlkhand, Rîwâ, and other neighbouring parts of the Vindhya range. And I notice that the term *Vindhy-âṭavî*, the 'forests of the Vindhya mountains' (which are so often referred to in one of the customary imprecatory verses used in inscriptions), is given by Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, as seeming to have denoted originally the whole extent of country from near Mathurâ to the Narmadâ. This area corresponds pretty closely with the modern term Central India; and the separate divisions of it would be very suitably represented by the general term 'forest-countries' or 'forest-kingdoms.'—Somewhat similar terms, *vana-râshṭra*, 'forest-countries,' and *vana-râjya*, 'forest-kingdoms,' occur in the *Bṛihat-Samhitâ*, xiv. vv. 29, 30. But the countries there spoken of, lay in the north-east division of India, as mapped out by Varâhamihira; and they are, at any rate, not the countries referred to in connection with the *Mahârâja* Hastin.

(L. 22.)—Whose imperious commands were fully gratified, by giving all (*kinds of*) taxes and obeying (*his*) orders and coming to perform obeisance, by the frontier-kings¹ of Samatāṭa, Davāka, Kāmarūpa, Nêpāla, Karṭṭipura, and other (*countries*), and by the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudhēyas, Mādrakas, Abhīras, Prārjunas, Sanakānikas,² Kākas, Kharaparikas, and other (*tribes*);—

(L. 23.)—Whose tranquil fame, pervading the whole world, was generated by establishing (*again*) many royal families, fallen and deprived of sovereignty;—whose binding together of the (*whole*) world, by means of the amplitude of the vigour of (*his*) arm, was effected by the acts of respectful service, such as offering themselves as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, (*giving*) Garuḍa-tokens,³ (*surrendering*) the enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting (*his*) commands, &c., (*rendered*) by the Daivaputras, Shāhis, Shāhānushāhis, Śakas, and Muruṇḍas, and by the people of Siṃhala and all (*other*) dwellers in islands;—who had no antagonist (*of equal power*) in the world;⁴—who, by the overflow of the multitude of (*his*) various virtues adorned by a hundred good actions, rubbed out the fame of other kings with the soles of (*his*) feet;—who, being incomprehensible, was the spirit that was the cause of the production of good and the destruction of evil;—who, being full of compassion, had a tender heart that could be won over simply by devotion and obeisance;—who was the giver of many hundreds of thousands of cows;—

(L. 26.)—Whose mind busied itself with the support and the initiation, &c., of the miserable, the poor, the helpless, and the afflicted;—who was the glorified personification of kindness to mankind;—~~who was equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuna and Indra and Antaka;~~⁵—whose officers ~~were always employed in restoring the wealth of the~~⁵ ~~various kings who had been conquered by the strength of his arms;~~—

(L. 27.)—Who put to shame (Kaśyapa) the preceptor of (Indra) the lord of the gods, and Tumburu and Nārada, and others, by (*his*) sharp and polished intellect and

¹ *pratyanta-nṛpati*.—This may denote either the kings within the frontiers of Samatāṭa and the following countries, i.e. the 'neighbouring kings' of those countries, or the kings or chieftains just outside the frontiers of them. Upon the interpretation that is accepted, will depend the question whether Samudragupta's empire included those countries, or whether it only extended up to, and was bounded by, their frontiers.

² See page 8 above, note 1.

³ *garutmad-aṅka*.—Whether the bird be Garuḍa or not, we have here, I consider, a distinct allusion to the 'bird-standard' on some of the coins of Samudragupta and his successors; see, for instance, the coins given by Mr. V. A. Smith in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. Plate ii. Nos. 3, 4, 5, 14, Plate iii. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 11, Plate iv. Nos. 4, 5, 7; see also *id.* p. 131 f., and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. pp. 93, 179. — *garutmat* is explained in dictionaries as meaning 'a bird in general,' as well as denoting 'the bird Garuḍa.' But its most usual and special signification is 'Garuḍa'; as, for instance, in line 7 of the Rājim grant of the Rāja Tīvaradēva, No. 81 below, Plate xlv.

* Three of the habitual expressions of the Early Gupta records, applied always and only to Samudragupta,—*viz.* the present one; "who was equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka," which we have here in line 26; and "whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans," which occurs, for instance, in line 1 of the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii.,—are applied, curiously enough, to the Chalukya chieftain Vijayarāja of Gujarāt, in line 5 f. of his Kaira grant of the year 394 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 248). The only difference is that, in the second epithet, the reading there is *sama-prabhāva*, instead of simply *sama*.—Of the present epithet, the latter part, *apratiratha*, was used on some of Samudragupta's coins; e.g. *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. Pl. ii. No. 6.

⁵ See the preceding note.

choral skill and musical accomplishments;—who established (*his*) title of 'king of poets' by various poetical compositions that were fit to be the means of subsistence of learned people;²—whose many wonderful and noble deeds are worthy to be praised for a very long time;—

(L. 28.)—Who was a mortal only in celebrating the rites of the observances of mankind, (*but was otherwise*) a god, dwelling on the earth;—who was the son of the son's son³ of the *Mahārāja*,⁴ the illustrious **Gupta**;⁵—who was the son's son of the

¹ Nārada is regarded as the inventor of the *vīṇā* or lute; and, with this reference to him and to the musical accomplishments of Samudragupta, we have to compare the coins of the 'lyrist type' (see, for instance, *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. Pl. ii. Nos. 7, 8), which represent Samudragupta playing the lute.

² Compare lines 6 and 16 of this inscription.—The title *kavirāja*, 'king of poets,' answering somewhat to our 'poet laureate,' is still in use in Native States.

³ The English terms 'grandson' and 'great-grandson' are applicable to female as well as male descent, and are therefore not suitable for use in translations from the Sanskrit. The Hindus were almost always most careful about using properly discriminating terms, *e.g.* *pautra* for a grandson through a son, and *dauhitra* for a grandson through a daughter; the status of the two lines of descent differed even more than in European countries; and, in translating, it is necessary to preserve the distinction accurately.—I will quote an instance in proof. In translating line 12 f. of No. 15 of his Nēpāl inscriptions, Dr. Bhāgwanlal Indrajī (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 181) spoke of "Vatsadēvī . . . the daughter of illustrious Bhōgavarman . . . and the grand-daughter of great Ādityasēna, the illustrious lord of Magadha." From this, Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XV. p. 163) naturally enough treated Bhōgavarman, who belonged really to the Maukhari family, as a son, instead of a son-in-law, of Ādityasēna. This mistake could not have occurred, if *dauhitrī* had been properly rendered by 'daughter's daughter,' instead of vaguely 'grand-daughter.'—The words that are fairly translatable by 'grandson' and 'great-grandson' are *naptri* and *pranaptri*. They both occur in the grants of the *Mahārājas* Hastin and Samkshōbha, Nos. 21 to 23 and 25 below; and *naptri* occurs in line 5 of the Bhumarā pillar inscription, No. 24 below, Pl. xvA. But the use of them is rare.

⁴ *Mahārāja*, *lit.* 'great king,' appears to have been, in somewhat earlier times, one of the titles of paramount sovereignty. Thus, it is used, by itself, by Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudēva, who, there is every reason to believe, were paramount sovereigns, in their inscriptions of the years 9, 39, and 83 (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 31, Pl. xiii. No. 4; p. 32, Pl. xiv. No. 9; and p. 34, Pl. xv. No. 16); and, in conjunction with the higher title of *Rājātirāja*, 'superior king of kings,' by the same three kings in their inscriptions of the years 11, 47, and 87 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 326; *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 33, Pl. xiv. No. 12, and p. 35, Pl. xv. No. 18). So also, in conjunction sometimes with the same word and sometimes with *Rājarāja*, 'king of kings,' the two together representing the Greek *basileus basileon*, it was used, in Prākṛit, on the bilingual coins of earlier date; *e.g.* in conjunction with *Rājātirāja*, on the coins of Hemokadphises (Gardner and Poole's *Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, p. 124 ff.), and, in conjunction with *Rājarāja*, on the coins of Azes (*id.* p. 73 ff.). And, before then, it was used by itself, to represent the Greek *basileus*, at a time when apparently the fuller title of *basileus basileon* had not been introduced; *e.g.* on the coins of Hermaeus (*id.* p. 62 ff.).—But, in the Early Gupta and subsequent periods, *Mahārāja* was habitually used simply as a technical official title, indicative no doubt of considerable rank and power, but applied only to feudatories, not to paramount sovereigns.—From the way in which the two titles are applied uniformly to Samudrasēna and his ancestors in the Nirmaṇḍ grant, No. 80 below, Plate xlv., the title *Mahāsāmanta*, *lit.* 'great chief of a district,' appears to have been exactly co-ordinate with that of *Mahārāja*.—A third title, *Mahāsēnāpati*, *lit.* 'great lord of the army,' seems to have denoted equal rank with these two; since it is coupled with *Mahārāja* in the fragmentary Bijayagadh inscription of the Yaudhēyas, No. 58 below, Plate xxxviB., and also in the Walā clay seal of Pushyēna (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 274 f.).—And three other offices, *viz.* those of *Mahāpratihāra*, *Mahādandanāyaka*, and *Mahākārtākritika*, would seem to have been sometimes held by *Mahārājas* and *Mahāsāmantas*; since we find all five titles applied to Dhruvasēna I. of Valabhī in line 13 f. of the Walā grant of Gupta-Saṁvat 216 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 105).

⁵ As regards this name, see page 8 above, note 3.

Mahārāja, the illustrious *Ghaṭōtkacha*;—who was the son of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Chandragupta* (I.), (and) the daughter's son of *Lichchhavi*,¹ begotten on the *Mahādēvī*² *Kumārādēvī*;—

(L. 30.)—(And) whose fame,—ever heaped up higher and higher by the development of (his) liberality and prowess of arm and composure and (study of) the precepts of the scriptures,—travelling by many paths, purifies the three worlds, as if it were the pale yellow water of (the river) *Gaṅgā*, flowing quickly on being liberated from confinement in the thickets of the matted hair of (the god) *Paśupati*.³

(L. 31.)—And this poetical composition,—(the work) of the *Khādyatapakika*,⁴ the son of the *Mahādandanāyaka*⁵ *Dhruvabhūti*, the *Sāmdhivigrahika*⁶ and *Kumārāmātya*,⁷ the *Mahādandanāyaka* *Harishēṇa*, who is the slave of these same feet of the

¹ Or "of a Lichchhavi (king)."—The present is the more usual form of the name. But the variant *Lichchhivi*, with the vowel *i* instead of *a* in the second syllable, occurs in line 3 of the *Bhitari* pillar inscription of *Skandagupta*, No. 13 below, Plate vii.; in line 5 of the spurious *Gayā* grant of *Samudragupta*, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.; and in the *Mānavadharmasāstra*, x. 22 (Burnell's Translation, p. 308), where a *Lichchhivi*, with others, is defined as the offspring of a degraded member of the *Kshatriya* caste.

² *Mahādēvī*, lit. 'great goddess,' appears to have been always a technical title of the wives of paramount sovereigns; though, in somewhat later times than that of the present inscription, it was also sometimes applied to the wives of *Mahārājas*, e.g. throughout the *Kāritālā* grant of *Jayanātha*, No. 26 below, Plate xvi.—As applied to the wives of paramount sovereigns, we have it again in the present volume, in conjunction with *Paramabhaṭṭārīkā* and *Rājñī*, in the *Mandār Hill* inscriptions of *Ādityasēna*, Nos. 44 and 45 below, and throughout the *Dēō-Baraṇār* inscription of *Jivitagupta II.*, No. 46 below, Plate xxixB. In other series it occurs, for instance, as part of the name of *Īkamaḥādēvī*, the queen-consort of the Western Chalukya king *Vikramāditya II.*, in some of his *Paṭṭadakal* inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 164 ff.); and as the title of *Gāmuṇḍabbe*, the wife of the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* king *Gōvinda III.*, in line 5 of the grant of *Śaka-Saṁvat 726* (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 127).

³ When, under the circumstances referred to in the note on line 3 f. of the *Mandasōr* inscription of *Yaśōdharman* and *Vishṇuvardhana*, No. 35 below, Plate xxii., the river *Ganges* was about to descend from heaven to earth,—in order to break the force of its fall, the god *Śiva* (*Paśupati*) received it in the matted hair coiled above his forehead and projecting like a horn; and its waters wandered there for a thousand years, before they eventually reached the earth.

⁴ It is doubtful whether this is a tribal or family name, or an official title. The etymology of it is not apparent.

⁵ *Mahādandanāyaka*, lit. 'great leader of the forces,' is a technical military title.—The officer who held this rank was the superior of the *Dandanāyakas*, or 'leaders of the forces.' This latter title occurs, for instance (together with that of *Piriyadandanāyaka*, which is the Old-Kanarese translation of the Sanskrit *Mahādandanāyaka*), in line 17 ff. of the *Balagāṇve* inscription of *San̄kamadēva* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 46.)—We constantly meet with *Dandanātha*, *Dandādhinātha*, *Dandādhipa*, *Dandādhipati*, *Dandēsa*, and *Dandēśvara*, as synonyms of *Dandanāyaka*.—Prinsep translated *Mahādandanāyaka* in the present inscription by 'administrator of punishments (magistrate)' and 'criminal magistrate;' and this rendering has sometimes been adopted by other translators. As *danda* means 'fine' and 'rod (of chastisement),' as well as 'army, forces,' the titles in which it occurs are capable of being explained as either judicial or military. But, that they are employed in the inscriptions as military titles, is shewn (1) by the way in which the words *Chamūnātha*, *Chamūpa*, *Chamūpati*, &c., in which *chamū* means only 'army,' are occasionally used as synonyms for *Dandanāyaka*, &c., e.g. in line 33 ff. of the *Kargudari* inscription of *Vikramāditya VI.* and *Tailapa II.* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 252), where the *Dandādhinātha* and *Dandādhipa* *Īśvarayya* is also called *Chamūpa*; and (2) by the definition of the *Dandanāyaka* *Kāvaṇayya* as *samastō-sēn-āgrēsara*, or 'leader of the whole army,' in line 19 of the *Balagāṇve* inscription referred to above.

⁶ *Sāmdhivigrahika*, lit. 'an officer for peace and war,' is a technical official or military title. Other synonymous titles were *Sāmdhivigrahādhikṛita* (e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 70, line 17 f.); *Sāmdhivigrahādhikarādhikṛita* (e.g. *id.* Vol. IV. p. 175, line 18); and *Sāmdhivigrahin* (e.g. *id.* Vol. VIII. p. 20, where it is coupled with *Mahāpradhāna* and *Dandanāyaka*).—The next grade above this was that of the *Mahāsāmdhivigrahika*, whose title occurs, for instance, in line 29 f. of the *Khōh* grant of the *Mahārāja* *Hastin* of the year 163, No. 22 below, Plate xiii.

⁷ *Kumārāmātya*, lit. 'counsellor of the prince,' is another technical official title.—The next grade above it was that of the *Mahākumārāmātya*, who is mentioned, for instance, in line 33 of the *Bhāgalpur* grant of *Nārāyaṇapāla* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 306.)

Bhaṭṭāraka,¹ (and) whose mind is expanded by the favour of constantly walking about in (his) presence,—let it be for the welfare and happiness of all existing beings!

(L. 33.)—And the accomplishment of the matter has been effected by the *Mahādāṇḍanāyaka* *Tilabhattaka*, who meditates on the feet² of the *Paramabhattāraka*.³

¹ It is somewhat doubtful whether this title here denotes Samudragupta, or his successor; but on the whole, *éśhām*, 'these,' being used, not *téśhām*, 'those,' the passage seems to have a strictly present sense, and to refer to Chandragupta II.; contrast *tasya*, 'of him, of that one,' which is used to denote Samudragupta in line 17 above, but which I have had, for convenience, to render in the translation by the relative pronoun.—*Bhaṭṭāraka*, *lit.* 'one who is entitled to reverence or homage,' is another technical kingly title. In somewhat later times, it seems to have belonged properly to feudatory *Mahārājas*; thus, it is coupled with the name of the *Mahārāja* Śivadēva I. in two of the Nêpāl inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 168, No. 5, line 2, and Vol. XIV. p. 98, line 2), and with the name of the *Mahārāja* Dhruvadēva in the same series (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 173, No. 10, line 4, where the syllables *mahā*, at the end of the line, are omitted in the published text). So, also, we find the feminine form, *Bhaṭṭārikā*, used as the termination of the names of wives of *Mahārājas*; e.g. in line 3 ff. of the Aśtgaḍh seal of Śarvavarman, No. 47 below, Plate xxxA., and in line 4 of the Nirmaṇḍ grant of the *Mahārāja* and *Mahāsāmanta* Samudrasēna, No. 80 below, Plate xlv.—As applied to paramount sovereigns, the fuller and more usual title is *Paramabhattāraka*, as in line 33 of this inscription (see also page 10 above, note 3). But other instances occur in which the shorter title is used; e.g. in line 6 of No. 9 of the Nêpāl inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 172), Amśuvarman has the titles of *Bhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*; in line 17 ff. of the Wokkalêri grant of Kirttivarman II. (*id.* Vol. VIII. p. 26 f.), the Western Chalukya kings Vikramāditya I. and his successors, down to Kirttivarman II., all have the titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, and *Bhaṭṭāraka*. And we have the same title in Old-Kanarese inscriptions, in the abbreviated, or perhaps original, forms of *Bhaṭāra* and *Bhaṭṭāra*; e.g. in line 2 f. of the Mahākūṭa inscription of the Western Chalukya king Vijayāditya (*id.* Vol. X. p. 103), in which he has the titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, and *Bhaṭāra*; and in line 2 of the Paṭṭadakal inscription of the Râshṭrakūṭa king Dhruva (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 124), in which he has the titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, and *Bhaṭṭāra*.—In the sense of 'reverend,' *bhaṭṭāraka* was also a priestly title; e.g. it is applied to the Jain priest Kumudachandra, in line 2 of the Nêsargi inscription (*id.* Vol. X. p. 189, note 16).—And, in the sense of 'worthy of worship; sacred,' it was also applied to gods; e.g. to Paśupati (Śiva), in line 1 of No. 6 of the Nêpāl inscriptions (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 169); to the Sun, in line 15 of the Khôh grant of the *Mahārāja* Śarvanātha, No. 28 below, Plate xviii.; and to Varuṇavâsin (the Sun), in line 13 of the Dêô-Barapârk inscription of Jivitagupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxixB.

² *pād-ānudhyāta*.—This is a customary technical term, used of the relations between a paramount sovereign and his feudatory chieftains, officials, &c.; e.g. in the Udayagiri cave inscription No. 3 below, Plate iiB., the *Mahārāja*, who makes the gift, is described as *meditating on the feet* of Chandragupta II.—It is also applied to the relations between parents and their children; e.g. in line 18 of the Râjim grant, No. 81 below, Plate xlv., the *Rāja* Tîvaradēva is described as meditating on the feet of his mother and father. It is also used in connection with kingly successions, whether the natural relationship is that of fathers and sons, or of elder and younger brothers; e.g. throughout the Kârītalât grant of the *Mahārāja* Jayanātha, No. 26 below, Plate xvi.; and in lines 0 and 8 of the grant of the *Mahārāja* Vināyakapāla (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. pp. 140, 141), who is described as meditating on the feet of his father, Mahēndrapāla, and of his elder brother, Bhôja II. And it is also used in respect of the worship of gods; e.g. in line 3 of the grant of the Eastern Chalukya king Amma II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 249), the Chalukyas are described as meditating on the feet of the god Svâmi-Mahāsēna.—In one solitary instance, line 33 f. of the Khârêpâṭaṇ grant of Śaka-Saṃvat 930 (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 218), *ānudhyāta* occurs without *pāda* preceding it, and the Śilâhâra chieftain Raṭṭarāja is described as *śrī-Satyâśrayadēv-ānudhyāta*, "meditating on the glorious (king) Satyâśraya." But the omission of *pāda* here is probably due only to carelessness on the part of the drafter of the record.

³ i.e. Chandragupta II.—*Paramabhattāraka*, *lit.* 'one who is supremely entitled to reverence or homage,' is one of the technical titles indicative of supreme sovereignty (see page 10 above, note 3).—I have found one instance in which it is also used as a priestly title, in line 43 of an inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1172 at Mamdâpur in the Belgaum District (*Indian Inscriptions*, No. 1), where it is applied to a Śaiva priest named Vimalaśiva or Vimalaśambhu.—The feminine form, *Paramabhattārikā*, was one of the titles of the wives of paramount sovereigns; e.g. in the Mandâr Hill inscriptions of Ādityasēna, Nos. 44 and 45 below.

No. 2; PLATE IIA.

ERAN STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA.

THIS inscription, which has not been previously edited, was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Alexander Cunningham, R.E., C.S.I., C.I.E., then Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the Reports of the *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. X. p. 89.

Êran,¹ the ancient Airikīṇa,² is a village on the left bank of the Binā, eleven miles to the west by north from Khurāi,³ the chief town of the Khurāi Tahsīl or Sub-Division of the Sāgar⁴ District in the Central Provinces. The inscription is on a red-sandstone squared block, that was found a short distance to the west of the well-known ruined temple of the Boar,⁵ at which there is the inscription of Tōramāṇa, No. 36 below. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The writing, which covers the entire front of the stone, about 9½" broad by 3' 1" high, is in a state of fairly good preservation; but it does not give a very clear lithograph, in consequence of the whole surface of the stone being full of holes more or less large. It is only a fragment; six entire lines, as shewn by the numbering of the verses, have been broken away and lost at the top of the stone, and an indefinite number at the bottom; and also an entire *pāda* of each successive verse, has been broken away and lost at the commencement of lines 25 ff. In addition to this, from one to three letters have been destroyed at the commencement of each extant line, as far as line 24, by whetting tools on the edge of the stone. As far as line 24, each line contains one *pāda* of a verse; but the following lines contained originally two *pādas* each; this shews that the inscription was of an irregular shape, with probably some sculptures on the proper right side of the stone above the first halves of lines 24 ff.—The average size of the letters is about ½". As is indicated especially by the form of *m*, the characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; and I should be inclined to name them a variety, with southern characteristics, of the Central India alphabet of the period. The particular type used in this inscription is further represented in the present volume by the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 82, No. 3 below, Plate iiB.; the Âraṅ plates of Mahā-Jayarāja, No.

¹ The 'Airan, Ehrin, Eran, and Erun,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 52. Lat. 24° 5' N.; Long. 78° 15' E.—The name is now written and pronounced both Êran and Ēran; but, as is shewn by the ancient name, Airikīṇa, the first form, with the lingual *n*, is the correct one.—The name is not unique; for the maps shew another 'Eran' seven miles almost due west of Bhêlsā, and another thirteen miles to the north-east of Bhêlsā.

² So far as the passage in line 25 of the present inscription goes, we might take this name as either Airikīṇa or Ērikīṇa, in consequence of the euphonic absorption of the final *a* of *viśaya*. But the real form of the name is shewn by line 7 of the Boar inscription of Tōramāṇa, No. 36 below, Plate xxiiiA., where we have *viśayē=sminn=Airikīṇē*, without any *saṁdhi* or joining of vowels.—The autonomous copper coins of the Aśoka period, found at Êran, give us an earlier Pāli or Prākṛit form of the name, which is either Erakaṇa or Erakana; but the last syllable is not very distinct in the specimens available for examination (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XIV. p. 149, and Plate xxxi. Nos. 17 and 18.)

³ The 'Khorye, Khurai, Korai, Kurai, and Kurāi,' of maps, &c.

⁴ The 'Sāgar and Saugor' of maps, &c.

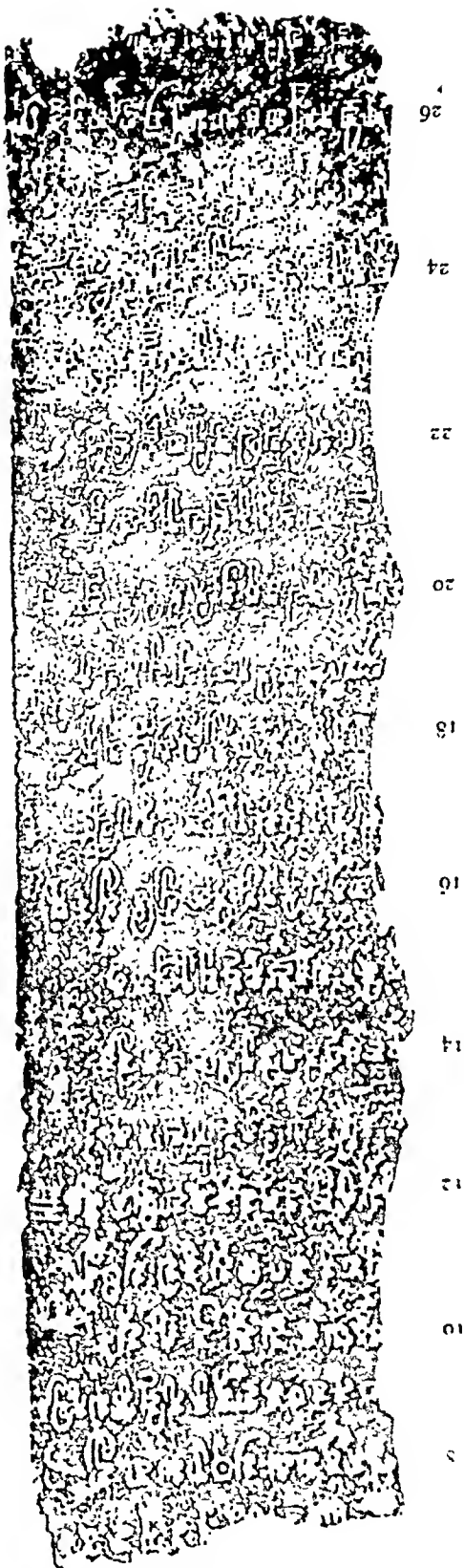
⁵ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. Plates xxxA. and xxviA.

40, Plate xxvi.; the Rāypur plates of Mahā-Sudēvarāja, No. 41, Plate xxvii.; the Vakāṭaka inscriptions, Nos. 53 to 56, Plates xxxiii. xxxiv. and xxxv.; and the Rājīm plates of Tīvara dēva, No. 81, Plate xlv.. The chief characteristic of it is the peculiar 'box-headed' tops of the letters, formed by sinking four short strokes in the shape of a square and leaving a block of stone or copper in the centre of them. We have a variation of this characteristic, represented in this volume by the Majhgawān plates of the *Mahārāja* Hastin of the year 191, No. 23, Plate xiv., in which the tops of the letters, instead of being 'box-headed' or square, are 'nail-headed' or triangular, with the apex of the triangle downwards.¹ And the present inscription contains a mixture of both types; the 'nail-headed' tops can be seen in, for instance, *prithu-rāghav-ādyāḥ*, line 8, and *samudraguptaḥ*, line 10; and the 'box-headed' tops in, for instance, *bahu-putra-pautra*, line 19, and *samara-karmma parākkram-ēddham*, line 21. Owing to the nature of the substance worked on, in the case of inscriptions on stone, except those on a large scale, these centre blocks would obviously be very liable to injury; in the actual process of engraving, as well as from the wear and tear of time. The result is that, though these two characteristics of this alphabet are usually very well preserved and are very recognisable in the copper-plates, in the stone inscriptions they are preserved, so as to be clearly recognised in this series of Plates, only in the large-scale Nachnē-kī-talāī inscriptions of the *Mahārāja* Prithivishēṇa, Nos. 53 and 54, Plate xxxiiiA. and B. In the present inscription I cannot find a single instance in which there is enough left of the triangular or the square centres of the tops of the letters, to shew distinctly in the lithograph. It is, in fact, quite possible that, in inscriptions of this scale on stone, the engraver was not very particular about leaving the centre-blocks at all; an indifference about this is certainly observable even in the Chammak plates of the *Mahārāja* Pravaraśēṇa II., No. 55, Plate xxxiv., through nearly the whole of which the tops of the letters were scooped out hollow, without any centre-blocks at all. The characters include, in the numbering of the verses, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *h*, in *paribrinḥaṇa*, line 26; and (2) the doubling of *k* and *dh*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *vikkrama*, line 1, and *parākkrama*, lines 17 and 21; and in *ddhrutam*, line 12.

The inscription is one of the **Early Gupta** king **Samudragupta**, whose name is recorded in line 10. From the occurrence of the word *babhūva* in line 9, the first part of the inscription probably mentioned some of his ancestors. But, that the inscription did not extend to the time of any of his successors, is shewn by the fact that none of their names can be fitted into any of the places where letters are illegible in lines 11 to 24; consequently, the prowess, &c., described in these lines are those of **Samudragupta**; and this description is immediately followed by the mention of the erection, at the city of **Airikīṇa**, i.e. **Ēraṇ**, of something or other of which the stone was either a portion or the separate record. The lacunæ here leave us without any clue as to what was erected, and in connection with what form of religion. But, judging from its shape and appearance,

¹ Mr. C. Bendall has obtained two specimens of triangular-headed characters, one of them in Népāl, in which, differing from the present forms, the apex of the triangle is placed uppermost; see his *Journey in Népāl*, p. 54 f. He appears to have named them 'point-headed' or 'arrow-headed' characters.—Quite recently, Mr. J. Robinson, C.E., of Gayā, has sent me, for examination, another very interesting specimen of a variety of the same characters in an inscription on the bottom plate of a brass image of Buddha.

A.—Iran Inscription of Samudragupta.



B.—Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II.—The Year 82.



(L. 9.)— there was **Samudragupta**, equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Antaka in (*respectively*) pleasure and anger;¹ by policy; (*and*) [by whom] the whole tribe of kings upon the earth was [overthrown] and reduced to the loss of the wealth of their sovereignty;—

(L. 13.)—[Who], by satisfied by devotion and policy and valour,—by the glories, consisting of the consecration by besprinkling, &c., that belong to the title of 'king,'—(*and*) by combined with supreme satisfaction,— (*was*) a king whose vigour could not be resisted;—

(L. 17.)—[By whom] there was married a virtuous and faithful wife,² whose dower was provided by (*his*) manliness and prowess; who was possessed of an abundance of [elephants] and horses and money and grain; who delighted in the houses of ; (*and*) who went about in the company of many sons and sons' sons;—

(L. 21.)—Whose deeds in battle (*are*) kindled with prowess; (*whose*) very mighty fame is always circling round about; and whose enemies are terrified, when they think, even in the intervals of dreaming, of (*his*) that are vigorous in war;—

(L. 25.)— in a place in **Airikiṇa**,³ the city of his own enjoyment has been set up, for the sake of augmenting his own fame

(L. 27.)— when the king said

(*The rest of the inscription is entirely
broken away and lost.*)

No. 3; PLATE II B.

UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

THE YEAR 82.

THIS inscription appears to have been first brought to notice in 1854 by General Cunningham, in his *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 150 f., where he published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxi. No. 200).—In 1858, in his edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 246 f. note 4, Mr. Thomas published his own reading of the text, accompanied by a translation by Professor H. H. Wilson.—And, finally, in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 50, General Cunningham published his revised reading of the text, and a revised translation of it, accompanied by a fresh lithograph (*id.* Plate xix.)

¹ Compare the customary expression, "equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka," in line 26 of No. 1 above, page 8. See also page 14 above, note 4.

² Samudragupta's wife was Dattadēvī; but the metre prevents her having been mentioned by name in this verse.

³ See page 18 above, note 2.

⁴ The lacunæ in this verse render it impossible to say whether here, and below, *sva*, 'his own,' refers to Samudragupta, or to some feudatory of his, who may have been mentioned here.

Udayagiri¹ is a well-known hill, with a small village of the same name on the eastern side of it, about two miles to the north-west of Bhêlsâ,² the chief town of the Bhêlsâ Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Îsâgarh³ District in the dominions of Scindia (properly Sindê) in Central India. On the eastern side of the hill, a little to the south of the village, and almost on the level of the ground, there is a cave-temple, which, from its containing this inscription, General Cunningham has named "the Chandragupta Cave."⁴ The inscription is on the upper part of a smoothed and countersunk panel, about 2' 4½" broad by 1' 6" high, over two figures,—one of the four-armed god Vishnu, attended by his two wives; and one of a twelve-armed goddess, who must be some form of Lakshmi, the consort of Vishnu, rather than, as suggested by General Cunningham, Mahishâsurî, i.e. Durgâ, the consort of Śiva,—which are sculptured on the face of the rock, outside the cave and a few feet to the north of the entrance to it.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 3½" broad by 4¾" high, is in a state of fairly good preservation; the surface of the rock has peeled off in some places; but no letters are entirely destroyed, except the *g* of *chandragupta* in line 1, and, in line 2, the first *akshara* of the name of the *Mahârâja* whose gift is recorded.—The average size of the letters is about ⅓". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and give another specimen of the 'box-headed' variety, peculiar to Central India, which I have commented on at page 18 f. above; but in this inscription, again, there are no instances in which enough remains of the square centre of the tops of the letters to shew distinctly in the lithograph. In *Āshādha*, line 1, they include an adaptation from the northern alphabets; viz. the separate sign for the lingual *ḍh*, which, in the early southern alphabets, was represented, together with its unaspirated form *ḍ*, by the same character as the dental *d*. They also include, in line 1, forms of the numerical symbols for 2 and 80.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice, is the doubling of *ḍh* in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyāta*, line 1.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king **Chandragupta II**. It is dated, partly in numerical symbols and partly in words, in the year⁵

¹ The 'Udaygiri and Udegiri' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 53. Lat. 23° 32' N.; Long. 77° 50' E.

² The 'Bhilsa and Bhelsa' of maps, &c.

³ The 'Isagarh' of maps.

⁴ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 49 ff. and Plates xvi. and xvii.

⁵ Whether "current" or "expired," is not specifically stated. But the locative case is used; and, there being no word signifying "expired" in apposition with it, the natural sense of it is "in the year eighty-two," i. e. "while the year eighty-two is current."—It is often asserted that the ancient Hindus always expressed their dates in expired years. And, according to this, we should understand *atitê*, 'having gone by, having passed by,' or any similar word, in apposition with *samvatsarê* in the present passage, and translate accordingly.—No doubt, in making calculations, the Hindus worked, as Europeans must work, with the number of expired years as a basis. But this is quite a different question from that of their method of expressing the dates; as, also, is the question whether they did not sometimes by mistake quote years as current which were really expired, and the reverse, and even occasionally quote, as current, or even as expired, years that were still to come. And, as a very clear and pointed instance of the record of a date in current years, we have the Gwālior Sāsabhū temple inscription of Mahīpāla, dated Vikrama-Samvat 1150, which gives (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 41; vv. 107, 108; l. 40) first, in words, the number of years expired, and then, partially

eighty-two (A.D. 401-2), and on the eleventh lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Āshāḍha (June-July). The cave appears to be a Vaishṇava cave; and this must, therefore, be a Vaishṇava inscription. And the object of it is to record the gift or dedi-

in words and fully in figures, the number of the current year,—*Ēkādaśasv=atitēshu samvatsara-śatēshu cha 1 ēk-ōna-pañchāśati cha gatēshv=abdēshu Vikramāt 11 Pañchāśē ch=Āśvinē māsē kṛishṇa-pakshē nrip-ājñayā 1 rachitā Maṇikanṭhōna prasastir=iyam=ujjvalā 11 Ankatō=pi 1150 11 Āśvina-bahula-pañchamyām*,—"and when eleven centuries of years had passed by, and (in addition) fifty years, less by one, had gone, from (the time of) Vikrama; and in the fiftieth (year); in the month Āśvina; in the dark fortnight; by order of the king, this brilliant eulogy was composed by Maṇikanṭha; or, in figures, (in the year) 1150, on the fifth lunar day of the dark fortnight of Āśvina."—Excluding special and capricious instances, the inscriptions disclose the following general and systematic constructions in the expression of dates.—(1) The use of the nominative singular or plural, unaccompanied by any verb or participle. Instances of this are somewhat rare. But I can quote (a) the Mathurā image inscription (No. 70 below, Pl. xID. l. 2), *samvatsarah 200 30*; (b) the Goa grant of Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 365, l. 17 ff.*), *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsaram vimsatitamam Śaka-kālah=pañcha varsha-śatāni dvātrimsāni*; (c) the Dighwā-Dubaulf grant of the Mahārāja Mahēndrapāla (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 113, l. 4*), *samvatsrā* (i.e. *samvatsarāh*) *100 50 5 Māgha śu 0' 0'*; (d) the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the Mahārāja Vināyakapāla (*id. Vol. XV. p. 141, l. 17*), *samvatsrō* (i.e. *samvatsarō*, for either *samvatsarah* or *samvatsarāh*) *100 80 8 Phālguna ba di 9*; and (e) the second date in the 'Deogarh' inscription of Bhōjadēva of Gwālior, dated Vikrama-Samvat 919 and Śaka-Samvat 784 (*Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. X. p. 101, and Pl. xxxiii. No. 2, l. 10*), *Śaka-kāl-ābda-sapta-śatāni chatur-aśīty-adhikāni 784*. And, for early times, we may compare, though they relate to years of government, instead of eras, (f) the nominative in the Banawāsi Prākṛit inscription of Hārīti-putra-Śātakarṇi (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 333, l. 1*), *rañō Hārīti-putasa Sātākarnyisa savachharam 10 2 Hēmanitāna pakho 7 divasa 1*; (g) the nominative in the Rājim grant of the Rāja Tīvaradēva (No. 81 below, Pl. xlv. l. 35 f.), *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsaru 9 Kārttika divasu ashṭamu 8*; and the crude form in (h) the Āraṅg grant of the Rāja Mahā-Jayarāja (No. 40 below, Pl. xxvi. l. 24), *pravardhamāna-vijaya-samvatsara 5 Mārgaśira 20 5*, and (i) the Rāypur grant of the Rāja Mahā-Sudēvarāja (No. 41 below, Pl. xxvii. l. 27), *pravardhamāna-vijaya-samvatsara 10 Māgha 9*. Compare also, for later times, the crude form in (j) the 'Dewal' inscription of Lalla of the Chhinda family (*Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. I. Pl. li. l. 24*), *samvatsara-sahasra 1049 Māgha ba di 3 Gurudinē*; in (k) a Kōlāpur inscription of Siṅghaṇa II. (*Indian Inscriptions, No. 47, l. 1 f.*), *Śrī-Śaka 1157 Manmatha-samvatsarē Śrāvāṇa bahula 30 Gurau*; and in numerous other instances.—(2) The use of the nominative singular or plural, in apposition with an ordinal adjective, which, again, usually qualifies the name of the *samvatsara*, of the sixty-years cycle, in the genitive case. This is a Drāviḍian method, in constant use in Southern India. As typical and leading instances, I will quote, in respect of the nominative singular, (a) a Baḷagāṃve inscription of Bijjala (*Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions, No. 183, l. 62*), *Śaka-varshaṃ 1080neya Bahudhānya-samvatsarada Pushyada punṇami Sōmavārav=uttarāyana-samkrānti-vyati-pāta-sōmagrahanad-andu*; and, to illustrate a numerous class of instances in which the crude form is used to represent the nominative singular, (b) a Baḷagāṃve inscription of Sōmēśvara II. (*Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 209, l. 30 ff.*), *Śaka-varsha 997neya Rākshasa-samvatsarada Pushya śuddha 1 Sōmavārād-andin=uttarāyana-samkrānti-parva-nimitadim*; and, in respect of the nominative plural, (c) the grant of Gōvinda III. (*id. Vol. XI. p. 126, l. 1 ff.*), *Śaka-nripa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara-satāṅgaḥ=ēl-nūṛ=irpatt-āraneyā Subhānu embā varshadā Vaiśā-khamāsa-kṛishṇapaksha-pañchami Brihaspativāram=āgi*, and (d) the Adaragūnchi inscription of Kōṭṭiga or Khottiga (*id. Vol. XII. p. 256, l. 7 ff.*), *Śaka-nripa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara-satāṅgaḥ=enṭu nūṛa tombhatta-mūṛaneyā Prajāpati-samvatsaram saluttam-ire tad-varsh-ābhyanatarad=Āśvayujad=amavōse Ādityavāra sūrya-grahaṇa*.—(3) The use of the locative singular or plural, with the corresponding locative, in apposition, of *atikrānta*, *ātita*, *gata*, *nivṛitta*, *prayāta*, *samattita*, *ryatita*, *yāta*, or any similar word, signifying 'elapsed, or gone by.' Thus, in respect of the locative singular, (a) the first date of the Mandasōr inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman (No. 18 below, Pl. xi. l. 19), *Malavānām gaṇa-sthityā yātē śata-chatuṣṭayē 1 tri-navaty-adhikē=bdānām=rituu śūryo-ghana-svanē 11 Sahasya-māsa-śuklasya prasastē=hni trayūdasē*; and (b) the Sāmāṅg

cation,—by a *Mañdarāja* of the *Sanakānika*¹ tribe or family, who was a feudatory of Chandragupta II., but whose name, in line 2, is now illegible,—of, evidently, the two groups of sculptures above which it is engraved.

Dantiūrṅga (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 112, l. 30 i.), *pañcha-saptaty-adhikā-Śakakālā-samvatsara-śata-sāṣṭhē vyastitv samvat 675* (पौष or पौ) *hachchhikā; ā Māgha-māsa-ratha-saptamyām tulā-purusha-sthite.* And, in respect of the locative plural, (c) the Bādāmi cave inscription of Maṅgalīśa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 363, ll. 6 i., 11), *Śaka-nripati-rājyādhishṭhā-samvatsarēshu=atikrāntēshu pañchasa-ṭatēshu mahā-Kūrttikā-paurṇamāsyām*; (d) the Harihar grant of Vinayāditya (*id.* Vol. VII. p. 302, l. 23 ff.), *śāḍṣa-dittara-śat-ekhaṭēshu Śaka-varshēshu=atitēshu pravardhamāna-rājya-rājya-samvatsarē chaturdaśē varṣamānē Kūrttikā-paurṇamāsyām*; and (e) the Kauthēm grant of Vikramāditya V. (*id.* Vol. XVI. p. 24, l. 6 i.), *Śaka-nripa-ādī-śīta-samvatsara-ṭatēshu navasu trīṇśad-adhikēshu gaṭēshu 930 pravardhamāna-Saumya-samvatsarē paurṇamāsyām sōmagrahana-paroṇi.*—(4) The use, as in the present instance, of the simple locative single or plural, without any participle signifying 'elapsed or gone by,' in apposition. Thus, in respect of the locative singular, (a) the Gūnda inscription of the *Kshatrapa* Rudrasimha (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 157, l. 3), *varshē day-uttara-ṭatē sam 200 a Vaiśākha-suddha-pāñchami-Dhanya-tithau Śratana-naishatra-mukhāṭē*; (b) a Mathurā inscription of Vāsudēva *śi rocha: l. Suro. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 35, and Pl. xv. No. 20, l. 1), *samvatsarē 90 8 Varshā-māsē 4 dīnāsē 10*; (c) the Majhgawām grant of the *Mañdarāja* Hastin (No. 23 below, Pl. xiv. l. 1 f.), *ēka-navaty-uttarē=ōḍa-ṭatē Gupta-nripa-rājya-bhuktāu śrīmati pravardhamāna-MahāChaitra-samvatsarē Māghamāsa-bāhulypāṭikha-tritīyāyām*; and (d) the Ajinā grant of Śīlāditya VII. (No. 39 below, Plate xxv. l. 77 f.), *samvatsara-śata-chaturśatyē sapta-chatvāriṇśad-adhikē Jyēsthā-suddha-pāñchamyām aṭṭaṭaṇ samvat 400 40 7 Jyēsthā su 5.* And, in respect of the locative plural, (e) the Waṇi grant of Gōvinda III. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 159, l. 46 f.), *Śaka-nripa-kāl-ādīta-samvatsara-ṭatēshu saptasu trīṇśad-adhikēshu Vyaya-samvatsarē Vaiśākha-śīta-paurṇamāsyā-sōmagrahana-mahāparoṇi*; and (f) the Pāṭaṇ grant of Bhīma II. (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 71, l. 17 ff.), *śrīmad-Vikramāditya-dīpādīta-samvatsara-ṭatēshu śūḍaṭasasu śat-pāñchāśad-uttarēshu Bhādrapadamāsa-irishapāṭikha-śmāntāyāyām Bhāsumatirē=tr=śāṭatē=pi samvat 1236 laukika Bhādrapada ba di 15 Bhāsumē.*—And (5) the use of the abbreviations *sam* and *samvat*, standing alone, and not explained by a full record in words as they are in instances (3, b) and (4, a, d, f) above. This method, however, throws no light on the question now under discussion; and the use of these abbreviations will form the subject of a separate note.—Now, in the cases illustrated by the examples given under (2) above, it can hardly be disputed that current years are intended; the very construction,—e.g. in (2, a) "Monday, the full-moon day of (the month) Pushya of the Bahudhānya *samvatsara*, (which is) the 1080th Śaka year,"—prevents any other interpretation. And, in the examples given under (1), it is difficult to see how, without imagining an elliptical construction for which no actual example can be quoted as an authority, the nominative case could be used to denote any but the current year. With these examples, and the plain record of the Gwālior inscription, before us, when we find that in a certain class of instances (3, a to e) the locative case is uniformly coupled with a word distinctly meaning 'expired or gone by' in apposition, whereas in another class of instances (4, a to f) any such word is as uniformly omitted, there is nothing to prevent our giving, but on the contrary every reason to induce us to give, to the simple locative, in the last class of instances, its natural and ordinary meaning of "in such and such a year," i.e. "while such and such a year is current." This is the meaning that is always given to the simple locative in a regnal date; thus, in a Nāsik inscription (*Archæol. Suro. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. pp. 108, l. 1, 109),—*śrī-Pulamāyisa samvatsaharē ēkanavātē 19*,—"in the nineteenth (19) year of the illustrious Pulamāyi." It has never been attempted to maintain that, in such a record as this, the text means "the nineteenth year having expired." And there is no reason why any such forced interpretation should be put on the simple locative expressing the number of years of an era; especially when we bear in mind that almost every era owes its origin to only an extension of regnal dates, and that the system of expired years can only have been devised when a considerable advance had been made in astronomical science.

¹ In the fourth syllable, the vowel here is the short *i*; but in the same word in the Allahābād pillar inscription, No. 1 above, line 27, page 8, it is long.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Siddham || Samvatsarē 80 2 Āshādha-māsa-śukl-ē(ai)kādaśyām |
 paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhi²-śri-Chandra[g]upta-pād-ānuddhyātasya |³
 2 mahārāja-Chhagalaga-pautrasya mahārāja-Vishṇudāsa-putrasya Sanakā-
 nikasya mahār[āja]-... dha(?)lasy-āyām dēya-dharmmaḥ ||

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained!¹ In the year 80 (and) 2, on the eleventh lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Āshādha,—this (is) the appropriate religious gift² of the Sanakānika,³ the Mahārāja . . . dha (?),—the son's son of the Mahārāja Chhagalaga; (and) the son of the Mahārāja Vishṇudāsa,—who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta (II.)

No. 4; PLATE IIIA.

MATHURA STONE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

THIS inscription, which has not been previously edited in full, was discovered in 1853 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in his first *Archæo-*

¹ From the original stone.

² Read *mahārājādhirāja*.—With the reading of this inscription, which may perhaps be, not an omission by the engraver, but a conventional abbreviation of the full title, we may compare *maraja-śha*, i. e. *mahārājādhi*, for *mahārājādhirāja*, on one of the silver coins of Skandagupta (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 66 f.)

³ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁴ *siddham*.—On the analogy of an inscription (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. V. Plate xlif.), which commences *Siddhiḥ Śrīḥ Samvat, &c.*,—to which we may add another inscription (*Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXIX. p. 18, and Vol. XXX. p. 13) commencing *Siddhiḥ Samvat, &c.*,—Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 273) takes *siddham*, at the commencement of inscriptions, as a nominative case standing by itself, and translates it by 'success.' But it seems to me to be clearly the remnant of some such phrase as *siddham bhagavatā*, "perfection or success has been attained by the Divine One," analogous to the *jitam bhagavatā*, "victory has been achieved by the Divine One," of, for instance, the Gaḍhwā inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 8 below, Plate ivC., and the grant of the Pallava Yuva-mahārāja Vishṇugōpavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 51). We may also compare *jitam Vishṇunā* in the Tuśām inscription, No. 67 below, Plate xlA. And we have the remnant of another analogous expression, in *drishṭam*, "sight (i.e. clearness of perception in religious matters) has been attained (by the Divine One)," at the commencement of, for instance, the Chammak and Siwanī plates of the Mahārāja Pravaraśeṇa II., Nos. 55 and 56 below, Plates xxxiv. and xxxv.—In his remarks referred to above, Dr. Bühler tells us that, in the *Mahābhāṣya* (Kielhorn's edition, pp. 5, 6) *siddham* is quoted as a *maṅgala* or 'auspicious invocation,' and refers us to some remarks, supporting this, by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 346.—As helping to illustrate the meaning, 'perfection,' by which I render *siddham*, I would refer to the use of *siddha* by the Jains to denote their saints who have attained *siddhi* or 'perfection or final beatitude,' and who are invoked, under this epithet, in, for instance, the Udayagiri inscription of the year 106, No. 51 below, Plate xxxviiiA. line 1.

⁵ *dēya-dharma*; *lit.* 'a gift of) religion, which is proper to be given.'—Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, renders it by 'the duty of giving, charity, beneficence'; Dowson, by 'votive offering' (e.g. *Four. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. V. p. 184); and Bühler and Bhagwanlal Indraji, by 'meritorious gift, or benefaction' (e.g. *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 83).

⁶ See page 8 above, note 1.

logical Report, which, originally printed in 1863 as a supplement to the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXXII. pp. iii. to cxix., was in 1871 reprinted, with the addition of Plates, as *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I., in which the inscription is noticed on p. 237.—Subsequently, in 1873, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 37, and Plate xvi. No. 24, he published a reduced lithograph of it, shewing the completion of the lines as arranged by him.

The inscription is on a red-sandstone fragment, about 10" broad by 11½" high, cracked across the lower proper right corner, which was found, with its face downwards, forming part of the pavement immediately outside the Katrá¹ gateway at Mathurá,² the chief town of the Mathurá District in the North-West Provinces. The original stone is now in the Provincial Museum at Lâhôr.

The writing, which covers the entire front of the stone, about 10" broad by 11½" high, is in a state of very fair preservation. It is only a fragment; the first line has been almost entirely destroyed, and an indefinite number of lines have been entirely broken away and lost at the bottom of the stone; and, in addition to this, from one to nine *aksharas* have been broken away and lost at the commencement of the lines, and from one to five at the ends of the lines, except in lines 8 and 9.—The size of the letters varies from ⅜" to ¾". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They are of radically the same stock with those of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, but with several essential differences in details; the most noticeable of these are (1) the very marked curve in the left downward stroke of *m*, which I have noticed, at page 3 above, as belonging originally to an earlier form of this letter than that which occurs in the Allahâbâd inscription; (2) a slanting straight stroke, instead of a circular loop, at the bottom of the left downward stroke of *s*; and (3) the formation of the lower part of *h* entirely to the right, instead of its sloping downwards only slightly to the right and then turning up very markedly to the left.—The language is Sanskrit; and the extant portion of the inscription is in prose throughout.—The orthography does not present anything calling for remark.

The inscription is one of the Early Gupta king Chandragupta II. His name does not occur in the portion that is extant. But the instrumental case *putrêṇa* in line 9, immediately after the mention, in the genitive case, of Samudragupta, shews that the genealogy was continued down to, and ended with, his son and chosen successor, whose name came in line 11 or 12, and who is known from the subsequent records to have been Chandragupta II.; and that the subject of the inscription was an act of the latter. The date of the inscription, if any was recorded, and the subject of it, were in the portion that has been broken away and lost.

TEXT.³

- | | | | |
|---|---|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | ..... | [Sarvva-râj-ôchhêttuḥ | pr̥thiv]y[ām=apratiratha]- |
| 2 | [sya | chatur-udadhi-salī]l-âsvâdita-ya[śasô | Dha]- |
| 3 | [nada-Varuṇ-Êndr-Ântaka-sa]masya | Kṛitânta-[paraśôḥ] | |
| 4 | [nyây-âgat-ânêka-gô]-hiranya-kôti-prada[sya | chir-ô]- | |

¹ *katrá* is the common word used in that part of the country for 'an enclosed market-place.'

² The 'Matra, Muthra, and Muttra,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 50. Lat. 27° 30' N.; Long. 77° 43' E.

³ From the original stone.—The passages that have been broken away are supplied from the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, lines 24, 26, 28, and 29, page 8 above, and from lines 1 to 4 of the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii.

- 5 [tsann - āśvamēdh - āharttur=mma]hārāja - śrī - Gupta - prapau[t]r[asya]
 6 [mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭōtkā]cha-pautrasya mahārājādhir[āja]-
 7 [śrī-Chandragupta-pu]trasya Lichchhavi-dauhitrasya mahā[dē]-
 8 [vyānī Kumāra]d[ē]vyām=utpannasya mahārājādhirā-
 9 [ja-śrī-Sa]mudraguptasya putrēṇa tat-parigri-
 10 [hi]t[ē]na mahādēv[y]ānī Dat[t]adēv[y]ām=ut[p]an[n]ē-
 11 [na¹ paramabhāgavatēna mahārājādhirāja-śrī]-
 12 [Chandraguptēna].....

(The rest of the inscription is entirely
broken away and lost.)

TRANSLATION.

(Line 8.)—By him who is the son,—accepted by him,² (and) begotten on the Mahādēvi Dattadēvi,— of the Mahārājādhirāja, [the glorious] Samudragupta,—

(L. 1.)—[Who³ was the exterminator of all kings;⁴ who had no antagonist (of equal power)] in the world; [whose fame was] tasted [by the waters of the four oceans⁵]

¹ I add these two lines in order to shew the continuation of the construction of this record.

² See page 12 above, note 1.

³ i.e. Samudragupta.

⁴ *sarva-rāj-ōchchēttī*.—In the nominative case, *sarva-rāj-ōchchēttī*, this epithet occurs on the reverse of some gold coins, hitherto always classed in the Early Gupta series (see *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 169 f., and Pl. ii. No. 1; also *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 36, and Pl. vii. No. 1), which have on the obverse the name of Kācha, in the place where the king's name usually stands on coins, with the marginal legend *kāchō gām=avajitya karmabhir=uttamair=jayati*, "Kācha, having conquered the earth, is victorious by (his) most excellent deeds," and which have always been attributed to the Mahārāja Ghaṭōtkacha, the grandfather of Samudragupta.—But, in the first place, the name on these coins is distinctly Kācha, and nothing more; and *kācha*, which means 'glass, crystal; the string of the scale of a balance; alkaline salt, black salt; wax; &c.,' is a totally different word from *utkacha*, 'having the hairs (of the body) standing erect (through pleasure),' which is the second component of the name of Ghaṭōtkacha. Secondly, Ghaṭōtkacha, being only a feudatory Mahārāja, was not entitled to issue a coinage in his own name. And thirdly, the epithet *sarva-rāj-ōchchēttī* on the reverse, is, in the inscriptions, always applied to Samudragupta, and to him only.—There is nothing distinctive in this epithet, sufficient to shew that it belonged only to the Early Gupta dynasty (and, in that dynasty, to Samudragupta). Nor, I think, is it absolutely certain that these coins belong to the Early Gupta series. But the general appearance of them, with the legends on them, justifies such an opinion. And, if they are Early Gupta coins, then they must be attributed to Samudragupta, not to Ghaṭōtkacha; and Kācha must, in that case, be a personal and less formal name of Samudragupta; and with it we may compare such instances as Śāba, 'cadaverous, of a dark yellowish colour, tawny; the young of any animal,' used as a second name of Virasēna, a minister of Chandragupta II. (No. 6 below, Plate ivA. line 4); Vyāghra, 'a tiger,' applied to a Jain named Rudrasōma (No. 15 below, Plate ixA.); and Permādi (also Parmādi, Parmāṇḍi and Paramardi), a name of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. pp. 225, l. 9, 253, l. 14; Bühler's *Vikramādityakadēvacharita*, Introd. p. 30, note 2; and *Rājataranginī*, vii. 1122, 1124).—The only other instances, known to me, in which the name Kācha occurs, are in the case of two rulers or chieftains, Kācha I. and Kācha II., mentioned in one of the inscriptions in the Ajanta caves (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 129, lines 4, 6), belonging to a period that is at any rate appreciably later than that of the Early Guptas.

⁵ i.e. "whose fame extended up to the shores of the four oceans."—Jambudvīpa, or the central division of the known world, including India, was supposed to be surrounded on all sides by the ocean.

who was equal to (the gods) [Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka]; who was [the very axe] of (the god) Kṛitānta;¹ who was the giver of [many] millions of [lawfully acquired cows] and gold; [who was the restorer of the *asvamédha*-sacrifice,² that had been long in abeyance];—

(L. 5.)—Who³ was the son of the son's son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Gupta; the son's son of [the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious] Ghatōtkacha; (and) the son of the *Mahārājadhirāja* [the glorious Chandragupta (I.)], (and) the daughter's son of Lichchhavi, begotten on the *Mahādēvī Kumāradēvī*;—

(L. 11.)—[By him,⁴ the most devout worshipper of the Divine One,⁵ the *Mahārājadhirāja*, the glorious Chandragupta (II.)],

(The rest of the inscription is entirely
broken away and lost.)

¹ *Kṛitānta-paraśu*.—This is another of the formal epithets which are always applied to Samudragupta, and to him only. In the nominative case, *Kṛitānta-paraśuḥ*, it occurs on the reverse of some of his gold coins; see, for instance, *Four. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. III. Part I. p. 177 f.*, and Pl. ii. No. 11.

² A ceremony which centred in a horse, and was concluded after the selected steed had been turned loose for a year to roam about at will, guarded by armed men. The ceremony appears to have ended sometimes in the actual immolation of the horse, but sometimes only in keeping it bound during the celebration of the final rites. The successful celebration of a hundred *asvamédhas* was supposed to raise the sacrificer to a level with the god Indra.—The present epithet, *asvamédh-dhartṛi*, is another of those which are always applied to Samudragupta, and to him only. With it we have to compare the legend *asvamédha-parākramah*, "he who has displayed prowess by a horse-sacrifice," on some of the gold coins which are attributed to Samudragupta; see, for instance, *Four. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 175 ff.*, and Pl. ii. No. 9; and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. II. p. 37 f.*, and Pl. vii. No. 4.

³ i.e. Samudragupta.

⁴ See page 27 above, note 1.

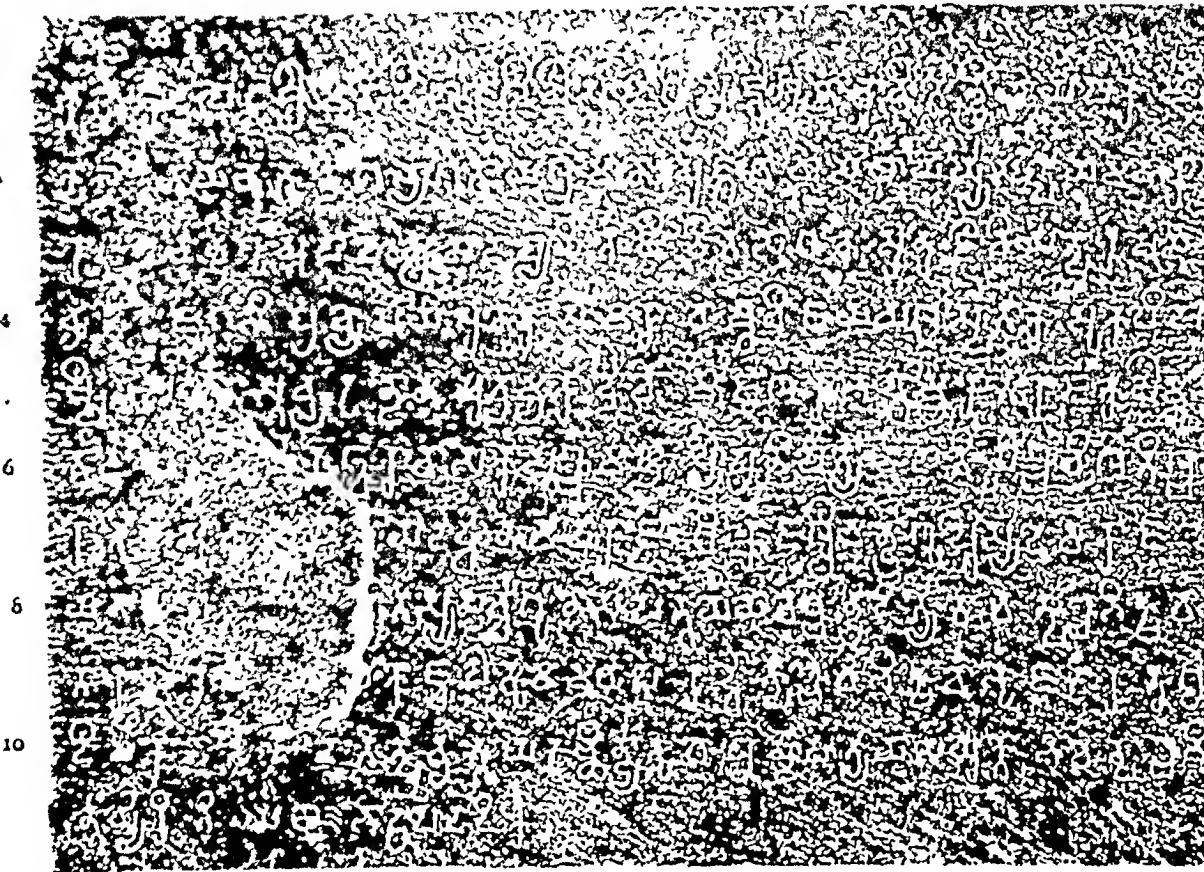
⁵ *paramabhāgavata*; *lit.* 'a most devout worshipper of (the god) Bhagavat.'—This epithet is supplied from the subsequent inscriptions, and the coins of Chandragupta II. himself.—It is a technical sectarian title, analogous to *paramamāhēśvara* (e.g. No. 38 below, line 2), *paramasaugata* (e.g. No. 52 below, line 8), *paramavaishṇava* (e.g. lines *a* and 1 of the Dighwā-Dubauli grant of the *Mahārāja* Mahēndrapāla; *Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 112*), *paramapāśupata* (e.g. line 8 of the Verāwal inscription of Arjunadēva; *id. Vol. XI. p. 242*), and *paramadaivata* (e.g. line 1 of the Népāl inscription of Vasantasēna; *id. Vol. IX. p. 167*, No. 3). Other similar epithets, but not formed in quite the same way, are *paramabrahmanya* (e.g. line 39 of the grant of Amma II.; *id. Vol. VII. p. 16*); *paramādityabhakta* (e.g. No. 38 below, line 10); and *paramabhagavatibhakta* (e.g. lines *e, i, k, 3, 6*, and 7 of the Dighwā-Dubauli grant referred to above); also *atyantamāhēśvara* and *atyantasvāmī-mahābhairavabhakta*, e.g. No. 55 below, lines 9 and 4; and *atyantabhagavadbhakta*, in No. 19 below, line 6, and No. 36, line 4. — *Bhagavat*, 'venerable, revered, sacred, divine, holy,' was used as a title of priests, e.g. lines 5 and 6 of a Paṭṭadakal inscription of Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya II., where it is applied to two *Āchāryas* (*Ind. Ant. Vol. X. p. 165*, No. 101); and also of any saintly personage, e.g. line 12 of No. 23 below, where it is applied to Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas. And it was also used as an epithet of any god or object of worship; thus, it is applied to Buddha, in line 6 of No. 62 below; to Viṣṇu, in line 6 of No. 32 below; to Śaṁbhu (Śiva) in line 5 of No. 7 below; to Svāmī-Mahāsēna (Kārttikēya), in line 7 of No. 10 below; to Varuṇavāsin (the Sun), in line 13 of No. 46 below; and to Jinēndra, in line 1 of the Aihole Mēguṭi inscription of Pulikēsin II. (*Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII. p. 241*). But it seems to belong most particularly to the god Viṣṇu (see, for instance, the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, vi. 5; Hall's edition of H. H. Wilson's Translation, Vol. V. p. 211 ff.), and to denote him whenever there is nothing in the context to give it any other application; and, as well-known instances of its use in this way, we may quote *Bhagavadgītā*, the name of an episode of the Mahābhārata devoted entirely to the subject of devotion to Viṣṇu as Kṛishṇa; *Bhāgavata-*

A—Mathura Inscription of Chandragupta II



SCALE .27

B—Sarnath Inscription of Chandragupta II—The Year 93



No. 5; PLATE III B.

SANCHI STONE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

THE YEAR 93.

THIS inscription was first brought to notice in 1834, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. III. p. 488 ff., where a lithograph of it was published (*id.* Plate xxviii.), reduced by Mr. James Prinsep from a copy by Mr. B. H. Hodgson. This lithograph was not accompanied by any details of the contents of the inscription; and it is a very imperfect one; especially in shewing no traces whatever of the first six or seven letters of each line, all the way down.—And in 1837, in the same Journal, Vol. VI. p. 451 ff., Mr. Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it,¹ accompanied by a lithograph, reduced from copies on cloth and paper made by Captain Edward Smith, of the Engineers (*id.* Plate xxv.)

Sāñchi, or Sāchi,² is a village about twelve miles to the north-east of Diwāṅgañj, the chief town of the Diwāṅgañj Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Native State of Bhōpāl or Bhūpāl³ in Central India. It is sometimes called Sāñchi-Kānākhēḍā, through its name being coupled with that of another small village immediately on the north of it.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 6½" broad by 1' 9" high, is on the outer side of the top rail in the second row, outside and on the south side of the eastern

Purāṇa, the title of one of the Purāṇas, dedicated especially to the glorification of Vishṇu; and *Bhāgavata*, which occurs in line 7 of the Khōh plates of the *Mahārāja* Jayanātha of the year 177, No. 27 below, Plate xvii., and is, to the present time, the name of one of the Vaishṇava sects.—It may be taken, therefore, that *Paramabhāgavata* is exclusively a Vaishṇava title.

¹The translation is reprinted in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 246.

²Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 53. Lat. 23° 28' N.; Long. 77° 48' E.—The 'Sachi, Sacha Kana Kheyra, and Sachi Kanakera,' of maps, &c.—The name is pronounced both Sāñchi and Sāchi; but with a preference, as far as my observation went, for the nasalised form. The alternative forms have already been pointed out by Gen. Cunningham in *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 181, where he suggests that the name is most probably only the spoken form of the Sanskrit *śānti*, 'tranquillity, calmness,' &c.,—since the term *śānti-samgha*, 'the community of tranquillity,' occurs in the Aśoka inscription at Sāñchi (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 259 ff. and Plate xix. No. 177); and since the Chinese transcribed *śānti* by *sā-chi*. But the ancient name of Sāñchi, at least from the Aśoka to the Gupta period, was Kākanāda (see page 31 below, para. 5); and this seems to indicate that the name Sāñchi is of comparatively modern introduction. Also, though I could not find the places on the map, I was informed that there are at least two other villages in the neighbourhood, named Sāñchi or Sāchi, with no Buddhist remains at them. And this,—with the analogous names of Kāchi-Kānākhēḍā, a village about one and a half miles to the south-west of Sāñchi (in which *kāchi* is either an Urdu, or a Rāṅgaḍī or local vernacular, word, meaning 'gardener'), and of Māchi, a village somewhere in the same neighbourhood, which I noticed in a local topographical map, but cannot now find again in the Indian Atlas,—suggests that Sāñchi or Sāchi is probably a vernacular name, connected in no way with the Sanskrit.

³This name is written and pronounced Bhōpāl by Musalmāns, and Bhūpāl by Hindus. It has been suggested that it is a corruption of *Bhōj-pāl*, 'the tank or embankment of king Bhoja.' But I think it is far more likely that the original and correct name is Bhūpāl, from the Sanskrit *bhūpāla*, 'a king, or the king.' The State, however, is a Musalmān State; and Bhōpāl is the form of the name that has been established by long official usage.

gateway of the Great *Stūpa*.¹ The inscription is very well preserved, with the exception that two or three letters are destroyed and quite illegible near the commencement of each line as far as line 8.—The average size of the letters is $\frac{5}{8}$ ". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and approximate most closely to, in the present volume, those of the Mandasôr inscription of Kumâragupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 18 below, Plate xi., and, elsewhere, those of the Aihole Mēguṭi inscription² of the Western Chalukya king Pulikēśin II. of Śaka-Saṃvat 556 (A.D. 634-35). They include, in line 11, forms of the numerical symbols for 3, 4, and 90.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the use of the dental *s*, instead of the *visarga* or the *upadhīmnīya*, in conjunction with *p*, in *yaśas-patāka*, line 4.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Chandragupta II. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year³ ninety-three (A.D. 412-13), on the fourth day, without any specification of the lunar fortnight, of the month Bhādrapada (August-

¹ *Stūpa*, 'a heap or pile of earth; any heap or pile or mound,' is the technical name of a certain kind of Buddhist monument, consisting of a mound, more or less elaborate, and with or without masonry work, erected over sacred relics of Buddha and his followers.—The English corruption, *Tope*, is from the Prākṛit form *thūpa*.—In the country round Sāñchi, I found the popular term for a *Stūpa* to be *biṭā* (Hindī, *biṭaurā*), which means literally 'a heap of dried cowdung-cakes to be used as fuel.' The great *Stūpa* at Sāñchi is known as *Sās-bahū kā biṭā*, "the heap of dried cowdung-cakes of the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law." And with this name we may compare *Sās-bahū kā dēhrā*, "the temple of the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law," which is the popular name of the temple at Gwālior in which there is the long Sanskrit inscription of the Kachchhapaghāta prince Mahīpāla, dated Vikrama-Saṃvat 1150 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 33 ff.)

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 241 ff., and the accompanying plate.

³ The text has the abbreviation *saṃ*, which may stand either for the crude form *saṃvatsara*, 'a year,' or for any declensional case that can be used in expressing a date (see page 22 above, note 5). The same remark applies to the form *saṃvat*, which occurs, for instance, in *saṃvat 100 90 1 Śrāvāṇa ba di 7*, in line 2 of the Êraṇ posthumous pillar inscription of Gōparāja, No. 20 below, Plate xiiB.—It was formerly thought that the word *saṃvat* was used only in connection with the Vikrama era commencing B.C. 57. But fuller experience has shewn that both the forms are used freely in respect of the years of any era whatsoever.—They are used sometimes by themselves, as in the present passage, and in the instance quoted above for *saṃvat*; and sometimes in composition with the name of the era; as, for instance, in the Ambarnāth inscription of the chieftain Māmvāpi (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 219, and Vol. XII. p. 329, l. 1), *Śaka-saṃvat 782 Jyēsthā sūddha 9 Śukrē*, and in the Sōmnāth-Pāthāṇ inscription of Arjunadēva of Aṅghilvād (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 242, l. 2 ff.), *Mahamada-saṃvat 662 tathā śrī-nṛipa-Vikrama-saṃ 1320 tathā śrī-Valabhī-saṃ 945 tathā śrī-Simha-saṃ 151 varshē Āshādha va di 13 Ravau*.—The form *saṃvat* represents the genitive plural, *saṃvat-sarāṇām*, in such passages as *Śaka-nṛipa-kāl-ātīta-saṃvatsāra-satēshu=ashṭasu chatur-navaty-adhikēshu=ankataḥ saṃvat 894 &c.*, in the Kardā grant of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kakka III. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 266, l. 47 f.), as contrasted with *Śaka-nṛipa-kāl-ātīta-saṃvatsāra-satēshu=ashṭasu pañcha-pañchāsād-adhikēshu=ankatō=pi saṃvatsarāṇām 855 &c.*, in the Sāṅglī grant of Gōvinda V. of the same dynasty (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 251, l. 44 f.); the latter is the only passage that I know of, in which the full genitive case occurs in connection with the numerals. And it evidently stands for the full locative singular and plural respectively, in such passages as *Saṃvat pañcha-saptaty-adhika-dvādaśa-sat-ānkē 1275 &c.*, in the Chārwā inscription of Dēvapāla of Dhārā (No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, p. 111, l. 4), and in *Śaka-saṃvat ēka-navaty-adhika-nava-satēshu saṃvat 991 &c.*, in the Bassein grant of Sēunachandra II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 120, l. 24 f.).—Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives *saṃvat* as an indeclinable; and of course it properly is so. I am able, however, to quote two epigraphical instances, of modern date, in which it is used as a declinable; (1) in verse 30 of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī's Nēpāl Inscription, No. 19, of Prātāpamalla, dated Nēpāla-Saṃvat 778 (A.D. 1658-59); *Nēpālē saṃvatē=smīn=kaya-giri-munihīh*

September). It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the grant, by **Amrakârdava** or **Âmrakârdava**, the son of **Undâna**, and apparently an officer of **Chandragupta II.**, of a village, or an allotment of land, called **Îśvaravâsaka**, and a sum of money, to the *Ārya-Saṅgha*, or community of the faithful, at the great *vihāra* or Buddhist convent of **Kâkanâdabôṭa**, for the purpose of feeding mendicants and maintaining lamps.

The **Kâkanâdabôṭa** convent is. of course, the Great *Stûpa* itself. The name is partially destroyed in the present inscription; but it is legible in full in line 2 of the other Sâñchi inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxxviiiB. It is not quite certain what meaning is to be allotted to *bôṭa* in this name; but it is probably another form of *pôṭa*, 'the foundation of a house.'¹ The rest of the name, **Kâkanâda**, *lit.* 'the noise of the crow,' is the ancient name of Sâñchi itself. This is shewn by its occurring in at least two of the inscriptions of the Aśôka period in the neighbourhood, to which my attention was directed by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji; thus, (1) an inscription on the outside of the east gate of the great *Stûpa* at Sâñchi (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 241, and Plate xvi. No. 39) should evidently be read *Kâkanâdê bhagavatô pamâna-lathi*, "the measuring-staff (?) of (Buddha), the Divine One, at Kâkanâda;" and (2) the inscription on the top of the lid of the steatite casket found in *Stûpa* No. 2 at 'Andher' (*id.* p. 347, and Plate xxix. No. 7) should plainly be read *Sapurisasa Gôtîputasa Kâkanâda-Pabhâsanasa Kôḍiṇa-gôtasa*, "(the relics) of the virtuous Prabhâsana of Kâkanâda, the Gôtîputra, of the Kaundînya gôṭra."

TEXT.²

- 1 Siddham³ [11*] . Kâ[kanâ]dabôṭa-sn-mahâ-vihârê śīla-samâdhi-prajñâ-guṇa-
bhâvit-êndriyâya parama-punya-
- 2 kri tâya chatur-ddig-abhyâgatâya śramaṇa-puṇḡav-âvasathây=Āryya-
saṅghâya mahârâjâdhi-
- 3 râ[ja-ś]r[i]-Chandragupta-pâda-prasâd-âpyâyita-iivita=sâdhanah anujivi-satpurusha-
sadbhâva-
- 4 vî[ttim(?)] jagati prakhyapayan aneka-samar-âvâpta-vijaya-yaśas-patâkah
Sukuli-dêśa-Na-
- 5 shî[ti] vâstavya Undâna-putr-Amrakârdavô Maja-Śarabhaṅg-
Âmrarâta-râjakula-mûlya-kri-
- 6 tam(?) ya ... Îśvaravâsakam pañcha-maṇḍalyâ[m*] pranipatya
dadâti pañcha-vimśatiś(ñ)=cha dînâ-

saṃyutê &c. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX, p. 191); and (2) in an unpublished Chambâ inscription which contains several dates in the Vikrama-Saṃvat nd Lôkakâla, commencing with Vikrama-Saṃvat 1915 (A.D. 1858-59); in line 11 f. we have *Saṃvatê 34 Śrâvṇa-pra° 17 laî saṃvatê 36 dâ Śrâvṇa-śuddha* &c.

¹ In the present series of inscriptions, *bôṭa* or *vôṭa* occurs again (1) as part of a proper name in **Raṅkabôṭa**, in line 8 of No. 27, Plate xvii. below; and (2) as a territorial name, in the *Vôṭa santika* in line 6 f. of No. 29, Plate xixA. below.—Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives *pôṭâ*, *bôṭâ*, and *vôṭâ*, in the sense of 'a woman with a beard; a hermaphrodite; a female servant or slave.'—And we have *Bôṭaka*, as a proper name, in line 25 of No. 38 below, Plate xxiv.

² From the original stone.

³ In the original, this word, which is very much damaged and hardly recognisable, stands above the first two *aksharas* of line 1.

⁴ These two *aksharas* are supplied from line 2 of the Sâñchi inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxxviiiB., in which they are quite distinct.

- 7 rân [II*] Ta[d-da]tta-..... yâd=arddhêna mahârâjâdhirâja-śrī-
 Chandraguptasya Dêvarâja iti pri-
 8 ya-nâm.....y. tasya¹ sarvva-guṇa-sampattayê yâvach=chandr-âdityau
 tâvat=pancha bhikshavô bhumja-
 9 tâm ratna-grihê [cha di]pakô jvalatu [I*] mama ch=âpar-ârdhât=pañch=
 aiva bhikshavô bhumjatâm ratna-grihê cha
 10 dipaka iti [II*] Tad=êtat-pravṛttam ya uchchhindyât=sa gô-brahma-hatyayâ
 samyuktô bhavêt=pañchabhiś=ch=âna-
 11 ntaryyair=iti [II*] Sam² go 3 Bhâdrapada di³ 4 [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! To the community of the faithful⁴ in the holy great *vihâra* of *Kâkanâdabôṭa*,—in which the organs of sense (*of the members of it*) have been subdued by the virtues of (*good*) character, religious meditation, and wisdom; which deeds of the very highest religious merit; which has come together from the four quarters of the world; (*and*) which is the abode of most excellent *Śramaṇas*,—having prostrated himself in an assembly of five persons,⁵ *Amrakârdava*,⁶ the son of *Undâna*,—whose means of subsistence have been made comfortable by the favour of the feet of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious *Chandragupta* (II.); who is publishing in the world the amiable behaviour of the virtuous people who are the dependents (*of the king*); who has acquired banners of victory and fame in many battles; (*and*) who is an inhabitant of (the town of) *Nashtî*..... in the *Sukuli dēśa*,⁷—gives (the village or

¹We might very suitably supply the lacunæ by reading *Dêvarâja iti priya-nâm*=*[ânâtyô bhavât]y=[ê]tasya*.

²See page 30 above, note 3.

³i.e. *dina*, *dinê*, *divasa*, or *divasê*. And the word properly denotes the solar day, from sunrise to sunrise, with which a week-day name would be coupled; not the lunar *tithi*, which may coincide with, or more or less may differ from, the solar day and week-day.

⁴*Ārya-Saṃgha*.

⁵*pañcha-maṇḍalī* is evidently the same as the *Pañchâit*, *Pañchâyat*, or *Pañch*, of modern times, the village-jury of five (or more) persons, convened to settle a dispute by arbitration, to witness and sanction any act of importance, &c.—Compare *pañchâli* (perhaps a mistake of the engraver for *pañchâli*), which seems to be used in the same sense, in line 16 of Bhagwanlal Indraji's *Nêpâl Inscriptions*, No. 10 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 173).—So also *pañchâlika*, in No. 4 of the same series, line 11 (*id.* p. 168), No. 7, lines 13 and 15 (p. 170), and No. 13, line 20 (p. 177), seems to mean the members of certain *Pañchâyats* which are in each instance specified by name.

⁶Or *Āmrakârdava*.

⁷*dēśa*, 'a region, country, province, &c.' is a technical territorial term, the exact meaning and bearing of which have not yet been determined. So, also, *khaṇḍa*, 'a section'; *maṇḍala*, 'a circle, district, arrondissement, province, &c.'; *râṣṭra*, 'a kingdom, district, country, region, &c.'; and *viśaya*, 'a country, region, district, province, &c.'—*dēśa* is sometimes used as a synonym of *maṇḍala*. Thus, in line 7 of a grant of *Amma* II. of about Śaka-Saṃvat 867 or A.D. 945-46 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 16), and in line 6 of another grant of the same (*id.* Vol. VIII. p. 74), the kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas is called the *Vengī dēśa*. While, in line 17 of a grant of *Amma* I. (*id.* Vol. VIII. p. 79), and in line 8 of another of *Bhima* II. (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 213), it is called the *Vengī maṇḍala*. These charters record grants made in the *Pennâtavâḍi*, *Gudrâvâra*, and *Pâgunavara viśayas*; which would point to *viśaya* being a subdivision of a *dēśa* or *maṇḍala*. And this is in accordance with line 5 of the *Kapâlêśwar* grant of *Mahâ-Bhavadgupta* (*id.* Vol. V. p. 55, where the correct reading is *viśaya-Raṇḍâgrâma*), recording a gift of the village of *Raṇḍâgrâma* belonging to the *Pôvâ* or *Yôvâ viśaya* in the *Kôsala dēśa*. On the other hand, in line 4 of the *Têrdâ* inscription of Śaka-

allotment of) *Īśvaravāsaka*, purchased with the endowment¹ of Maja and Śarabhaṅga and Amrarāta² of the royal household,³ and (*also gives*) twenty-five *dīndras*.

(Line 7.)—From [the interest of the *dīndras*⁴] given by him,—with half, as long as the moon and the sun (*endure*), let five *Bhikṣhus* be fed, and let a lamp burn in the jewel-house,⁵ for the perfection of all the virtues of the familiar name of Dēvarāja,⁶ of the *Mahārājadhīrāja*, the glorious Chandragupta (II.); and with the other

Samvat 1046 or A.D. 1124-25 (*id.* Vol. XIV. p. 16), the terms *dēśa* and *viśaya* are both applied to the division of India that is best known as Bharatakhanda or Bharataksheṭra, and also to the Kūṇḍī Three-thousand District in the Kanarete country; which would point to *dēśa* and *viśaya* being synonymous.—*Khaṇḍa* occurs in another grant (unpublished) of Mahā-Bhavagupta, recording a gift of the village of Arkigrāma belonging to the Tulumba *khaṇḍa* in the Kōśala *dēśa*; which points to *khaṇḍa* being a subdivision of a *dēśa*, and perhaps synonymous with *viśaya*.—*Maṇḍala* occurs also in line 8 of the grant of Mahēndrapāla of Harsha-Samvat 155 or A.D. 761-62 (*id.* Vol. XV. p. 112), recording the gift of a village belonging to the Vālayikā *viśaya*, which lay in the Śrāvastī *maṇḍala*. And this, again, points to a *maṇḍala* being subdivided into *viśayas*.—As regards *rāshṭra* and *viśaya*, there were two classes of officials called *Rāshṭrapati* and *Viśayapati*, *lit.* 'lords' or 'chiefs' of *rāshṭras* and *viśayas*. And, on the one hand, such passages as those in line 8 f. of the Kaira grant of Vijayarāja of the year 394 (*id.* Vol. VII. p. 248), and in line 8 of the Kāvī grant of Jayabhaṭa of the year 486 (*id.* Vol. V. p. 114), which mention first the *Viśayapati*, then the *Rāshṭrapati*, and then the *Grāmamahattara* or 'village-headman,' point, as indicated by Dr. Bühler in editing the Kāvī grant, to the *viśaya* being a larger division than the *rāshṭra*; as also such expressions as "the cultivators, headed by the *Rāshṭrakūḷa* ('headman of the *rāshṭra*'), dwelling in the Pennātavādī *viśaya*," in line 39 f. of the grant of Amma II. of about Śaka-Samvat 867, referred to above. But, on the other hand, exactly the opposite of this is indicated by such passages as those in line 28 f. of the Sāmāgaḍ grant of Dantidurga of Śaka-Samvat 675 or A.D. 753-54 (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 112), in line 35 f. of the Wapi grant of Gōvinda III. of Śaka-Samvat 730 (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 159), and in line 60 of the Kauthēm grant of Vikramāditya V. of Śaka-Samvat 930 (*id.* Vol. XVI. p. 24), in which first the *Rāshṭrapati* is mentioned, then the *Viśayapati*, and then the *Grāmakūḷa* or 'village-headman.' While finally, such expressions as "the Karmarāshṭra *viśaya*," in line 12 of the grant of the second year of Viṣṇuvardhana II. (*id.* Vol. VII. p. 187), and "the Gōparāshṭra *viśaya*," in line 17 of the Nirpaṇ grant of Nāgavardhana (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 124), point to *rāshṭra* and *viśaya* being synonymous terms.—The subject requires further elucidation. And, as in the case of regal and official titles, it is much better to use the original Sanskrit words, than to render them by such terms as Zilla, Talukā, &c., which are of modern invention, and which cannot possibly be satisfactory equivalents, even if they should happen to approach to the relative meanings.

¹ *mālya*, *lit.* 'an original sum,' is equivalent to *akṣaya-nīvī*, *lit.* 'a capital sum that is not to be wasted,' which is of constant use in early inscriptions, and occurs for instance in No. 12, below, Plate viB., line 26, and No. 62, Plate xxxviiiB., lines 3 and 8.

² Or Āmrarāta.

rājakula.

³ I supply these words, where the original has been effaced, on the analogy of line 3 f. of the Sāñchi inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxxviiiB.

⁴ This is the literal meaning of *ratna-grīha*. It seems to denote the *Stūpa* itself, as the abode of the three *ratnas* or 'jewels or precious things,' *viz.* (1) Buddha; (2) *Dharma*, the Law or Truth; and (3) *Saṃgha*, the community or congregation.

⁵ Prinsep translated this passage so as to make Dēvarāja another name of Chandragupta II. This may be correct. But we have no other authority for giving him this second name. And the lacunæ in the line render it impossible to say with any certainty whether it denotes him, or some officer of his.—If the suggestion that I have made above (page 32, note 1) for filling up the lacunæ, should be accepted, the translation would be—"for the perfection of all the virtues of him who, having the familiar name of Dēvarāja, is a minister of the *Mahārājadhīrāja*, the glorious Chandragupta."

half, which is mine,¹ let the same number of five *Bhikshus* be fed, and (*let*) a lamp (*burn*) in the jewel-house.

(L. 10.)—Whosoever shall interfere with this his arrangement,—he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the slaughter of a cow or of a Brāhmaṇ,² and with (*the guilt of*) the five sins that entail immediate retribution!³

(L. 11.)—The year 90 (*and*) 3; (the month) Bhādrapada; the day 4.

No. 6; PLATE IVA

UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 51 f., where he published his own version of the text, and a translation of it by Rājā Siva Prasad, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xix.).—This rendering of the inscription has remained the standard version up to the present time, except that in 1882, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 312, Dr. E. Hultzsch pointed out some errors in the last line as published.

The inscription is on the back wall, a little to the left as one enters, inside a cave at Udayagiri,⁴ in Scindia's Dominions in Central India, which is known as the "Tawā Cave," from the resemblance of the large flat stone, on the top of the rock in which it is excavated, to a gigantic *tawā*, or 'griddle for baking cakes.

The writing, which covers a space of about 3' 7" by 1' 2", has suffered a good deal from the peeling off of the surface of the rock on which it is engraved; but the general purport of it remains complete, and nothing of a historical nature appears to have been lost.—The size of the letters varies from $\frac{3}{4}$ " to $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of radically the same type with those of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate i. They include in the numbering of the verses, forms of the numerical symbols for 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word *siddham*, the inscription is in verse throughout, and the verses are numbered.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the use of the *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmanīya* in *jñāhī=kaviḥ=paṭali*, line 4.

The inscription refers itself to the time of the Early Gupta king Chandragupta II., whose name is recorded in line 1. As no date is given, there might be some doubt as to whether the Chandragupta mentioned here is the first or the second of the name. But the standard of the characters, as compared with those of the Allahābād inscription, which was engraved in the time of Chandragupta II.,—and the fact that the inscription records that the Chandragupta mentioned in it came in person to Udayagiri, coupled with the existence at Udayagiri of the inscription of the year 82, No. 3, p. 21 ff. above, which

¹ It is not quite apparent who is speaking here; but probably Amrakārdava is intended.

² *brahman*; see Childers' Pāli Dictionary, s.v. *brahmā*.

³ *viś.* matricide, parricide, killing an *Arhat*, shedding the blood of a Buddha, and causing division among the priesthood (see Childers' Pāli Dictionary, s.v. *pañchanantariyasaṃmam* and *abhihānam*.)

⁴ See page 22 above, and note 1.

is proved by its date to be one of Chandragupta II.,—shew that the king mentioned here is **Chandragupta II.**, not his grandfather, Chandragupta I. It is a Śaiva inscription; and the object of it is to record the excavation of the cave as a temple of the god Siva, under the name of Śambhu, by the order of a certain **Virasêna**, otherwise called **Śâba**,¹ who was one of the ministers of Chandragupta II

TEXT.

- 1 Siddham³ [11*] Yad⁴=a[m]tarjjyôtir-arkk-âbham=urvvyâm [— — — — —]
 — — — — —]vyâpi **Chandragupt-âkhyam**=adbhutam [11*] 1
- 2 Vikram-âvakraya-kritâ dâsya-nyagbhûta-pârthiv[â] [— — —]mâna-samraktâ
 dharmma[— — — — —] [11*] 2
- 3 Tasya râjâdhirâj-arshêr=achinty-ô[— — —]rmmanah anvaya-prâpta-sâchivyo
 vyâ[prita-san]dh[i]-v[i]grahah [11*] 3
- 4 Kautsaś=Śâba iti khyâtô **Virasênah** kul-âkhyayâ śabdârthha-nyâya-lôka-
 jñah=kaviḥ=**Pâtali**putrakah [11*] 4
- 5 Kṛtsna-prithvî-jay-artthêna râjñ=aiv=êha sah=âgataḥ bhaktyâ bhagavataś=
 Śambhôr=gguhâm=êtâm=akârayat [11*] 5

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! which shines⁵ like the sun,⁶ radiant with internal light, upon the earth, pervades (and) has the appellation of **Chandragupta (II.)**, (and is) wonderful;-

(Line 2.)—Bought by the purchase-money of [whose] prowess, [the earth], in which (all other) princes are humiliated by the slavery (imposed on them by him), gratified by religion.

(L. 3.)—He who holds the position, acquired by hereditary descent, of being a minister of that same saintly sovereign,⁷ possessed of inconceivable, (and) [has been appointed to] (the office of arranging) peace and war; (viz.)—

¹ See page 27 above, note 4, for some similar instances of second names.

² From the original stone.

³ In the original this word stands in the margin, opposite the commencement of line 3.

⁴ Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh) throughout.

⁵ From the use, in line 5, of the imperfect past tense *akârayat*, 'he caused to be made,'—and from the natural length of time required for the completion of the cave, before the inscription could be engraved inside it,—a considerable time must have elapsed between the visit of the king and his minister, and the engraving of the inscription. But there seems no special reason for supposing that the work was not all finished during the lives of Chandragupta II. and Virasêna. Accordingly, in translating, I have given a present sense to the contents of lines 1 to 4.

⁶ There seems to be intended a play on the words 'sun' and 'moon,' the latter of which (*chandra*) forms part of the king's name.

⁷ *Râjâdhirâja*; lit. 'supreme king of *Râjas* or kings.'—This was, in earlier times, one of the technical titles of paramount sovereignty. In its Pâli or Prâkrit form of *Rajadhiraja*, it occurs as the representative of the Greek *basileus basileon*, sometimes by itself, e.g. on some of the coins of Maues (Gardner and Poole's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of India* in the British Museum, p. 68 ff., Nos. 4, 5, 9, 11, and 17); and sometimes in conjunction with *Maharaja* (*Mahârâja*), e.g. on some of the coins of Azes (*id.* p. 85 ff., Nos. 138, 140, and 157). And another almost identical title, viz. *Râjâtirâja*, lit. 'superior king of *Râjas* or kings,' occurs in the same

(L. 4.)—He who, belonging to the Kautsa (*gōtra*) is well-known under the name of Śâba, (*but is called*) Virasêna by (*his*) family-appellation;—who knows the meaning of words, and logic, and (*the ways of*) mankind;—who is a poet;—and who belongs to (*the city of*) Pâtaliputra,—

(L. 5.)—He came here, accompanied by the king in person, who was seeking to conquer the whole world; and, through devotion towards the divine (god) Śambhu, he caused this cave to be made.

No. 7; PLATE IVB.

GADHWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

THE YEAR 88.

THIS inscription, and the following two inscriptions of Kumâragupta, Nos. 8 and 9, are on a stone that was discovered in 1871-72 by Rājā Siva Prasad, and were first brought to notice by General Cunningham in his Archæological Reports.

Gadhwa,¹ which means literally 'a fort,' is the name of several villages in the Arail and Bārā Parganās in the Karchhanā Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. The particular Gadhwa, where these inscriptions were found, is in the Bārā² Parganā, eight miles to the west by south from Bārā, and one and a half miles south of the village of Bhatgadh.³ It is entered in the map simply as a "Fort."⁴ The stone containing the inscriptions was found built into the wall of one of the rooms of a modern dwelling-house inside the enclosure of the fort; and is a rectangular sandstone fragment, measuring about 9½" broad by 4" thick and 2' 6½" high. It is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The stone is inscribed on three faces,—on the front, as it stands in the Museum, and on the two sides. It is entire towards the bottom; but the top of it, containing two or three lines of writing, has been broken away and lost. In addition to this, the sides now contain only about half of each line of the inscriptions engraved on them; and this, with the unfinished roughness of the present back of the stone, shews that about half of it has been pared away, in adapting it to some other purpose than that for which it was originally intended.

sense of paramount sovereignty, but coupled also with *Mahārāja*; e.g. in the Mathurā inscription of Hūvishka of the year 47 (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 33, No. 12, and Plate xiv.), and in the Mathurā inscription of Vāsudêva of the year 87 (*id.* p. 35, No. 18, and Plate xv.). But, by the Early Gupta period, these two titles appear to have been permanently supplanted, for technical purposes, by the fuller form of *Mahārājādhirāja* (see page 10 above, note 3). The form *Rājātirāja* cannot be traced at all. And *Rājādhirāja* occurs only in metrical passages, where it was inconvenient or impossible to introduce the prefix *mahā*; thus, in addition to the present passage, in line 6 of the Mandasôr inscription of Yasôdharman and Vishnuvardhana, No. 35 below; in line 62 of the Alinā grant of Śilāditya VII., No. 39 below; and, in the derivative *rājādhirāja*, in line 24 of the Junāgadh rock inscription of Skandagupta, No. 14 below, in line 2 of which we also have, again for metrical reasons, another variety of the title, viz. *Rājarājādhirāja*.

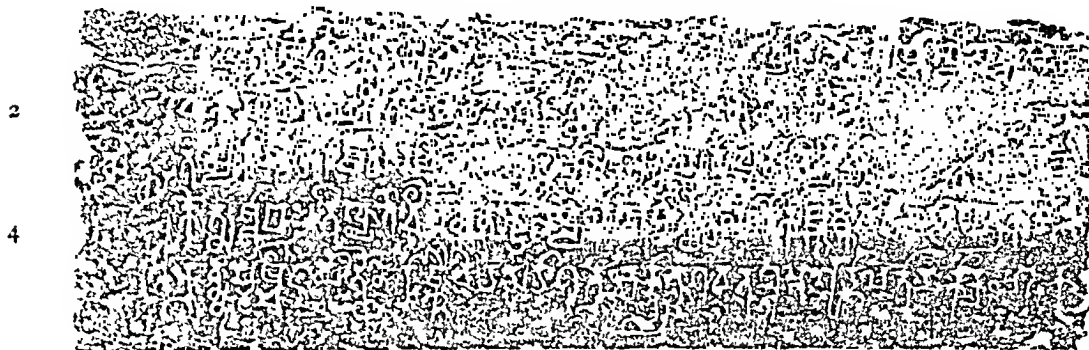
¹ The 'Garhwa' and 'Gurhwa' of maps, &c.

² The 'Barah' of maps.

³ The 'Badgarh, Bhatgarh, and Budgudh' of maps, &c.

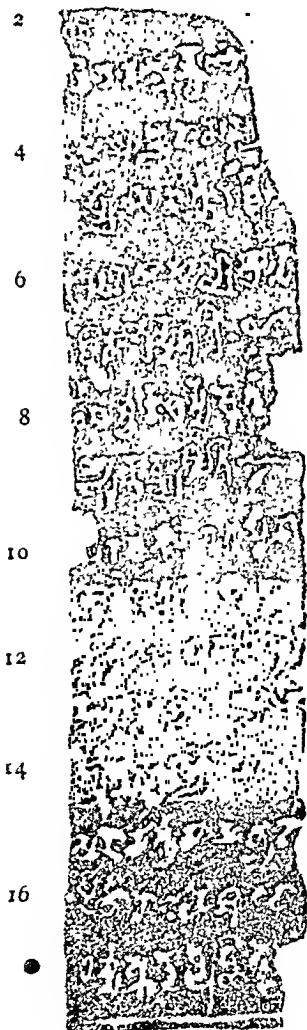
⁴ Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 13' N.; Long. 81° 38' E.

A.—Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II.

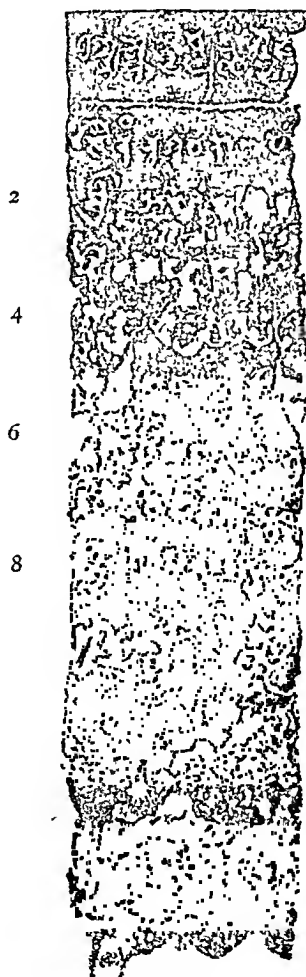


SCALE .14

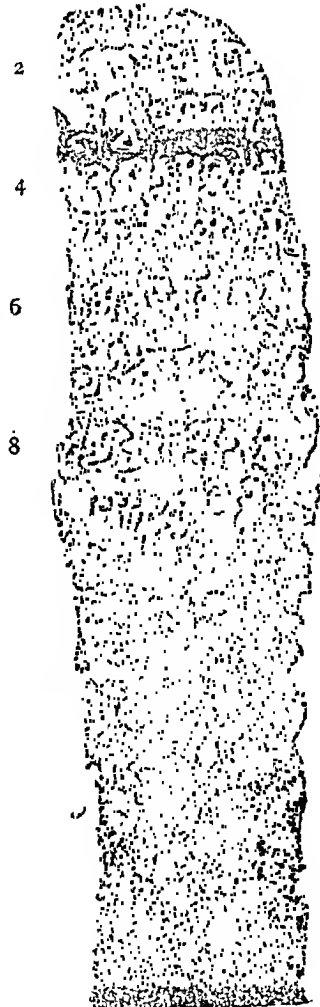
B.—Gadhwa Inscription of Chandragupta II.
The Year 88.



C.—Gadhwa Inscription of Kumaragupta



D.—Gadhwa Inscription of Kumaragupta.
The Year 98.



On the front of the stone, towards the top, traces are visible of eleven lines of writing, each of about thirteen letters, in characters of the same period with those of the inscriptions that I now publish. But no part of this inscription, which seems to have been quite distinct from those on the sides, can be read; and the traces of it that remain are not worth being lithographed.

The inscription of Chandragupta II. now published, is on the upper part of the present proper left side of the stone, and the writing covers a space of about 4" broad by 1' 4½" high. It was originally brought to notice, in 1873, by General Cunningham, who published his reading of the text of lines 10 to 17 in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 55, with a lithograph of the whole (*id.* Pl. xx. No. 1). The first two entire lines, and the last half of each of the remaining lines, have been broken away and lost. The remnant of the inscription, however, is fairly well preserved and easy to read.—The average size of the letters is $\frac{5}{8}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate i. They include, in lines 7, 11, and 16, forms of the numerical symbols for 8, 10, and 80.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only point requiring notice is the doubling of *y* and *v* after the *anusvâra*, in *saṁyukta*, line 9, and *saṁvatsarê*, line 11.

In the first part of the inscription, lines 1 to 9, the date and the name of the king are entirely broken away and lost. So also the name in the second part. But, in the latter part, lines 10 to 17, we have the date, in numerical symbols, of the year eighty-eight (A.D. 407-8). And this, coupled with the epithet *paramabhāgavata* in line 10, followed by the beginning of the title *Mahārājādhirāja*, shews that the inscription, in this part, certainly belongs to the time of the Early Gupta king Chandragupta II. And the first part is so plainly engraved by the same hand,—and is, moreover, not separated by any dividing line,—that it must certainly be allotted to the same reign. So little remains of the two parts of this inscription, that the form of religion to which they belong cannot be determined; nor can the object of them; except that each part records a gift of ten *dāndras*, apparently as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of a *sattra*, or charitable hall or almshouse.

In line 12 we have a mention of the city of *Pâtaliputra*, the modern *Patna* in Bihâr; but there is nothing to indicate, of necessity, that it is mentioned as a capital of Chandragupta II.

TEXT.¹

First Part.

- 1 [Paramabhāgavata²-mahārājādhirāja-śri-Chandragupta-rājya]-
- 2 [saṁvatsarê]³ [asyām]
- 3 divasa-pūrvvāyām⁴

¹ From the original stone.

² This first line is entirely broken away and lost; but, from the date in line 11, there can be no doubt that the name and titles of Chandragupta II. have to be filled in here, as also in line 10.—In the second line, remnants are visible of the first four or five *aksharas*, including one or two numerical symbols; but not enough of them remains to shew with any certainty what the latter are.

³ To be corrected into *rājyê saṁvatsarê*; see page 38 below, note 5.

⁴ Supply *tithau*.

- 4 ka-Mātridāsa-pra[mukha] [puny-ā]-
 5 pyāyan-ārttham rachi[ta] [sa]-
 6 dā-sat[t*]ra-sāmānya(nya)-brāhma[ṇa]
 7 dīnārāir=ddasabhiḥ 10 [II]
 8 Yaś=ch=ainam dharmma-skanda(ndha¹)m [vyuchchhindyāt=sa
 pañcha-mahāpātakaiḥ sam]-
 9 yyukta[h*] syād-iti I(II)

Second Part.

- 10 Paramabhāgavatā - mahā[rājādhirāja - śrī - **Chandragupta** - ra] -
 11 jya-samvatsarē³ 80 8 [asyām. divasa]-
 12 pūrvvāyām³ **Pātā(ta)liput[t]ra** [grī]-
 13 hasthasya bharyā y
 14 . =ātma-puny-ōpachay-[ārttham]
 15 sadā-sattra-sāmānya-b[rāhmaṇa]
 16 dīnārāḥ daśa 10 [II] [Yaś=ch=ainam
 17 dharmma-skanda(ndha)n. vyuchchhindyā[t=sa pañcha
 mahāpātakaiḥ samyuktaḥ syād=iti [II]

TRANSLATION.

First Part.

[In the reign of the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahārājādhirāja* the glorious **Chandragupta (II.)**; in the year] ;
 [on this] (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the day (&c.) :—

(Line 3).— headed by Mātridāsa for the purpose of increasing [the religious merit] fashioned the Brāhmaṇs of the community of a perpetual almshouse by ten *dīndras*, (*or in figures*) 10.

(L. 8).—Ana wnosoever [shall interfere with] this branch of religion,—[he] shall become invested [with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins⁴] !

Second Part.

(L. 10).—In the reign⁵ of the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, [the glorious **Chandragupta (II.)**]; in the year 80 (*and*) 8; [on this] (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above [by the day, (&c.)] :—

¹ In line 17 below, the reading is again *skandam*. But this is undoubtedly a mistake for *skandham*, which we have distinctly in the same imprecation in line 12 of the Gadhwā inscription, No. 64 below, Plate xxxixB. — We also have a similar expression, *punya-skandham*, in line 9 of the Kahāum pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 15 below, Plate ixA.

² Read *rājyē samvatsarē*; see note 5 below.

³ Supply *tithau*.

⁴ The *pañcha mahāpātakāni*, or 'five great crimes,' are—slaying a Brāhmaṇ; drinking intoxicating liquor; theft (of the gold belonging to a Brāhmaṇ); adultery with the wife of a spiritual preceptor; and associating with any one guilty of these crimes; see the *Mānavadharmasūtra*, ix. 235, and xi. 55 to 59; Burnell's Translation, pp. 287, 331.

⁵ The original, if accepted as it stands, would have to be translated "in the year eighty-eight of the reign of Chandragupta." But the numerals, both here and in the still more pointed instances given below, shew that the expression cannot possibly refer to regnal years.—This method of expres-

(L. 12.)— Pâtaliputra the wife of the householder [for the purpose] of adding to (*her*) own religious merit the Brâhman of the community of a perpetual almshouse ten *dinâras*, (*or in figures*) 10.

(L. 16.)—[And whosoever] shall interfere with [this] branch of religion,—[he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins]!

No. 8; PLATE IV C.

GADHWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA.

THIS is another of the inscriptions on the stone discovered by Rājā Siva Prasad, in 1871-72, at Gadhwā,¹ in the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. It was first brought to notice, in 1873, by General Cunningham, who published his reading of the text in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 55, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xx. No. 1).

This inscription is on the lower part of the proper left side of the stone, immediately below the preceding inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 7 above, from which it is separated only by a line across the stone.

The last half of each line has been entirely broken away and lost. The remnant of the writing, however, covering a space of about 4" broad by 10" high, is fairly well preserved and easy to read.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of the preceding inscription, No. 8, being probably engraved by the same hand. They include, in lines 3 and 6, forms of the numerical symbol for 10.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Kumâragupta. The date, however, except in respect of the day, is broken away and lost. So little remains of the inscription that the form of religion to which it belongs cannot be determined; nor can the object of it; except that it seems to record two gifts,—one of ten *dinâras*, and

sion was a very common one in early times; and is due, of course, to the fact that the early years of most eras were regnal years, and that, after the death of the founder of each era, the expression was continued mechanically in the case of his successors.—As similar instances, we have in the present series of inscriptions, (1) line 6 of the Bilsāḍ pillar inscription of Kumâragupta, No. 10 below, Plate v., "in the year ninety-six of the augmenting victorious reign of Kumâragupta;" (2) line 3 of the Indôr grant of Skandagupta, No. 16 below, Plate ix B., "while the year one hundred, increased by forty-six, of the augmenting victorious reign of Skandagupta, is current;" and (3) line 1 of the Gadhwā inscription of the year 148, No. 66 below, Plate xxxix D., "in the year one hundred, increased by forty-eight, of the augmenting victorious reign of;" and in other series, (4) line 2 f. of the Gūnda inscription of Rudrasimha (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 157), "in the year one hundred, increased by two, or in figures 100 and 2, of the *Mahākshatrapa*, the *Svâmin* Rudrasimha;" and (5) line 1 of a Mathurâ inscription of Vāsudêva (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 35, and Pl. xv. No. 20), "in the year 90 and 8 of king Vāsudêva."—In every passage like those of this series, a suitable expression and translation are at once arrived at by the very simple emendation of reading *rājyê samvatsarê* instead of *rājya-samvatsarê*.

¹ See page 36 above, and note 1.

the other of an uncertain number,—as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of a *sattrā*, or charitable hall or almshouse.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Jitam bhagavatā I Pa[ramabhāgavata²-mahārājādhirāja]-
 2 śrī-Kumārāgupta-rājya-[saṁvatsarē³]
 3 divasē 10 [asyām divasa-pūrvvāyām]
 4
 5 sadā-sat[t*]ra-sā[mānya]
 6 [da]ttā dīnārāḥ 10 ta(?)
 7 ti sattre cha dīnārās=tray⁴ [II]
 [Yaś=ch=ainam dharmma-skandham vyuchchhi]-
 8 ndyāt=sa pañcha-mahāpā[takaiḥ saṁyuktaḥ syād=iti [II]
 9 Gōyindā Lakshmā
 9 Gōyindā Lakshmā

TRANSLATION.

Victory has been achieved by the Divine One! In the reign⁵ of [the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahārājādhirāja*], the glorious **Kumārāgupta**; [in the year]; on the day 10; [on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the day (&c.)]:—

(Line 3.)—..... [the community of] a perpetual almshouse
 there were given ten *dīnāras* and in
 the almshouse three *dīnāras*

(L. 7.)—[And whosoever shall interfere with this branch of religion],—he [shall become invested] with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins!

(L. 9.)—Gōyindā, Lakshmā,

No. 9; PLATE IVD.

GADHWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 98.

THIS is the last of the inscriptions on the stone discovered by Rājā Siva Prasad, in 1871-72, at **Gadhwa**⁶ in the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. It was not noticed when the stone was first discovered; but was afterwards found, on clearing away the lime under which it was hidden, by General Cunningham, who then, in 1880, published his reading of the text in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 9, with a lithograph (*id.* Plate v. No. 1.)

¹ From the original stone.

² This epithet is completed from line 5 of the Bilsāḍ pillar inscription of Kumārāgupta, No. 10 below, and line 5 f. of the Bhitārī pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below.

³ Read *rājyē* [saṁvatsarē]; see page 38 above, note 5.

⁴ This may be completed into either *trayaḥ*, *trayōdaśa*, *trayōviṁśati*, or any other numeral commencing with *traya*s.

⁵ See page 38 above, note 5.

⁶ See page 36 above, and note 1.

This inscription is on the upper part of the proper right side of the stone. Almost the whole of the first line, and the first half of each of the remaining lines, has been entirely broken away and lost. The remnant of the writing, however, covering a space of about 4" broad by 9" high, is fairly well preserved and easy to read.—The size of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of the preceding two inscriptions, Nos. 7 and 8, being probably engraved by the same hand. They include, in the date, forms of the numerical symbols for 8 and 90.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The name of the king is broken away and lost in the first half of line 2. But the inscription is dated, in numerical symbols, in the year ninety-eight (A.D. 417-18); and this shews that the record must belong to the time of the Early Gupta king Kumâragupta. So little remains of it, that the form of religion to which it belonged, cannot be determined; nor can the object of it; except that it records a gift of twelve *dîndras*, apparently as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of a *saltra*, or charitable hall or almshouse.

TEXT.¹

- 1 [Jitam bhagavatâ || Para]mabh[ā]gavata-[mahārājādhi]-
 2 [rāja-śrī-Kumâragupta-rājya-samvatsa]rê² 90 8
 3 [asyām divasa]-pūrvv.āyām³ paṭṭa
 4 nê(?)n-ātma-puṇy-ōpa[cha]-
 5 [y-ārttham]..... kālyāṇ sadā-sat[ṭ]ra-
 6 kasya talakanivansê(?) ..
 7 tyā(?)m dīnārāḥ dvādaśa
 8 sy āmkur-ōdbha(?)sta-chchha
 9 [sam]yukta[ḥ]⁴ syād-iti 1(11)

TRANSLATION.

[Victory has been achieved by the Divine One!] [In the reign⁵] of the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, [the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious Kumâragupta]; in the year 90 (and) 8;; [on this] (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the day (&c.);—

(Line 3)—..... [for the purpose] of adding to (*his*) own religious merit (*to endure*) for the same time with a perpetual almshouse twelve *dîndras*

(L. 9.)—..... shall become invested with

¹ From the original stone.

² To be corrected into *rājyê samvatsarê*; see page 38 above, note 5.

³ Supply *tithau*.

⁴ The measure of the lines of this inscription seems to shew that it did not contain here the full formula of the preceding two, Nos. 7 and 8.

⁵ See page 38 above, note 5.

No. 10; PLATE V.

BILSAÐ STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA.
THE YEAR 96.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1877-78 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in his reading of the text, and translation of it, published in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XI. p. 19 f., accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate viii.)

Bilsaḍ or Bilsaṇḍ¹ is a village,—consisting of three parts, called respectively Bilsaḍ-Puvāyām, or Eastern Bilsaḍ; Bilsaḍ-Pachhāyām, or Western Bilsaḍ; and Bilsaḍ-Paṭṭi,² or Bilsaḍ Suburb,—about four miles towards the north-east of Aligañj,³ the chief town of the Aligañj Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Êṭā⁴ District in the North-West Provinces. At the south-west corner of Bilsaḍ-Puvāyām, or the eastern division of the town, there are four broken red-sandstone monolith columns,—two of them, towards the west, round; and two of them, towards the east, square. Each pair of columns stands almost due north and south; and the two western columns are both inscribed. The inscription now published is on the eastern side of the northern column of the west pair.

On the eastern side of the southern column of the west pair, there is also an inscription, which, as shewn by the remains of it, was a duplicate copy of that on the northern column; but it was arranged somewhat differently, being, as counted by General Cunningham, in sixteen somewhat shorter lines, instead of thirteen. From General Cunningham's ink-impression, hardly any appreciable portion of this second inscription remains, except the second and third lines, and lines 12 to 16; and these are not in sufficiently good order to be lithographed, though they are of use in supplying more clearly a few letters which are doubtful in the two verses at the end of the inscription on the northern column. In this second inscription, line 2 begins with the *svādita-yaśasô* of line 1 of the one now published;—line 3, with the *gat-ānēka* of line 2;—line 12, with about the *parshadā* of line 9;—line 13, with the *kaubērachchhanda* of line 10;—line 14, with the *[sa]ttra* of line 11;—line 15, with the . . . *subhā* of line 12;—and line 16, with the *yēu=āpūrvva* of line 13.

With this pair of duplicate inscriptions, we may compare the duplicate inscriptions of Yaśôdharman on the two columns at Mandasôr, Nos. 33 and 34 below. But Yaśôdharman's pillars were *jayastambhas* or 'columns of victory,' not connected with any building; whereas the two inscribed Bilsaḍ pillars seem to have had a direct connection with a temple, now ruined, the remains of which must be hidden under the rubbish that has accumulated over the site,—*viz.* the temple of the god Svāmi-Mahāsēna, or Kārttikēya, referred to in the inscription.

The writing of the inscription now published covers a space of about 2' 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ " broad by 1' 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The first four lines are almost entirely destroyed, and a good deal of

¹ The 'Beelsur and Bilsar' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 68 Lat 27° 33' N.; Long. 79° 16' E.—The name is written and pronounced optionally with or without a nasal in the second syllable; compare Aḥsad, and Aḥsaṇḍ, in the case of the inscription of Ādityasēna, No 42 below.

² The 'Beelsurpowa, Beelsurpucha, and Beelsurputtee,' of maps.

³ The 'Aliganj and Ulleegunje' of maps, &c.

⁴ The 'Eeta, Etah, and Eytuh,' of maps, &c.

damage has been done to the rest; but nothing of a historical nature seems to have been lost.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; but they present a very pointed difference from the characters of the same class in the preceding inscriptions, in respect of the very marked *mātrās* or prolonged horizontal top-strokes of the letters.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose as far as the end of line 9, and the rest in verse.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *puttrasya*, line 4.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Kumâragupta. It is dated, in words, in the year ninety-six (A.D. 415-16); but without any specification of the month and day. It belongs to the Saiva form of worship; and the object of it is to record the accomplishment by a certain Dhruvaśarman, at a temple of the god Kārttikēya under the name of Svāmi-Mahāsēna, of certain works, viz. (1) the building of a *pratōli*, or 'gateway with a flight of steps;' (2), the establishment, apparently, of a *sattra* or charitable hall or almshouse; and (3) the erection of the column with the inscription on it, to record the above acts.

TEXT.¹

1.² [Sarvva-rāj-ōchehhēttuṇ prithivyām=a-pratirathasya chatur-uda]dhi-salil-āsvādita-yaśasō
- 2 [Dhanada-Varuṇ-Ēndr-Āntaka-samasya Kṛitānta-paraśōḥ nyāy-āgat-ānēka-gō-hi]raṇya-kōṭi-pradasya chir-ōtsann-āsvamēdh-āharttuḥ
- 3 [mahārāja-śrī-Gupta-prapauttrasya mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭōtkacha-pauttrasya ma]hā-rājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-puttrasya
- 4 Lichchhavi-dauhi[tt]r[asya mahādēvyām Kumāradēvyām=utpannasya mahārā]jādhirāja-śrī-Samudragupta-puttrasya⁴
- 5 mahādēvyām Dattadevyām=utpannasya svaya[m=a-pratirathasya] [parama]-bhāgavatasya mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-puttrasya⁵
- 6 mahādēvyām Dhruvadēvyām=utpannasya mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Kumāraguptasya=ābhivarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarē⁶ śaṇṇ-navatē [1*]

¹ As pointed out by Gen. Cunningham, *pratōli*, according to the Dictionaries, means 'a broad way; a high-street; a principal road through a town.' But the meaning of 'gateway' was given to him by a Paṇḍit. And that the word has the meaning in the present inscription of 'a gateway with a flight of steps,' seems to be shewn by the comparison of the *pratōli* with a *svarga-sōpānā* or 'flight of steps, or ladder, leading to heaven,' and by its being described as "white with the radiance of pieces of crystalline gems (in the stones of which it was constructed)."

² From Gen. Cunningham's ink-impression; so also the lithograph. The passages that are illegible in lines 2 to 3 are supplied from No. 1, lines 24, 26, 28, and 29, page 8 above, and from the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii., lines 1 to 3.

³ Probably *siddham* stood here.

⁴ Read *Samudraguptasya puttrasya*, the separate genitive *Samudraguptasya* being required in apposition with the genitives ending in *prapauttrasya*, *pauttrasya*, *puttrasya*, *dauhittrasya*, and *utpannasya*, in line 3 f.—Here, and in line 5, the drafter of the inscription seems to have been led into his mistake through following blindly the *Chandragupta-puttrasya*, which is quite correct, at the end of line 3.

⁵ Read *Chandraguptasya puttrasya*, the separate genitive *Chandraguptasya* being required in apposition with the genitives *utpannasya*, *apratirathasya*, and *paramabhāgavatasya* in this line.—See the preceding note.

⁶ Read *rājyē samvatsarē*, see page 38 above, note 5.

- 7 Asyân=divasa-pûrvvâyâm¹ bhagavatas=trailôkya-têjas-sambhâra-samtat-âdbhuta-
mûrttêr=Brahmanya-dêvasya
- 8 nivâsinaḥ Svâmi-Mahâsênasy=âyatanê=smin=Kârttayug-âchâra-
saddharmma-vartm-ânuyâyina .
- 9 . âta [pa]rshadâ mânitêna Dhruvaśarmmaṇa
karmma mahat=kṛit=êdam² I(II)
- 10 Kṛit[v]â³ [— — â]bhirâmâm muni-vasati[— —] svargga-sôpana-r[û]pâm I⁴
kaubêrachchhanda-bimbâm sphatika-maṇi-dal-âbhâsa-gaurâm⁵ pratôlim I
- 11 prâsâd-âgr-âbhirûpam guṇa-vara-bhavanam [dharmma-sa(?)]ttram yathâvat I
punyêshv=êv=âbhirâmam vrajati subha-matis=tâta-Śarmmâ dhruvô=stu I(II)
- 12 [—]â[—]i[—]sya³ [— —]subh-âmrita-vara-prakhyâta⁶labdhâ bhuvi I [—]ê[—]ê
bhaktir=ahina-sat[t*]va-samatâ kas=taṁ na sampûjayet I
- 13 yên=âpûrvva⁷-vibhûti-saṁchaya-chayaḥ [—]ai[—]i[— — — —]ḥ I tēn=âyam
Dhruvaśarmmaṇâ sthira-varas⁸=[st]ambh-ôch[chhr]ayah kâritaḥ I(II)

TRANSLATION.

(Line 6.)—In the ninety-sixth year, (and) in the augmenting victorious reign⁹ of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Kumâragupta**,—

(L. 5.)—Who is the son, begotten on the *Mahâdêvî Dhruvadêvî*, of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Chandragupta (II.)**, who was himself without an antagonist (of equal power); who was a most devout worshipper of the Divine One; (and)

(L. 4.)—Who¹⁰ was the son, begotten on the *Mahâdêvî Dattadêvî*, of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Samudragupta**,—

(L. 1.)—[Who¹¹ was the exterminator of all kings; who had no antagonist (of equal power) in the world]; whose fame was tasted by the waters [of the four oceans]; [who was equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka; who was the very axe of (the god) Kṛitânta]; who was the giver of [many] millions of [lawfully acquired cows and] gold; who was the restorer of the *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice, that had been long in abeyance; (and)

(L. 3.)—[Who¹² was the son of the son's son of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Gupta**;—the son's son of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Ghatôtkacha**];—(and) the son of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Chandragupta (I.)**, (and) the daughter's son of **Lichchhavi**, begotten on the *Manâdêvî Kumâradêvî*;—

(L. 7.)—On this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (&c.),¹³—at this temple of the divine (god) Svâmi-Mahâsêna, whose wondrous form is covered over with the accu-

¹ Supply *tithau*.

² Read *kṛitam=idam*.

³ Metre, Sragdharâ.

⁴ Here, and below, the marks of punctuation at the end of the first and third *pâdas* of each verse are unnecessary.

⁵ The reading is *gaurâm*, instead of the usual form *gaurīm*, also in the original duplicate of this inscription on the other column.

⁶ Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

⁷ These four *aksharas* are supplied from the ink-impression of the duplicate inscription, in which they are quite distinct.

⁸ We should expect *sthirataras*; but the duplicate inscription also reads *sthira-varas*.

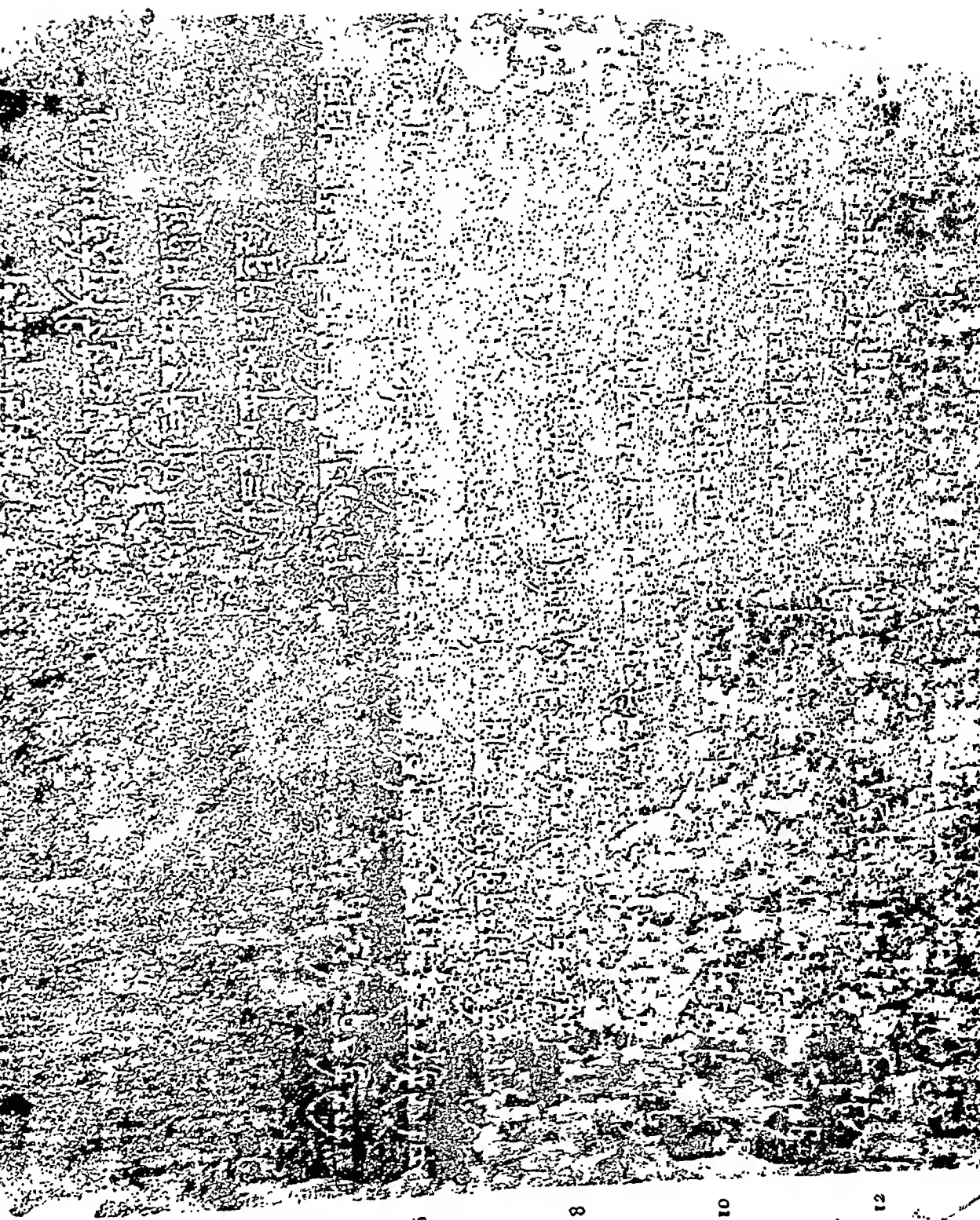
⁹ See page 38 above, note 5.

¹⁰ i.e. Chandragupta II.

¹¹ i.e. Samudragupta.

¹² i.e. Samudragupta.

¹³ The day and other details, however, are not specified.



mulation of the lustre of the three worlds; who is the god Brahmanya; (*and*) who resides at.....,—this great work has been accomplished by Dhruvaśarman, who follows the path of the customs of the Kṛita age, and of the true religion, (*and*) who is honoured by the assembly

(L. 10.)—Having made a gateway,¹ charming, (*and*) the abode of saints, (*and*) having the form of a staircase leading to heaven, (*and*) resembling a (*pearl*)-necklace of the kind called *kaubêrachchhanda*, (*and*) white with the radiance of pieces of crystalline gems;—(*and having made*), in a very proper manner, a [religious] almshouse(?), the abode of those who are eminent in respect of virtuous qualities; resembling in form the top part of a temple;—he, the virtuous-minded one, roams in a charming manner among the items of religious merit (*that he has thus accumulated*); may the venerable Śarman endure for a long time!²

(L. 12.)—This lofty pillar,³ firm and excellent, has been caused to be made by that same Dhruvaśarman, whose piety, having acquired the excellent reputation of nectar on the earth, is so highly esteemed by all perfect beings that there is no one who would fail to worship him; (*and*) by whom by means of the abundance of (*his*) unprecedented accumulation of superhuman power.

No. 11; PLATE VI A.

MANKUWAR STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA. THE YEAR 129.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1870 by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, and appears to have been first brought to notice by General Cunningham in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 7, where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate IV. No. 2.).—And, in 1885, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji published his own reading of the text, and a translation of it, in the *Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 354.

Mankuwâr⁴ is a small village near the right bank of the Jamnâ, about nine miles in a south-westerly direction from Arail or Arayal, the chief town of the Arail Parganâ in the Karchhanâ Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Allahâbâd District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on the front of the pedestal of a seated image of Buddha, which, when it came to the notice of General Cunningham, was in a garden at Mankuwâr, belonging to the Gôsâi of Dêôriyâ⁵ or Dêwariyâ; and it appears to be still there. But it was said to have been originally discovered in a brick mound between the five rocky hillocks called Pañch-Pahâd, a short distance to the north-east of Mankuwâr. The image represents Buddha, seated; wearing a plain cap, fitting close to the head, with

¹ *pratôlî*; see page 43 above, note 1.

² This is a play on the meaning of the first part of his name, *dhruva*, 'immovable, stable, enduring.'—For the use of the second part, to represent the whole name, see page 8 above, note 3.

³ *lit.* "this loftiness of a pillar."

⁴ The 'Mankûâr and Munhowar' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88 Lat. 25° 19' N.; Long. 81° 52' E

⁵ The 'Deoriya and Deorya' of maps, &c.; about a mile to the north-west of Mankuwâr.—Bhagwanlal Indraji writes the name 'Devalîâ.'

long lappets on each side; and naked to the waist, and clad below in a waist-cloth, reaching to the ankles. The first line of the inscription is at the top of the pedestal, immediately below the image. Then comes a compartment of sculptures, containing in the centre, a Buddhist wheel; on each side of the wheel, a man seated in meditation, and facing full-front; and, at each corner, a lion. Then follows the second line of the inscription, at the bottom of the pedestal.

The **writing**, each line of which covers a space of about 1' 7" broad, by $\frac{3}{4}$ " high in the first line, and 1" in the second, is in a state of excellent preservation.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{8}$ " to $\frac{7}{16}$ ". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and approximate very closely to those of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate 1. They include, in line 2, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 8, 9, 10, 20, and 100.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of the **Early Gupta** king **Kumâragupta**. For some reason or other, it gives him the subordinate feudatory title of *Mahârāja*, instead of the paramount title of *Mahârājādhirāja*. But we know of no feudatory chieftain of the name of Kumâragupta; and the date fits exactly into the period of **Kumâragupta**, of the **Early Gupta** dynasty; and there can be no doubt that he is the person referred to. The use of the subordinate title may perhaps be due to carelessness or ignorance on the part of the drafter of the inscription. Or possibly it may indicate an actual historical fact, the reduction of Kumâragupta, towards the end of his life, to feudal rank by the Pushyamitras and the Hūṇas, whose attacks on the Gupta power are so pointedly alluded to in the Bhitari inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below.¹ The date of the inscription, in numerical symbols, is the year one hundred and twenty-nine (A.D. 448-49), and the eighteenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Jyêsthâ (May-June). It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the installation of the image on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.²

1 Ōm³ Namô Budhâna⁴ [I*] Bhagavatô⁵ samyak-sambuddhasya sva-mat-
âviruddhasya iyaṁ pratimâ pratishtâpitâ bhikshu-Buddhamitrêṇa

¹ We may compare the rather doubtful legend on one of Skandagupta's coins,—*Mahârāja Kumâraputra-paramamâhāditya-mahârāja-Skanda*; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 67.

² From the ink-impression.

³ As was usual throughout the whole of the period covered by this volume, this word is represented by a symbol, not by actual letters.—*Ōm* is not of very frequent occurrence at the commencement of Buddhist inscriptions. But another instance is afforded by line 1 of the Shêrgadh (Kôṭā) inscription of the *Sāmanta Dêvadatta* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 45.)

⁴ Read *buddhânām*; unless *budhâna*, as also the following *bhagavatô*, is to be regarded as a Prâkrit form, used through carelessness.—This use of the genitive after *namaḥ* is not usual. But we have other instances; e.g. in the Khandagiri rock inscription, which commences *Namô arahantānam namô sava-siddhānam* (*Corp. Inscr. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 98, and Pl. xvii.);—in the two early inscriptions quoted by Bühler in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 273, the first of which, from Amarāvati (Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Pl. xciv. No. 3), commences *Siddham Namô bhagavatô*; and the second, from Mathurâ (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 35, and Pl. xv. No. 20) *Siddham Namô arahatô Mahāvīrasya*;—and in the Amarāvati *Stûpa* inscription, which commences *Siddham Namô bhagavatô savasatutamasa Budhasa* (*Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. 3, p. 12, No. 12B., and Plate iii.; see also other instances on pp. 8, 18, 45, 47, 52, 53, 54, of the same volume).

⁵ Read *bhagavataḥ*.

B—Bihar Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta

A.—Mankuwar Image Inscription of Kumaragupta.—The Year 129.



SCALE .50

2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20
22



SCALE .25

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

2 Samvat¹ 100 20 9 mahārāja-śrī-Kumāraguptasya rājyê Jyêshtha-māsa
di 10 8 sarvva-duḥkha²-prahān(ṇ)-ārttham [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Ôm³ Reverence to the Buddhas!⁴ This image of the Divine One, who thoroughly attained perfect knowledge, (and) who was never refuted in respect of his tenets, has been installed by the *Bhikshu* Buddhāmitra,—(in) the year 100 (and) 20 (and) 9; in the reign of the *Mahārāja*,⁵ the glorious Kumāragupta; (in) the month Jyêshtha; (on) the day 10 (and) 8,—with the object of averting all unhappiness.

No. 12; PLATE VIB.

BIHAR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered by Mr. Ravenshaw, and to have been first brought to notice by him in 1839, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. p. 347 ff.; from his remarks it appears that the column was originally found in front of the northern gate of the old fort of Bihâr, but had been subsequently removed and set up "in a reversed position, with its base in the air, and its summit in the ground," a little to the west of the same gate, where it was afterwards found, fallen, by General Cunningham.—In 1866, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXV. pp. 269 ff. and 277 f., Dr. Rajendralala Mitra published his reading of the text, with a lithograph, from a baked clay impression made by Major C. Hollings, and sent to the Society in 1861.—And in 1871, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 37 f. and Plate xvii., General Cunningham published his own lithograph of the inscription.

Bihâr⁶ is the chief town of the Bihâr Sub-Division of the Patna District in the Bengal Presidency. The broken red-sandstone column on which the inscription is, was eventually removed by Mr. A. M. Broadley, Magistrate of Bihâr, and was set up on a brick pedestal opposite the Bihâr Court-House,⁷ where it still stands. Mr. Broadley perpetuated

¹ See page 30 above, note 3.

² Read *duḥkha*.

³ Ôm is an auspicious exclamation, used at the beginning of books, &c. It is made up of the three letters *a*, *u*, and *m*; and in later times it was looked upon as a mystic name for the Hindu triad, and as representing the union of the three gods, Vishṇu (*a*), Śiva (*u*), and Brahman (*m*).—The efficacy of the exclamation is detailed in the *Mānavadharmasāstra*, ii. 74-85 (Burnell's Translation, p. 25 ff.)

⁴ With this plural, compare the mention of four Buddhas in the Sāñchi inscription of the year 131, No. 62 below, Plate xxxviii.B.; and also *Bhagavatām saṃyaksambuddhānām Buddhānām*, "of the divine Buddhas, who thoroughly attained perfect knowledge," in line 22 of the Walā grant of Dhruvasēna I. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 105).

⁵ See page 46 above, para. 4.

⁶ The 'Behar and Bihar' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 11' N.; Long 85° 33' E.—The proper form of the name, which is by no means an uncommon one for villages in Northern and Central India, is of course Bihâr, with the vowel *i* in the first syllable, from the Sanskrit *vihāra*, 'a Buddhist (and Jain) temple or convent;' and this is the form that is used by the people of the Patna District.—The Sanskrit name, *Vihāra*, occurs in line 9-10 of the 'Pessera' inscription, now stored in the collection at Bihâr, where the place is called "Vihāra, the city of the glorious Yaśovarman" (*Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XVII. p. 492 ff.)

⁷ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XI. p. 192 f.

the inverted position of the column, upside down; and also disfigured it with an English inscription, printed in full by General Cunningham, a few letters of which appear in the lithograph now published. Also, the column, as placed by Mr. Broadley, stands now in the middle of a house, the roof of which is supported by it; and the last eight lines of the inscription, shewn in Dr. Rajendralala Mitra and General Cunningham's lithographs, are now completely hidden, and rendered quite inaccessible, by a wooden structure placed on the top, *i.e.* the proper bottom, of the pillar, in order to connect it with the roof.

The **writing** originally extended, in the First Part, lines 1 to 13, over four of the faces of the column, as is shewn by the metres of the extant portion; and in the Second Part, line 14 ff., over three faces, as is shewn by the number of letters lost in each line. The extant portion, now lithographed, covers a space of about 1' 4" broad by 3' 5" high, and is in a state of fairly good preservation.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{3}{8}$ " to $\frac{5}{8}$ ". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and approximate closely to those of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate i. They include, in lines 3 and 11, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 3, 5, and 30.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse as far as line 10, and the rest in prose.—In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *s*, in *ansa*, lines 11 and 13; (2) the doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *chakkrê*, line 10 (but not in *vikramêṇa*, line 3), and *pauttrasya*, line 17; and (3) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyâta*, line 22.

The first part of the inscription, which is not dated, mentions the **Early Gupta** king **Kumâragupta**, and seems to have recorded the name of his wife, which is not given in any of the other inscriptions; her name, however, is lost in the part that has peeled off. But this part of the inscription seems to belong, like the second, to the time of his son and successor **Skandagupta**, from the mention of apparently a village named **Skandaguptabâṭa**, in line 11. This part of the inscription records the erection of the column, which in line 10 is called a *yûpa* or 'sacrificial post,' apparently by some minister whose sister had become Kumâragupta's wife. And the inscription further recorded certain shares in the village of **Skandaguptabâṭa** (?), and in another *agrahâra*, the name of which is lost. From the mention of Skanda, or Kârttikêya, and the divine Mothers, in line 9, this part of the inscription seems to have belonged to the Śaiva form of worship, in its Śākta or Tāntrika development.¹

The second part, which also contains no date, is a record of **Skandagupta**. Not enough of it remains to shew the form of religion to which it belonged, or to indicate clearly its purport.

¹ Compare the undoubted instance of this, in the same period, in the Gaṅgdhâr inscription of Visvavarman, No. 17 below.—The *mâtaraḥ* or *mâtrigau*, 'the divine Mothers,' are 'the personified energies (*śakti*) of the principal deities.' They are closely connected with the worship of the god Śiva. Originally they were seven in number,—Brâhmî or Brahmanî, Vaisṇavî, Mâhêśvarî, Kaumârî Vârâhî, Aindrî or Indrânî or Mahêndrî, and Châmuṇḍâ,—as representing the Pleiades, the seven mothers or nurses of Kârttikêya, the son of Śiva. Afterwards the number was increased to eight, nine, sixteen, and various other figures. The chief object of the Śākta or Tāntrika worship now is Pârvatî, Durgâ, or Mâhêśvarî, the wife and female energy of Śiva; especially under the name of Jagadambâ, 'the mother of the universe.'—Not long after this period, Svâmi-Mahâsêna, or Kârttikêya, and the divine Mothers, "the seven mothers of mankind," appear as special objects of worship, and tutelary deities, of the Early Kadambas (*e.g.* *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 27), and of the Early Chalukyas (*e.g.* *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 162; Vol. VI. p. 74; and Vol. XIII. p. 137 f.)

TEXT.¹

First Part.

- 1 [— —]h² nri³-chandra Indrānuja-tulya-viryyô guṇair=a-tulyaḥ
[— — — — —] [11]
- 2 [— —] [ta]sy⁴=âpi sūnur=bhuvī⁵ svāmi-nēyaḥ khyātaḥ sva-
kirttyā [— — — — —] [11]
- 3 [— —] [sva]s⁶=aiva yasy=âtula-vikramēṇa Kumâragup[t]ê[na]
[— — — — —] [11]
- 4 [— —] p[ri]tri(tri)mś=cha Jêvāmś=cha hi havya-kavyaiḥ sadā
nriśamsy-âdi[— — — — —] [11]
- 5 [— — — — —] [a]chikarad⁷=dêvanikêta-maṇḍalaṁ kshitāv=an-aupamya-
[— — — — —]
- 6 ba(?)tê(?)⁸ kila stambha-var-ôchchhri(chchhra)ya-prabhâsê
tu maṇḍa [11]
- 7 bhir=vrikshânām kusuma-bhar-ânat-âgra-śum(?)ga(?)-vyâlamba-
stavak
- 8 [— —] Bhadrāryyayâ⁹ bhāti grihaṁ navābhra-nirmmōka-
nirmu[kta — — — — —] [11]
- 9 [— —] Skanda-pradhānair=bhuvī mātṛibhiś=cha lōkân=sa
su(?)shya(?)[— — — — —] [11]
- 10 [— — — — —] yûp-ôchchhrayam=êva chakkrê [11*] Bhadrāryy-âdi-
.....
- 11 [Ska(?)Indaguptaba]tê anśāni 30 5 tā(?)mrakaṭāku(?)ḥ
kala
- 12 pituḥ sva-mâtur=yyady=astu hi dushkrītaṁ bhajatu
tanê
- 13 k-âgrahārê anśāni 3 Anantasēnēn=ôpa

Second Part.

- 14 [Sarvva-rāj-ôchchhê]ttuḥ¹⁰ pri(pri)thivyām=a-pratirathasy²
15 [chatur-udadhi-salil-âsvâdita-yaśasô Dhanada-Varuṇ-Ê]ndr-Antaka-
samasy² Kṛitānta-

¹ As far as line 25, from the ink-impression; the rest, partly from Gen. Cunningham's lithograph, and partly from the lithograph published with Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's reading.

² The first two entire *pādas*, and parts of the third *pādas* of most of the verses, have peeled off and are lost all the way down.

³ Metre, Upēndravajrā.

⁴ Metre, Indravajrā.

⁵ The metre is faulty here: since the *vi* of *bhuvī*, which should remain short, is lengthened by the following *sv*.

⁶ Metre, Upēndravajrā; and in the next verse.

⁷ Metre, Vamśastha.

⁸ Metre, apparently Giti; and in the next verse.

⁹ Metre, Indravajrā; and in the following two verses.

¹⁰ The passages that are lost in lines 14 to 22, are supplied from No. 1, lines 24, 26, 28, and 29, page 8 above, and from the Bhitārī pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 below, Plate vii., lines 1 to 6. The sectarian epithet of Skandagupta, in line 23, is supplied from line 24, and from his silver coins (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 66 f.)

- 16 [paraśôh nyây-âgat-ânêka-gô-hiranya-kôti-pradasya chir-ô]tsann-
âśvamêdh-âharttuh
- 17 [mahârāja-śrī-Gupta-prapauttrasya mahârāja-śrī-Ghaṭô]tkacha-
pauttrasya mahârāja-
- 18 [dhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-puttrasya Lichchhavi-dauhittrasya
ma]hâ-dēvyām Kumâradēvyām=utpannasya
- 19 [mahârājādhirāja-śrī-Samudraguptasya puttra]s=tat-parigrihitô
mahâdēvyām
- 20 [Dattadēvyām=utpannah svayam=a-pratirathah para]mabhāgavatô
mahârāja-
- 21 [dhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ânuddhyā]tô
mahâdēvyām Dhruvadēvyām=
- 22 [utpannah paramabhāgavatô mahârājādhirāja-śrī-Kumâraguptas=
tasya] puttras=tat-pād-ânuddhyātah
- 23 [paramabhāgavatô mahârājādhirāja-śrī-Ska]ndaguptah [11*]
- 24
parama-bhāgavatô
- 25 [mahârājādhirāja-śrī-Skandaguptah]
[vai]shayik-Ājapuraka-sā(i)mai(?) -
- 26 grā ka ..
[ak]shaya-nivī grāma-kshêtram
- 27 kṛi
uparika-kumārāmātya-
- 28 ngikula(?)h(?)
vanij[ā*]ka-pādīt-ārika-
- 29 [ā]grahārika-
śaulkika-gaulmik-āsanyām śra(?) -
- 30 vās[i]k-ādin=asmat-prāsād-
ōpajivinah
- 31 [samājñāpayāmi] varmmanā vijñāpitô-smi mama
pitāmahēna
- 32 namê bhāṭṭa-Guhilasvāmīnā
Bhadra[r]jyākā
- 33 m. g. p[r]ati ā . āgrōkaya
nākaya-

*(The rest of the inscription had been broken away and lost,
before the time when it was discovered.)*

TRANSLATION.

First Part.

..... a very moon of a man; equal in prowess to (the god Vishnu) the younger brother of Indra; unequalled in respect of virtuous qualities:

(Line 2.)—..... moreover, his son, docile towards (his) master on the earth; renowned; by his own fame.

(Line 3.)—..... whose sister, indeed, [was espoused] by Kumâragupta, of unequalled prowess.

(L. 4.)—..... both the deceased ancestors and the gods, with the oblations proper for each of them;¹..... always things that are injurious to man, &c.

(L. 5.)—..... caused to be made a group of temples, not [rivalled by] anything else that could be compared with it in the world.

(L. 6.)—..... assuredly in which is beautiful with the erection of (*this*) best of columns.

(L. 7.)—..... of the trees the groups of fig-trees and castor-oil plants, the tops of which are bent down by the weight of (*their*) flowers.

(L. 8.)—..... by (*the presence of*) Bhadrāryā, the house shines the sky laden with fresh clouds.

(L. 9.)—..... headed by (the god) Skanda, and by the divine Mothers, on the earth, mankind

(L. 10.)—..... [he] made, indeed, the erection of (*this*) sacrificial post Bhadrāryā and others in (the village (?) called) Skandaguptabaṭa (?), 30 (*and*) 5 shares

(L. 12.)—..... if there be any misdeed on the part of (*his*) father (*or*) his mother, let him share

(L. 13.)—..... in the *agrahāra* of 3 shares by Anantasēna

Second Part.

(L. 14.)—..... The son of the *Mahārājāddhirāja*, the glorious Samudragupta,—who was the exterminator [of all kings]; who had no antagonist (*of equal power*) in the world; [whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans]; who was equal to (the gods) [Dhanada and Varuṇa] and Indra and Antaka; [who was the very axe] of (the god) Kṛitānta; [who was the giver of many millions of lawfully acquired cows and gold]; who was the restorer of the *aśvamēdha*-sacrifice, that had been [long] in abeyance; [who was the son of the son's son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Gupta]; who was the son's son of [the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious] Ghaṭōtkacha; (*and*) who was [the son] of the *Mahārājāddhirāja*, [the glorious Chandragupta (I.), (*and*) the daughter's son of Lichchhavi], begotten on the *Mahādēvī* Kumâradēvī,—

(L. 19.)—(*was*) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahārājāddhirāja*, [the glorious Chandragupta (II.)],—who was accepted by him;² [who was begotten on] the *Mahādēvī* [Dattadēvī]; (*and*) [who was himself without an antagonist (*of equal power*.)]

(L. 21.)—[His son], who meditated on [his feet], (*and*) [who was begotten] on the *Mahādēvī* Dhruvadēvī, (*was*) [the most devout worshipper of the Divine One], [the *Mahārājāddhirāja*, the glorious Kumâragupta].

(L. 22.)—[His] son, who meditated on his feet, (*is*) [the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahārājāddhirāja*, the glorious] Skandagupta.

¹ *lit.* "with the *havya* (the oblation to the gods) and the *havya* (the oblation to deceased ancestors)."

² *i.e.* by Samudragupta; see page 12 above, note 1.

(L. 24.)—[I], the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, [the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious **Skandagupta**, issue a command] of the town of **Ajapura** in the *vishaya* a perpetual endowment a village-field the *Uparika*,¹ the *Kumārāmātya* acquired by the merchant in the seat (of office) (?) of the *Āgrahārika*,² the *Śaulkika*,³ and the *Gaulmika*⁴ and others who subsist on Our favour;—

(L. 31.)—"I have been requested by **varman**,—' By my father's father, by the *Bhaṭṭa* Guhīlavāmin. belonging to Bhadrāryā"

NO. 13; PLATE VII.

BHITARI STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

THE column containing this inscription appears to have been discovered in 1834 by Mr. Tregear; but the inscription itself was not observed till a short time afterwards, when General Cunningham found it, on clearing away the earth from the lower part of the shaft. The discovery was announced in 1836, by Mr. James Prinsep, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. V. p. 661. And the inscription was first brought to notice in 1837, in the same Journal, Vol. VI. p. 1 ff., where the Rev. W. H. Mill published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (marked *id.* Vol. V. Plate xxxii.), reduced by Mr. Prinsep from a copy made by General Cunningham.⁵—In 1871, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 98 and Plate xxx., General Cunningham published another lithograph of the inscription.—In 1875, in the *Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 59 ff., Dr. Bhau Daji published a revised reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph, from a hand-copy made by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī.⁶—And finally, in 1885, in the *Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 349 ff., Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī has given his own reading of the text, and a translation of it, with another lithograph reduced from his hand-copy.

Bhitari⁷ is a village about five miles to the north-east of Sayyidpur,⁸ the chief town of the Sayyidpur Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Ghāzipur⁹ District in the North-West Provinces. The red-sandstone column on which the inscription is, stands just outside the

¹ *Uparika* is a technical official title, the exact purport of which is not known, and a suitable rendering of which cannot be offered at present.

² *Āgrahārika* is a technical official title, denoting probably 'an officer in special charge of an *agrahāra*.'

³ *Śaulkika* is a technical official title, which might be rendered by some such term as 'superintendent of tolls or customs (*śulka*).'

⁴ *Gaulmika* is a technical official title, which might be rendered by 'superintendent of woods and forests (*gulma*).'

⁵ The translation is reprinted in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. 1. p. 242 f.

⁶ This paper was not published till 1875; but it was read before the Society four years earlier, on the 13th April 1871.

⁷ The 'Bhitari, Bhitree, Bhitri, and Bihtari,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 35' N.; Long. 83° 17' E.

⁸ The 'Saidpur and Sydpoor' of maps, &c.

⁹ The 'Ghazeepoor' of maps.

village, on the south side. The inscription is on the eastern face of the square base of the column; and the bottom line is only a few inches above the level of the ground.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 2' 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ " high by 2' 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " broad, has suffered very much from the effects of the weather; also the stone has peeled off in a few places; and there is a crack running vertically down the inscription, near the left side. With care, however, nearly the whole of the inscription is legible, on the original stone, with certainty; and nothing of a historical nature seems to be lost.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{7}{8}$ ". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and, though more squarely cut, are of the same type with those of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4, p. 25 ff. above, Plate iiiA.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose as far as the middle of line 6, and the rest in verse.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *vaṇśa*, lines 7, 13, and 14; (2) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *vikkrāmēna* and *kkramēna*, line 9; (3) the doubling of *t*, under the same circumstances, in *pauttrasya*, line 3 (but not in *prapautrasya*, line 2; *putras*, line 4; and other places); and (4) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyāta*, line 5

The **inscription** is one of the **Early Gupta** king **Skandagupta**. It is not dated. It belongs to the Vaishṇava form of religion; and the object of it is to record the installation of an image of the god Viṣṇu, under the name of Śārṅgin or "the wielder of the bow of horn named Śārṅga," and the allotment, to the idol, of the village, not mentioned by name, in which the column stands.

TEXT.¹

- 1 [Siddham²] [I³] [Sar]vva-rā[ḥ]chchh[ḥ]ttuḥ prithivyām=a-pratirathasya chatur-
udadhi-salil-ā[ḥ]svādita-yaśasō Dhanada-Varuṇ-Endr-Ā[ḥ]ntaka-sa[masya]
- 2 Kṛitānta-paraśōḥ nyāy-āgat-ā[nēka-gō-hiraṇya-k[ḥ]ti-pradasya chir-ō[t]sann-
āśvamēdh-āharttur=mahārāja-śrī-Gupta-prapautra[sya]
- 3 mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭōtkacha-pauttrasya mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-
putrasya Lichchhivi-aauhitrasya mahādēvyām Kum[ā]rad[ḥ]vyā-
- 4 m=utpannasya mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Samudraguptasya putras=tat-parigrihitō
mahādēvyām=Dattadēvyām=utpannaḥ svayam=a-pratirathaḥ
- 5 paramabhāgavato mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptas=tasya putras=tat-pād-
ānuddhyātō mahādēvyām Dhruvadēvyām=utpannaḥ parama-
- 6 bhāgavatō mahārājādhir[ā]ja-śrī-Kumārāguptas=Tasya [I³] Prathita³-prithu-
mati-svabhāva-śaktēḥ prithu-yaśasaḥ prithivīpatēḥ prithu-śrīḥ
- 7 pi[tri]-pa[r]igata-pādapadma-vartti prathita-yaśaḥ prithivīpatiḥ sūtō=yam [I³]
Jagati⁴ bhu[ja]-bal-ādyō(dhyō) Gupta-vaṇś-aika-vīraḥ prathita-vipula-
- 8 dhāmā nāmataḥ Skandaguptaḥ suchariṭa-charitānām yēna vṛittēna vṛittam
na vihatam=amal-ātmā tāna-dhīdā(?)-vinītaḥ [I³] Vinaya-
- 9 bala-sunītair=vvikkramēna kkramēna pratidinam=abhiyōgād=īpsitam yēna
la[b]dhvā svabhimata-vijigīṣhā-prōdyatānām parēṣhām praṇi-
- 10 hita iva lē[bhē sa]mvidhān-ōpadēśaḥ [I³] Vichalita-kula-lakṣmī-stambhanāy=
ōdyatēna kṣhititala-śayaniyē yēna nītā triyāmā samu-

¹ From the original column.

² There are some faint marks above the *arvva*, which seem to be remnants of this word; but it is not quite certain.

³ Metre, Pushpitāgrā.

⁴ Metre, Mālinī; and in the next four verses.

- 11 dita-ba[la]-kôshân=**Pushyamitrâms**=cha [j]itvâ kshitipa-charaṇa-piṭhê sthâpitô
vâma-pâdaḥ [II*] Prasabham-anupam[ai]r=vvidhvasta-śastra-pratâpai[r]=
vina[]mu-
- 12 [] — —]kshânti-śaury[ai]r=nnirûdham charitam=amala-kîrttêr=ggîyatê yasya
śubhram diśi-diśi paritushṭair=â-kumâram manushyaiḥ [II*] Pitari
divam=upê[tê]
- 13 viplutâm vaṇṣa-lakshmîm bhuja-bala-vijit-ârîr=yyaḥ pratishṭhâpya bhûyaḥ
jitam=iti paritôshân=mâtaram sâsra-nêttrâm hata-ripur=iva Kṛishṇô
Dêvakîm=abhyupê-
- 14 [ta]ḥ [II*] Sv[ai]r¹=ddand[aiḥ] [] ra(?)tyu[]t-prachalitam vaṇṣam prati-
shṭhâpya yô bâhubhyâm=avanîm vijitya hi jîtêshv=ârttêshu kṛitvâ dayâm
n=ôtsiktô [na] cha vismitaḥ pratidinam
- 15 samvarddhamâna-dyutiḥ gîtaiś=cha stutibhiś=cha vandaka-ja(?)nô(?) yaṁ
prâ(?)payaty=âryyatâm [II*] Hûṇair=yyasya samâgatasya samarê
dôrbhyâm dharâ kâmpitâ bhîm-âvartta-karasya
- 16 śatrushu śarâ[— — — — — — — — — —] vira(?)chi(?)tam
prakhyâpitô [—]i[]i[—] na dyô(?)ti[]nabhi(?)shu lakshyata iva
śrôtrêshu Gâṅga-dhvaniḥ [II*]
- 17 S[v]a²-pituḥ kirtti[— — — — — — — — — —]
[— — — — — — — — — —] [II*] [Karttavyâ] pratimâ kâchit=pratimâm
tasya Śârṅgiṇaḥ
- 18 s[u]-pratitâś=chakâr=êṁmâm y[âvad=â-chandra-tâarakam] [II*] Iha ch=ainam
pratishṭhâpya su-pratishṭhita-śâsanaḥ grâmam=ênam sa vidadh[ê] pituḥ
pu[n]y-âbhivṛiddhayê [II*]
- 19 Atô bhagavatô mûrttir=iyam yaś=ch=âtra samsthi(?)ta(?)ḥ ubhayam
nirddidêś=âsau pituḥ puṇyâya puṇya-dhîr=it. [II*]

TRANSLATION.

[Perfection has been attained]! The son of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Samudragupta**,—who was the exterminator of all kings; who had no antagonist (*of equal power*) in the world; whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans; who was equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka: who was the very axe of (the god) Kṛitânta; who was the giver of many millions of lawfully acquired cows and gold; who was the restorer of the *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice, that had been long in abeyance; who was the son of the son's son of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Gupta**; who was the son's son of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious **Ghaṭôtakacha**; (*and*) who was the son of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Chandragupta (I.)**, (*and*) the daughter's son of **Lichchhivi**,³ begotten on the *Mahâdêvî Kumâradêvî*,—

(Line 4.)—(*was*) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Chandragupta (II.)**, who was accepted by him;⁴ who was begotten on the *Mahâdêvî Dattadêvî*; (*and*) who was himself without an antagonist (*of equal power*).

¹ Metre, Śârdûlavikṛdita; and in the next verse.

² Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following three verses.

³ The usual form of this name is Lichchhavi, with the vowel *a* in the second syllable. As regards the present variant, see page 16 above, note 1.

⁴ i.e. by Samudragupta; see page 12 above, note 1.

Watai Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta.



(L. 5.)—His son (*was*) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahā-rājādhirāja*, the glorious **Kumāragupta**, who meditated on his feet, (*and*) who was begotten on the *Mahādēvi Dhruvadēvi*.

(L. 6.)—The son of him, the king, who was renowned for the innate power of (*his*) mighty intellect (*and*) whose fame was great, (*is*) this (*present*) king, by name **Skandagupta**, who possesses great glory; who subsisted (*like a bee*) on the wide-spreading waterlilies which were the feet of (*his*) father;¹ whose fame is spread far and wide;—who is amply endowed with strength of arm in the world; who is the most eminent hero in the lineage of the **Guptas**; whose great splendour is spread far and wide; by whom, practising (*good*) behaviour, the conduct of those who perform good actions is not obstructed; who is of spotless soul; (*and*) who is well disciplined in the understanding of musical keys(?) :—

(L. 8.)—By whom,—having, with daily intense application, step by step attained his object by means of good behaviour and strength and politic conduct,—instruction in the art of disposition (*of resources*) was acquired, (*and*) was employed as the means of (*subduing his*) enemies who had put themselves forward in the desire for conquest that was so highly welcome (*to them*) :—

(L. 10.)—By whom, when he prepared himself to restore the fallen fortunes of (*his*) family, a (*whole*) night was spent on a couch that was the bare earth; and then, having conquered the **Pushyamitras**,² who had developed great power and wealth, he placed (*his*) left foot on a foot-stool which was the king (*of that tribe himself*) :—

(L. 11.)—The resplendent behaviour of whom, possessed of spotless fame,—inherent, [*but increased*] by and patience and heroism which are emphatically unequalled, (*and*) which destroy the efficacy of the weapons (*of his enemies*),—is sung in every region by happy men, even down to the children :—

(L. 12.)—Who, when (*his*) father had attained the skies, conquered (*his*) enemies by the strength of (*his*) arm, and established again the ruined fortunes of (*his*) lineage; and then, crying “the victory has been achieved,” betook himself to (*his*) mother, whose eyes were full of tears from joy, just as Kṛishṇa, when he had slain (*his*) enemies, betook himself to (*his mother*) Dēvaki;—

(L. 14.)—Who, with his own armies, established (*agam*) (*his*) lineage that had been made to totter, (*and*) with his two arms subjugated the earth, (*and*) shewed mercy to the conquered peoples in distress, (*but*) has become neither proud nor arrogant,

¹ This expression is very analogous in its purport to the *tat-pād-ānudhyāta* of line 5 above. Compare *Amōghavarshadēva-pādapaṅkaja-bhramara*, “a bee at the waterlilies which are the feet of Amōghavarshadēva,” in line 17 f. of the Śīrūr inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 788 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 219.)

² The second syllable of this name, like the rest of the inscription, is damaged. But, as regards the lower component,—comparing it with the subscript *y* of this inscription, e.g. in *pradasya*, line 2, and *dauhitrasya*, line 3; and contrasting it with the subscript *p*, e.g. in *tat-parigrīhitō*, line 4, and *tat-pādā*, line 5,—it is plainly *y*. This passage, therefore, shews that the correct form of the first part of this name is *pushya*, not *pushpa*; a point which Dēvanāgarī manuscripts have not sufficed, and cannot suffice, to settle. And it bears out the Prākṛit form, *Pāsamitta*, of the name of the early king Pushyamitra, the contemporary of Patañjali, in the passages given by Dr. Bühler from the Prākṛit *Gāthās* according to Mērutuṅga, Dharmasāgara, and Jayavijayagaṇi (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 362 f.)—Pushyamitra is the correct form according to Prof. Weber also (*Sanskrit Literature*, p. 223, note 237).

sula in the Bombay Presidency. The city itself, or its ancient representative, is spoken of in this inscription; but its ancient name is not given. The name occurs, however, in line 1 of Rudradâman's inscription,¹ as **Girinagara**, or 'the city of, or on, the hill.' This name subsequently passed over to the mountain itself, **Girnâr**, which in the inscriptions is called **Ûrjayat**; and this fact rather tends to indicate that the ancient city stood, not where the modern town stands, but closer up to the mountain, and perhaps on the rising ground at the foot of it. The inscription is on the north-west face of a large granite boulder, containing also fourteen Aśoka edicts and a long inscription of the *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradâman, now under a shed specially built to protect it, about a mile to the east of the town, and at the commencement of the gorge that leads to the valley which lies round the mountain Girnâr.

The writing, which covers a space of about 10' 0" broad by 7' 3" high is in a state of fairly good preservation; and it is only in line 22 ff., where the rock has actually peeled off, that there are any extensive lacunæ in the inscription. It is, however, not very easy to read; owing partly to the irregular, and occasionally rather shallow, nature of the engraving; partly to the roughness of the rock, and the way in which the natural marks of it mix themselves up a good deal with the letters; and partly to the fact that at several places the engraver, in consequence of unusual irregularities of the surface, passed over considerable portions of the rock and left them blank.²—The size of the letters varies from about $\frac{3}{16}$ " to $1\frac{1}{8}$ ". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; but the type is a later development of that which was used in the inscription of the *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradâman on the same rock;³ it may be called the Saurâshṭra or Kâthiâwâḍ alphabet of the fifth century A.D. One of its most marked characteristics is the way in which the subscript *y* is represented by the full form of the letter, not, as in other alphabets, by a curtailment of it; e.g. in *buddhyâ*, line 5; *vyasanî*, line 6; and *nyâdyâ*, line 8.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word *siddham*, and a few words in line 23, the entire inscription is in verse.—In respect of orthography we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *vaṇṣa*, line 24; (2) the doubling of *dh* in conjunction with a following *y*, in *buddhyâ*, line 5; and (3) the indifference about the doubling of consonants in conjunction with a preceding *r*; e.g. the consonant is doubled in *ârtham*, line 1, *ârttir*, line 2, and *darppô*, line 3; but not in *vîryô*, line 2, *paryanta*, line 3, *sarvân*, line 5, *ârjavau*, line 7, and *ârjanê=rthasya*, line 8.

The first part of the inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king **Skandagupta**; and, after an invocation of the god Vishṇu and five verses in praise of the reigning king, it narrates how he appointed a certain **Paṇḍadatta** to govern his territories in the Saurâshṭras or the Kâthiâwâḍ country. In his turn, Paṇḍadatta appointed his son, **Çiṃpâlita**, to govern the city at which the inscription is. The inscription then proceeds to its real object; viz. to record that, "making the calculation in the reckoning of the **Guptas**," in the year one hundred and thirty-six (A.D. 455-56),

¹ *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 128.

² These blank spaces lie especially on each side of the large natural fissure running almost down the centre of the inscription.

³ *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 128, Pl. xiv.

⁴ As is quite clear even in the lithograph with which Bhau Daji worked, the correct reading here (line 15) is *Gupta-prakâlê gaṇanâm vidhâya*; not *Guptasya kâlâ[d]=gaṇanâm vidhâya*, "counting from the era of Gupta," as it was taken to be by Bhau Daji and was afterwards specifically confirmed

- 2 sa jayati vijit-ārttir=Vvishṇur=atyanta-jishṇuḥ || Tad=anu jayati śaśvat śrī-
parikshipta-vakṣāḥ sva-bhujā-janita-vīryō rājarājādhirājah | nārapati-
3 bhujagānām māna-darpp-ōtphayānām pratikṛiti-Garud-ājñā[m] nirvvishī[m]
ch=āvakarttā || Nripati-guṇa-nikētaḥ Skandaguptaḥ prithu-śrīḥ chatur-
udadhi-ja(?)l(?)-antām sphīta-paryanta-dēśām |
4 avanim=avanat-ārir=yah chakār-ātma-samsthān. pitari sura-sakhitvaṁ
prāptavaty=ātma-śaktyā || Āpi¹ cha jitam=[ē]va tēna prathayānti
yaśāmsi yasya ripavō=pi āmūla-bhagna-darṣā niva²
Mlēcchīchha-dēśēshu ||
5 Kramēṇa³ buddhyā nipuṇām pradhārya dhyātvā cha kṛitsnān=guṇa-dōsha-
hētūn | vyapētya sarvān=manujēndra-putrān-llakṣmīḥ svayam yam
varayāni-chakāra || Tasmin⁴-nripē śāsati n-aiva kaśchid=dharmmad=
apētō manujah prajāsu |
6 ārttō daridrō vyasani kadaryō daṇḍ[yō*] na vā yō bhṛīṣa-pīḍitaḥ syāt ||
Ēvaṁ sa jītvā prithivīm samagrām bhagn-āgra-darṣā[n] dvishataś=cha
kṛitvā | sarvvēshu dēśēshu vidhāya gōptri(ptri)n samchintayā[m-ā]sa
bahu-prakāram || Syāt-kō-nurūpō
7 matimān=vini(ni)tō mēdhā-smṛitibhyām-anapēta-bhāvaḥ | saty-ārjav-audārya-
nay-ōpapannō mādḥurya-dākshīnya-yaśō-nvitaś=cha || Bhaktō=nurakto⁵ nri-
v[i]ś[ē]sha-yuktaḥ sarvv-ōpadhābhiś=cha viśuddha-buddhiḥ | ānṛṇya-
bhāv-ōpagat-āntarātmā⁶ sarvvasya lōkasya hitē pravṛittaḥ ||
8 Nyāy-ārjanē=rthasya cha kaḥ samarthaḥ syād-arjitasy=āpy=atha rakṣaṇē
cha | gōpāyitasy=āpi [cha] vṛiddhi-hētan vṛiddhasya pātra-pratipādanāya ||
Sarvvēshu bhṛityēshv=api samhatēshu yō mē praśishyān=nikhilān=
Surāshṭrān | āni jñātam=ēkaḥ khalu Parnadattō bhārasya tasy=
ōdvahanē samarthaḥ ||
9 Ēvaṁ vinīśchitya nrip-ādhipēna naikān-ahō-rātra-gaṇān=sva-matyā | yah
samniyuktō=rthanayā kathamchit samyak-Surāshṭr-āvani-pālanāya ||
Niyujya⁷ dēvā Varuṇam pratichyām svasthā yathā n=ōnmanasō
babhūvu[h] [i] pūrvvētarasyām diśi Parnadattam niyujya rājā
dhṛitūmāns=tath=ābhūt | (II)
10 Tasy=ātmajō hy=ātmaja-bhāva-yuktō dvidh=ēva ch=ātm=ātma-vaśēna nitaḥ |
sarvvātman=ātm=ēva cha rakṣaṇīyō nity-ātmavān=ātmaja-kānta-
rūpaḥ | (II) Rūp-ānurūpair=lalitair=vichitraiḥ nitya-pramōd-ānvita-sarva-
bhāvaḥ | prabuddha-padmākara-padmavaktrō nripām śaraṇyah śaraṇ-
āgatānām | (II)
11 Abhavat⁸=bhuvi Chakrapālītō=sāv=iti nāmna prathitaḥ priyō janasya |
sva-guṇair=an-upaskritair=udātt[ai]ḥ pitaram yaś=cha viśēshayām-chakāra | (II)
Kshamā⁹ prabhutvaṁ vinayō nayaś=cha śauryam vinā śaurya-
mah-[ā?]rchchanam cha | vā(?)kya(?)m damō dānam=adinatā cha

* Metre, Aryā.

² ? *nirvachand.*³ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.⁴ Metre, Indravajrā; and in the next six verses.⁵ Read *ātmā*.⁶ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā; and in the next two verses.⁷ Metre, Vaitāḥya-Aupachchhandasika.⁸ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā; and in the next three verses.

dākshinyam=ānṛinyam=aś[ū]nyatā cha I(II) Saum̐daryam=āryētara-
nigrahaś=cha a-vismayō dhairyam=udīrṇatā cha I

12 ity=ēvam=ētē=tiśayēna yasminn=a-vipravāsēna guṇā vasanti I(II) Na vidyatē=sau
sakalē=pi lōkē yatr=ōpamā tasya guṇaiḥ kriyēta I sa ēva
kārtsnyēna guṇ-ānvitānām babhūva nṛi(nṛi)ṇām=upamāna-bhūtaḥ I(II)
Ity=ēvam=ētān=adhikān=atō=nyān=guṇān=par[i]kshya svayam=ēva piurā I
yaḥ sam̐niyuktō nagarasya rakshām viśishya pūrvān=prachakāra
samyak I(II)

13 Āśritya¹ vi(vi)ryam̐ su(?)-bhu(?)ja(?)-dvayasya svasy=aiva n=ānyasya narasya
darpaṁ I n=ōdvējayām-āsa cha kam̐chid=ēvam=asmin=purē ch=aiva śaśāsa
dushtāḥ(n) I(II) Visram̐bham=alpē na śaśāma yō=smin kālē na lōkēshu
sa-nāgarēshu I yō lālayām-āsa cha paura-vargān [— — —]putrān=su-
parīkshya dōshān I(II) Sam̐ram̐jayām̐ cha prakṛitīr=babhūva
pūrvasmitābhāshaṇa-māna-dānaiḥ I

14 niryantṛaṇ-ānyōnya-gṛiha-pravēśai[h*] sam̐varddhita-prīti-gṛih-ōpachāraiḥ I(II)
Brahmaṇya-bhāvēna parēṇa yuktaḥ śaklaḥ śuchir=dāna-parō yathāvat I
prāpyān=sa kālē viśayān=sishēvē dharm-ārthayōś=ch=ā[py=a*]-
virōdhanēna I(II) Yō [— — — — —] Parṇadattāt=sa nyāyavān=atra
kim=asti chitram̐ I muktākalāp-āmbuja-padma-śītāch=chandrāt=kim=ushṇam̐
bhavitā kadāchit I(II)

15 Athā² kramēṇ=āmbuda-kāla āgat[ē] n[i]dāgha-kālam̐ pravidārya tōyadaiḥ I
vavarsha tōyam̐ bahu sam̐tatam̐ chiram̐ Sudarśanam̐ yēna
bibhēda ch=ātvarāt I(II) Sam̐vatsarāṇām³=adhikē śatē tu
trimsadbhir=anyair=api shadbhir=ēva I rātrau dinē Praushṭhapadasya
shashṭhē Gupta-prakalē gaṇanām̐ vidhāya⁴ I(II)

16 Imāś⁵=cha yā Raivatakād=vinirgatā[h*] Palāśin=iyam̐ sikatā-vilāsinī I samudra-
kāntāḥ chira-bandhan-ōshitāḥ punaḥ patim̐ śāstra-yathōrchitam̐ yayuḥ I(II)
Avēkshya varsh-āgama-jam̐ mah-ōdbhramam̐ mah-ōdadhēr=
Ūrjayatā priy-ēpsunā I anēka-tīrāntaja-pushpa-śōbhitō
17 nadimayō hasta iva prasāritaḥ I(II) Viśhādyā[mānāḥ] khalu sarvatō ja[n]nāḥ
katham̐-katham̐ kāryam=iti pravādināḥ I mithō hi pūrv-āpara-
rātram=utthitā vichintayām̐ ch=āpi babhūvur=utsukāḥ I(II) Ap=iha
lōkē sakalē Sudarśanam̐ pumām̐(n) hi durdarśanatām̐ gatam̐
kshaṇāt I

18 bhavēn=nu s-āmbhō nidhi-tulya-darśanam̐ su-darśanam̐ [— — — — —] I(II)
[— — — — —]vanē sa bhūtvā pituḥ parām̐ bhaktim=api pradarśya I
dharmaṁ purō-dhāya subh-ānubandham̐ rājñō hit-ārtham̐
nagarasya ch=aiva I(II) Sam̐vatsarāṇām=adhikē śatē tu

19 trimsadbhir=anyair=api saptabhiś=cha I pra [— — — — —]śāstra-chēttā
vi(?)śvā(?)=py=anu jñāta-mahā-prabhāvaḥ I(II) Ājya-praṇām̐aiḥ vibudhān=
ath=ēśitvā dhanair=dvijātīn=api tarpayitvā I paurāms=tath=ābhyarchya
yathārha-mānaiḥ bhṛityām̐ś=cha pūjyān=suhṛidaś=cha dānaiḥ I(II)

¹ Metre, Indravajrā; and in the next four verses.

² Metre, Vamśastha.

³ Metre, Indravajrā.

⁴ As regards the reading here, see page 57 above, note 4.

⁵ Metre, Vamśastha; and in the next three verses.

⁶ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā; and in the next five verses.

- 20 Graishmasya māsasya tu pūrva-pa[kshê] [— — — — — pra]thamê=hni
samyak¹ māsa-dvayên=ādaravān=sa bhūtvā dhanasya kṛtvā
vyayam=a-pramēyam I(II) Āyāmatō hasta-śataṁ samagraṁ vistāraṁ
shashṭir=atli=āpi ch=āshṭau I
- 21 utsēdhatō=nyat purushāpi sa(?)pta(?) [— — — — — ha]sta-śata-dvayasya I(II)
Babandha yatnān=mahatā nṛidēvān=[abhyarchya(?)] samyag-ghaṭit-
ōpalēna I a-jāti-dusṭam=prathitam taṭākam Sudarśanam
śāśvata-kalpa-kālam I(II)
- 22 Api¹ cha sudṛiḍha-sētu-prānta(?)=vinyasta-śōbha-rathacharaṇa-samāhva-kraumcha-
hams-āsa-dhūtam I vimāla-salila[— — — — —] bhuvi ta-
[— — — — —]da[— a]rkah śaśi cha I(II)
- 23 Nagaram=api cha bhūyād=vriddhimat=paura-jusṭam dvija-bahu-śata-gīta-
brahma-nirṇashṭa-pāpam I śatam=api cha samānam=īti-durbhiksha[— —
— — — — —] [II] [Iti Suda]rśana-taṭāka-
saṁskāra-grantha-rachanā [sa]māptā II

Second Part.

- 24 Dṛipt²-āri-darpa-praṇudah pṛithu-śriyah sva-vaṁśa-kētōḥ sakal-āvanī-patēḥ I
rājādhirājy-ādbhuta-punya-[karmāṇah] [— — — — —] [II]
[— — — — —] [I] dvipasya
gōptā mahatām cha nētā daṇḍa-dvi(?)[—]nām
- 25 dvishatām damāya I(II) Tasy=ātmajēn=ātma-guṇ-ānvitēna Gōvinda-pād-ārpita-
jivitēna I [— — — — —] [II]
[— — — — —]gdham Vishṇōś=cha pāda-kamalē
samavāpya tatra I artha-vyayēna
- 26 mahatā mahatā cha kālēn=ātma-prabhāva-nata-paurajanēna tēna I(II)
Chakram bibharti ripu[— — — — —] [I]
[— — — — —] tasya sva-tamtra-vidhi-
kāraṇa-mānushashya I(II)
- 27 Kāritam³=avakra-matinā Chakrabhṛtaḥ Chakrapālītēna griham I varsha-
śatē=shṭā-trimśē Guptānām kāla [II] [— — — — —]
[— — — — —] [— — — — —]
ārtham=utthitam=iv=Ōrjayatō=chalasya
- 28 kurvat=prabhutvam=iva bhāti purasya mûrdhni II Anyach=cha mûrddhani
su [— — — — —] [— — — — —]
[— — — — —]
- 29 ruddha-vihariga-mārgam vibhrājatē [— — — — —] [II]

TRANSLATION.

First Part.

Perfection has been attained! Victorious is he, (the god) Vishṇu,—the perpetual abode of the (goddess) Lakshmī, whose dwelling is the waterlily; the conqueror of distress;

¹ Metre, Mālinī; and in the next verse.

² Metre, Varṁśastha.—The metre is faulty in the first *akshara* of the first and third *pādas*, which should be short, not long.

³ Metre, Indravajrā; and in the next verse. ⁴ Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next verse.

⁵ Metre, Āryā; or of this class.

⁶ Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the following verse.

the completely victorious one,—who, for the sake of the happiness of (Indra) the lord of the gods, seized back from (the demon) Bali the goddess of wealth and splendour, who is admitted to be worthy of enjoyment, (*and*) who had been kept away from him for a very long time!¹

(Line 2.)—And next, victorious for ever is the supreme king of kings over kings, whose breast is embraced by the goddess of wealth and splendour; who has developed heroism by (*the strength of his*) arms; and who plucked (*and utilised*) the authority of (*his local*) representatives, who were so many Garuḍas, (*and used it as*) an antidote against the (*hostile*) kings, who were so many serpents, lifting up their hoods in pride and arrogance;²—**Skandagupta**, of great glory, the abode of kingly qualities, who, when (*his*) father by his own power had attained the position of being a friend of the gods,³ bowed down his enemies, and made subject to himself the (*whole*) earth, bounded by the waters of the four oceans, (*and*) full of thriving countries round the borders of it;—whose fame, moreover, even (*his*) enemies, in the countries of the **Mlêchchhas** having (*their*) pride broken down to the very root, announce with the words—"verily the victory has been achieved by him;"—(*and*) whom the goddess of fortune and splendour of her own accord selected as her husband, having in succession (*and*) with judgment skilfully taken into consideration and thought over all the causes of virtues and faults, (*and*) having discarded all (*the other*) sons of kings (*as not coming up to her standard*.)

(L. 5.)—While he, the king, is reigning, verily no man among his subjects falls away from religion; (*and*) there is no one who is distressed, (*or*) in poverty, (*or*) in misery, (*or*) avaricious, or who, worthy of punishment, is over-much put to torture.

(L. 6.)—Thus having conquered the whole earth, (*and*) having destroyed the height of the pride of (*his*) enemies, (*and*) having appointed protectors in all the countries, he cogitated in many ways,—“Among all my servants put together, who is there, who—suitable; endowed with intellect; modest; possessed of a disposition that is not destitute of wisdom and memory; endowed with truth, straightforwardness, nobility, and prudent behaviour; and possessed of sweetness, civility, and fame;—loyal; affectionate; endowed with manly characteristics; and possessed of a mind that (*has been tried and*) is (*found to be*) pure by all the tests of honesty; possessed of an inner soul pervaded by (*the inclination for*) the acquittance of debts and obligations; occupied with the welfare of all mankind;—capable both in the lawful acquisition of wealth, and also in the preservation of it, when acquired, and further in causing the increase of it, when protected, (*and able*) to dispense it on worthy objects, when it has been increased,—shall govern all my (countries of the) **Surāshṭras**? I have it; (*there is*) just one man, **Parṇadatta**, competent to bear this burden.”

¹ The legend is that the demon Bali, or Mahábali, by his austerities acquired the dominion over the three worlds, and caused annoyance and anxiety to the gods. Vishṇu then became incarnate as a dwarf, appeared before Bali, and asked for as much land as he could cover with three strides. Bali assented to his request, and Vishṇu with two strides recovered the heavens and the earth, but, in commiseration for Bali, who then humbled himself, left him the dominion over the lower regions below the earth.

² Garuḍa, the servant and vehicle of Vishṇu, half man and half bird, was the special enemy and destroyer of the serpent-race.—There is possibly a secondary allusion to Skandagupta having overthrown some kings of the well-known Nāga or serpent-lineage.

³ *i.e.* “had died.”

(L. 9.)—(*And it was this same Parnadatta*) who, with pressing (*and*) with difficulty, was appointed by the lord of kings, who had thus deliberated in his mind for many days and nights, to protect in a proper manner the land of the **Surâshtras**. (*And*) just as the gods became comfortable, (*and*) not disturbed in mind, when they had appointed Varuṇa to the western point of the compass, so the king was easy at heart, when he had appointed **Parnadatta** over the region of the west.

(L. 10.)—His son,—possessed of a filial disposition; his own self, as it were, reduplicated; well trained by self-control; worthy to be protected, as if it were his own self, by the all-pervading spirit; always self-possessed; endowed with a naturally beautiful form; having a disposition the whole of which was always pervaded with joy through a variety of charming actions that were in accordance with (*his*) beauty; having a waterlily of a face that resembled a bed of waterlilies in full bloom; the refuge of men who came to him for protection,—was this same one who is renowned on the earth under the name of **Chakra-pâlita**; who is beloved of the people; and who confers distinction upon (*his*) father by his own noble qualities which are everything except unpolished:—

(L. 11.)—In whom all these qualities dwell to a marked degree, (*and*) without ever wandering away (*from him*),—*vis.* patience; lordship; modesty; and good behaviour; and heroism without (*too*) great an estimation of prowess; eloquence (?); self-control; liberality; and high-spiritedness; civility; the acquittance of debts and obligations; and freedom from empty-headedness; beauty; and reprobation of things that are not right; absence of astonishment; firmness; and generosity. Even in the whole world there is no one to be found, in whom a comparison with his virtues may be made; verily he has become, in all entirety, the standard of comparison for men who are endowed with virtuous qualities.

(L. 12.)—(*And it was he*) who was appointed by (*his*) father, after testing in person (*the existence in him of*) these same qualities mentioned above, and higher ones even than them; and who then accomplished the protection of (*this*) city in a way that quite distinguished him above his predecessors. Relying upon the process of his own two excellent arms (?), not on the pride of any other man, he subjected no one in this city to any anxiety; and he punished wicked people. Even in this time which is a mean one, he failed not to maintain confidence in the people, together with the inhabitants of the city; and, by carefully inquiring into faults, he has charmed all the citizens, together with and children. And he has made (*his*) subjects happy by conversations addressed with smiles, and marks of honour, and presents; by free and reciprocal entering into (*each other's*) houses; (*and*) by carefully nourishing the family ceremonies of affection. Endowed with the highest piety, affable, pure, (*and*) in a suitable manner devoted to charity, he has, even without any conflict between religion and wealth, applied himself to such pleasures as may be attained at the proper time. What wonder is there in the fact that he, [born] from **Parnadatta**, is possessed of such proper behaviour?; can heat ever be produced from the moon, which is cold like a string of pearls or like a waterlily?

(L. 15.)—Then, in due course of time, there came the season of clouds, bursting asunder with (*its*) clouds the season of heat, when much water rained down unceasingly for a long time; by reason of which (the lake) **Sudarśana** suddenly burst,—making the calculation in the reckoning of the **Guptas**,¹ in a century of years, increased by thirty and

¹ See page 57 above, note 4.

also six more, at night, on the sixth day of (the month) Praushthapada. And these (*other rivers*) which take their source from (the mountain) **Raivataka**,¹ (*and also*) this **Palâsini**, beautiful with (*its*) sandy stretches,—(*all of them*) the mistresses of the ocean,—having dwelt so long in captivity, went again, in due accordance with the scriptures, to their lord (*the sea*). (*And*) having noticed the great bewilderment, caused by the excess of rain, (the mountain) **Ūrjayat**, desirous of appropriating the wives of the mighty ocean, stretched forth as it were a hand, consisting of the river (**Palâsini**), decorated with the numerous flowers that grew on the edges of (*its*) banks.

(L. 17.)—[Then on all sides] the people fell into despair, discussing how they should act; and, spending the whole night awake in vain, in great anxiety they reflected,—“Here in a moment, (the lake) **Sudarśana** has (*by the overflowing of its waters*) assumed an unpleasing appearance² towards all the people, (*as if it were*) a man (?); having the appearance of the ocean, quite full of water, can it ever (*again*) become pleasing of aspect,?”

(L. 18.)—.....he³ having become and displaying the height of devotion towards his father, (*and*) holding in full view, for the welfare of the king and of the city also, religion, which has such auspicious results,—in a century of years, increased by thirty and seven others also, attentive to the sacred writings whose majesty is well known. Then, having sacrificed to the gods with oblations of clarified butter and with obeisances; and having gratified the twice-born with (*presents of*) riches; and having paid respect to the citizens with such honours as they deserved, and to such of (*his*) servants as were worthy of notice, and to (*his*) friends with presents,—in the first fortnight of the month..... belonging to the hot season,⁴ on the first day, he, having practised (*all the above*) respectful observances for two months, made an immeasurable expenditure of wealth, and, [built an embankment] a hundred cubits in all in length, and sixty and eight in breadth, and seven (?) men's height in elevation, of two hundred cubits. (*Thus*), having done honour to the kings, he laboriously built up, with a great masonry work, properly constructed, the lake **Sudarśana**, which is renowned as not being evil by nature, so that it should last for all eternity,—agitated by the defiances of the ruddy-geese which display (*their*) beauty along the edges of the firmly-built embankment, and by the settling down (*in its waters*) of the herons and the swans pure waters; on the earth the sun and the moon.

(L. 23.)—And may the city become prosperous; full of inhabitants; cleansed from sin by prayers sung by many hundreds of Brāhman; [and free from] drought and famine for a hundred years..... [Thus] ends the composition of the description of the restoration of (the lake) **Sudarśana**.

Second Part.

(L. 24.)—..... of him (**Skandagupta**), who destroyed the pride of (*his*) haughty enemies; who is of great glory; who is the banner of his lineage; who is the lord

¹ Raivataka is the hill opposite to Ūrjayat or Girnār.

² There is a play on the words *su-darśana* ‘having a good appearance,’ and *dur-darśana* ‘having a bad appearance.’

³ i.e. Chakrapālita.

⁴ Grīshma, the hot season, consists of the two months Jyēṣṭha (May-June) and Āṣāḍha (June-July). The name of one or the other of them is now illegible in this line.

of the whole earth; whose pious deeds are even more wonderful than his supreme sovereignty over kings;

(L. 24.)— (Parnadatta), the protector of the island, and the leader of great of armies for the subjugation of (*his*) enemies.

(L. 25.)—By his son, who is endowed with his own good qualities, (*and*) whose life is devoted to (*the worship of*) the feet of (the god) Gōvinda,; —by him, who causes the citizens to bow down by his own prowess, having there attained ... and the feet, which are like waterlilies, of (the god) Viṣṇu, with a great expenditure of wealth and time [there was built a temple] of that famous (god Viṣṇu) who carries the discus, enemies, (*and*) who became (*incarnate and*) human by the exercise of his own free will. (*Thus*) by Chakrapālita, who is of a straightforward mind, there has been caused to be built a temple of (the god) Chakrabhīṭi, in a century of years, together with the thirty-eighth (*year*), the time of the Guptas.¹

(L. 27.)— uprisen, as it were, of the mountain Ūrjayat, shines as if displaying (*its*) lordship on the forehead of the city.

(L. 28.)—And another on the forehead obstructing the path of the birds, is resplendent

No. 15; PLATE IXA.

KAHAUM STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 141.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered by Dr. Francis Buchanan (Hamilton),—whose Survey of the Provinces, subject to the Presidency of Bengal, was commenced in 1807 and was continued during seven years, and whose manuscript results were transmitted in 1816 to the Court of Directors of the East India Company,—and to have been first brought to notice in his reports, from which Mr. Montgomery Martin compiled, and in 1838 published, the book entitled *Eastern India*, in which the inscription is noticed in Vol. II. p. 366 f., with a reduced lithograph (*id.* Plate v. No. 2).—In the same year, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 37 f., Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it,² accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate i.) reduced from a copy made by Mr. D. Liston.—In 1860, in the *Four. Amer. Or. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 530, Dr. FitzEdward Hall published his reading of the first verse of the inscription, and a translation, which was subsequently revised and reprinted in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 3, note.—In 1871, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 93 f. and Plate xxx., General Cunningham published another lithograph, reduced from his own ink-impression.—And finally, in 1881, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 125 f., Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji published his revised reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph reduced from an impression made by him when he visited Kahaum in 1873.

¹ See page 57 above, note 4.

² The translation is reprinted in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 250.

Kahâum or **Kahâwam**,¹ the ancient **Kakubha** or **Kakubhagrâma** of this inscription, is a village about five miles to the west by south of Salampur-Majhauri,² the chief town of the Salampur-Majhauri Parganâ in the Dêoriyâ or Dêwariyâ³ Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Gôrakhpur District in the North-West Provinces. The grey-sandstone column on which the inscription is, stands a short distance on the north of the village.⁴

Of the **sculptures** on the column, the most important are five standing naked figures, —one in a niche on the western face of the square base; and one in a niche on each side of the square block immediately below the circular stone with an iron spike in it, which, the original pinnacle having been lost, now forms the top of the column. As appears to have been first fully recognised by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, these are distinctly Jain images. He suggested that they represent the five favourite *Tīrthamkaras*,—Âdinâtha, Śāntinâtha, Nêminâtha, Pârśva, and Mahāvira. And they are in all probability the five images of *Âdikartris*, or Jain *Tīrthamkaras*, referred to in the inscription itself.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 2' 2½" broad by 1' 8" high, is on the three northern faces of the octagonal portion of the column; and the bottom line appears to be about 7' 6" above the level of the ground. It is evidently in a state of excellent preservation throughout.—The size of the letters varies from ⅝" to ⅞". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Allahâbâd posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, p. 1 ff. above, Plate i.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word *siddham*, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *vanśa*, line 2, and *ttrinsat*, line 4; and (2) the usual doubling of *ś* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *śhâkkré*, line 9 (but not in *śakrô*, line 3), and *puttrô*, line 6.—My lithograph has been prepared from a lithograph of the same kind, handed to me by Dr. Burgess, from which was prepared the opposite lithograph, with the letters in black on a white ground, published with Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's paper. One or two letters, imperfect in that lithograph, have been cleared out on the authority of General Cunningham's ink-impressions, which, though not adapted for complete reproduction, sufficed for this purpose.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of the **Early Gupta** king **Skandagupta**. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and forty-one (A.D. 460-61); and in the month Jyêshtha (May-June); but without any specification of the day of the month or fortnight. As is shewn by the images in the niches of the column, as well as by the tenour of the record itself, this is distinctly a Jain inscription. And the object of it is, to record that a certain **Madra** set up five stone images of *Âdikartris* or *Tīrthamkaras*,—i.e. apparently the five images in the niches of the column,—and the column itself, at the village of **Kakubha** or **Kakubhagrâma**, i.e. **Kahâum**.

¹ The 'Kahaon, Kahong, Kangho, and Kuhaon, of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 26° 16' N.; Long. 83° 55' E.

The 'Sullempoor-Mujhowlee' of maps.

² The 'Deorya' of maps.

³ For a full description, with drawings, of the column and other remains at Kahâum, see *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 91 ff. and Plate xxix., and *ibid.* Vol. XVI. p. 129 f. and Plate xxix.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Siddham² [11*] Yasy³-ôpasthâna - bhûmir=nrîpati - śata - śirah⁴ - pâta - vât - âvadhûta
 2 Guptânâni vanśa-jasya pravisrita - yaśasas=tasya sarvv - ôttam - arddhêh
 3 rājyê Śakr-ôpamasya kshitîpa-śata-patêh Skandaguptasya śântê
 4 varshê ttrînsad-daś-aik-ôttaraka-śatatamê Jyêshthâ - mâsi prapannê 1(11)
 5 Khyâtê-smin=grâma-ratnê Kakubha iti janais=sâdhu-saṁsarga-pûtê 1⁵
 6 putrô yas=Sômilasya prachura-guṇa-nidhêr=Bhaṭṭisômô mahât[m]â
 7 tat-sûnû Rudrasôma[h*] prithula-mati-yaśâ Vyâghra ity=anya-saṁjñô 1⁶
 8 Madras-tasy=âtma-jô-bhûd=divija-guru-yatishu prâyaśah pritimân=yah 1(11)
 9 Puṇya-skandham sa chakkrê jagad-idam=akhilân saṁsarad=vikshya bhîtô
 10 śrêyô-rttham bhûta-bhûtyai pathi niyamavatâm=arhatâm=âdikarttrîn
 11 pañch-êndrân(11) sthâpayitvâ dharayidharamayân=sannikhâtas=tatô=yam
 12 śaila-stambhaḥ su-chârur-giri-vara-śikhar-âgr-ôpamaḥ kirtti-karttâ [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! In the tranquil⁷ reign of Skandagupta, whose hall of audience is shaken by the wind caused by the falling down (*in the act of performing obeisance*) of the heads of a hundred kings; who is born in the lineage of the Guptas; whose fame is spread far and wide; who excels all others in prosperity; who resembles (the god) Śakra; (*and*) who is the lord of a hundred kings;—in the one hundredth year, increased by thirty and ten and one; the month Jyêshthâ having arrived;—

(Line 5.)—In this jewel of a village, which is known by people under the name of Kakubha, (*and*) which is pure from association with holy men,⁸—(*there was*) the high-minded Bhaṭṭisôma, who (*was*) the son of Sômila, that receptacle of many good qualities. His son (*was*) Rudrasôma, of great intellect and fame, who had the other appellation of Vyâghra.⁹ His son was Madra, who (*was*) especially full of affection for Brâhmanas and religious preceptors and ascetics.

¹From Gen. Cunningham's ink-impression, together with the lithograph from which my lithograph is reduced.

²In the original, this word is in the margin; the *si* opposite the commencement of line 2, and the *ddham* opposite, and partly above, the commencement of line 3.

³Metre, Sragdharâ, throughout.

⁴The mark in the original after this *visarga* would seem to be an accidental slip of the engraver's tool, rather than intended for a mark of punctuation, which is not required here.

⁵and ⁶. In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁷*śântê*. — It is unnecessary to explain in detail the interpretation of this word. The difficulty is,—not the correct rendering of it, which is perfectly obvious,—but to comprehend how it ever came to be read *śântêh*, and to be interpreted by "of the repose, *i.e.* death," *i.e.* "after the decease (of Skandagupta);" or, being read *śântê* correctly, to comprehend how it ever came to be interpreted as meaning "(the empire of Skandagupta) being quiescent," or "(the empire of Skandagupta) being extinct (for the hundred and forty-first year)."—The correct interpretation appears to have been first pointed out by Bhau Daji; "in the year one hundred and forty-one, in the peaceful reign of Skandagupta" (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. p. 246.)

⁸The proper context is—"(*there was*) Madra;" who is mentioned in line 8. The intervening genealogical matter is by way of a parenthesis.

⁹For some similar instances of second names, see page 27 above, note 4.

(L. 9.)—He, being alarmed when he observed the whole of this world (*to be ever*) passing through a succession of changes, acquired for himself a large mass of religious merit. (*And by him*),—having set up, for the sake of final beatitude (*and*) for the welfare of (*all*) existing beings, five excellent¹ (*images*), made of stone,² (*of*) those who led the way³ in the path of the *Arhats* who practise religious observances,—there was then planted in the ground this most beautiful pillar of stone, which resembles the tip of the summit of the best of mountains, (*and*) which confers fame (*upon him*).

No. 16; PLATE IX B.

INDOR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA. THE YEAR 146.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1874 by Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle, First Assistant to the Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India; and was first brought to notice, in the same year, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLIII. Part I. p. 363 ff., where a lithograph of it was published, prepared by General Cunningham (*id.* Plate xix.), accompanied by a version of the text, and a translation of it, by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra.

The inscription is on a copper-plate which was found in a small stream at **Indor**, the ancient **Indrapura** and **Indrâpura** of the inscription, a large and lofty mound about five miles to the north-west of Dibhâi,⁴ the chief town of the Dibhâi Parganâ in the Anupshahar⁵ Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Bulandshahar District in the North-West Provinces. Until recent years, Indôr was a small inhabited village; but it is now only a *khêdâ*, or deserted mound, and is not shewn in maps. I obtained the original plate, for examination, from the possession of General Cunningham.

The plate is a single one, inscribed on one side only, measuring about $8\frac{1}{8}$ " by $5\frac{1}{4}$ " at the ends and $5\frac{7}{8}$ " in the middle. The edges of it are here and there slightly thicker than the surface of the plate, with small depressions inside them at the same places; but there does not seem to have been any intention of purposely fashioning the edges thicker all round, so as to serve as a rim to protect the writing.⁶ The surface of the plate is in some places

¹ *indrân*.—Bhagwanlal Indrajî, in his published version, first pointed out the kind of meaning to be given to this word here.

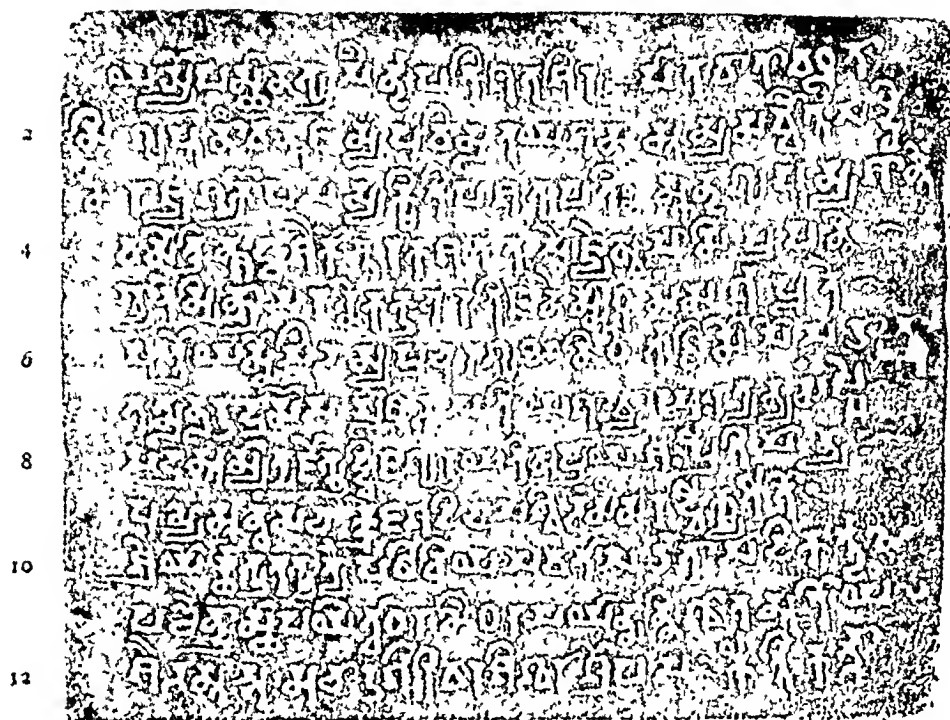
² *lit.* 'made of (the substance of) mountains.'

³ *âdikartrîn*; *lit.* 'originators.'—Bhagwanlal Indrajî first pointed out the correct meaning of this word, as referring here to five of the *Tirthankaras* or sanctified teachers of the Jains.

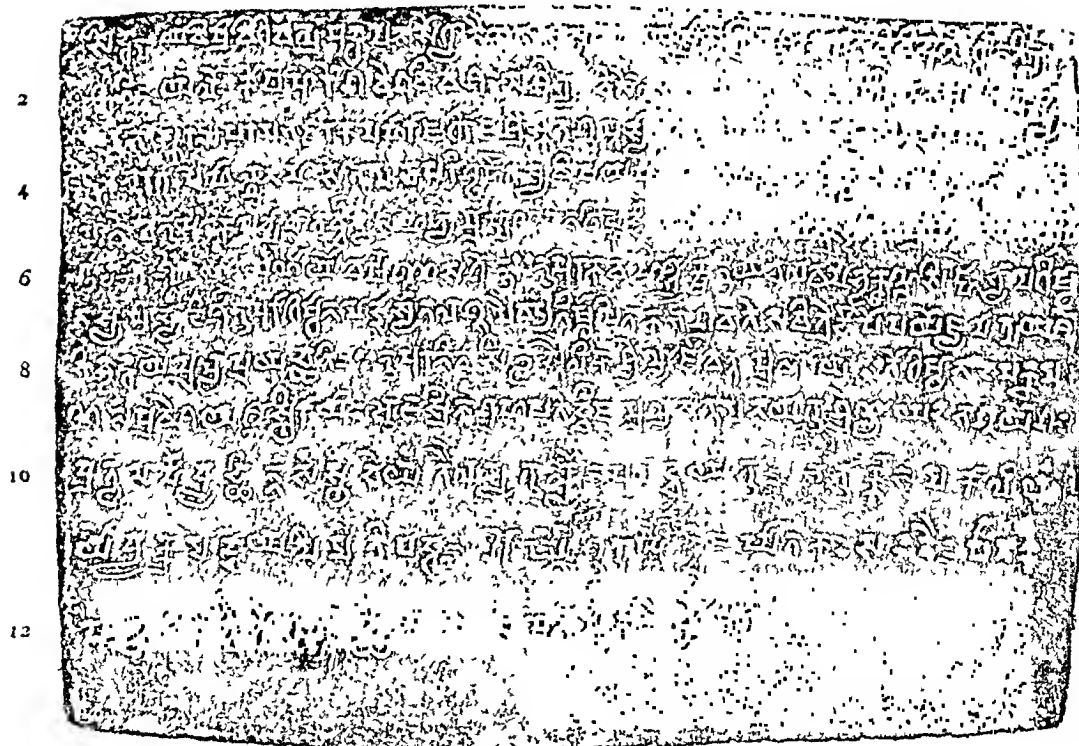
⁴ The 'Dabhai, Dhubhai, Dibai, and Dubhaee,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas Sheet, No. 67. Lat. $28^{\circ} 12' N.$; Long. $78^{\circ} 18' E.$ —The position of Indôr, with reference to Dibhâi, is shewn in the sketch map given in *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XII. Plate i

⁵ The 'Anoopshuhur and Anupshahr' of maps, &c.

⁶ Dr. Burnell allotted the earliest instances of arranging for the preservation of the writing on copper-plates, by beating up the margins round the plates and then flattening the edges, to the ninth or tenth century A.D. (*South-Indian Palæography*, p. 92). But there are plenty of earlier instances, in the south, as well as in the north of India. These raised rims were obtained, at first, by thickening the plates at the edges, in the process of fashioning them. Afterwards, it became customary to beat the plates out quite smooth, and then to turn them up at the edges and fuse them together at the corners; and some of the Eastern Chalukya plates, made in this way, have raised rims a good quarter of an inch high.



B.—Indor Plate of Skandagupta.—The Year 146.



a good deal corroded by rust; the inscription, however, with care, is legible with certainty throughout. The plate is fairly thick; but the letters, being rather deeply engraved, shew through distinctly on a great part of the back of it. The engraving is clean and well executed; the majority of the letters, however, shew, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—There is no hole in the plate for a ring with a seal on it; nor are there any indications of a seal having been soldered on to it, as,—from the instance of the spurious Gayā grant of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.; illustrated also, in the present series by the Aśirgaḍh seal of Śārvavarman, No. 47 below, Plate xxxA., and the Sōnpat seal of Harshavardhana, No. 52 below, Plate xxxiiB.; and, elsewhere, by the Dighwā-Dubauli grant of the *Mahārāja* Mahēndrapāla¹ and the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the *Mahārāja* Vināyakapāla,²—seems to have been the early custom in the north of India.—The weight of the plate is 1 lb. 2 oz.—The average size of the letters is between $\frac{1}{8}$ " and $\frac{3}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and in essential details are of the same type with those of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4, p. 25 ff. above, Plate iiiA. The initial *i* has an entirely different form from that of the other northern type; contrast it in *indrapura* and *itō*, line 8, with *iva* in Plate i. page 9 above, line 30, and *iti* in Plate ixA. page 67, line 7. In line 10, we have a form of the numerical symbol for 2.—The language is Sanskrit; and all the formal part of the inscription, from *paramabhaṭṭdraka*, line 3, to *samakālīyam*, line 10, is in prose. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice the affix *ka*, in *chandrāpuraka*, line 5, *indrāpuraka*,³ line 6, and especially *pratishṭhāpitaka*, line 7. It is a weaker form, without *vriddhi* of the vowel in the first syllable, of the *ka* with which the adjectives of locality, used in lines 19 and 20 of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, page 7 above, are formed; and it is the origin of the modern Hindi genitive terminations *kā*, *kē*, and *kī*, and of similar declensional forms. Other instances of it are given by No. 25 below, Plate xvB. line 13, *kāritaka*; No. 26, Plate xvi. line 10, *utpadyamānaka*; No. 27, Plate xvii. line 9, *pratishṭhāpitaka*, and line 12, *utpadyamānaka*; No. 28, Plate xviii. line 13, *annmōditaka*, line 14, *uparilikhitaka* and *pratishṭhāpitaka*, and line 18, *utpadyamānaka*; No. 29, Plate xixA. line 10, *uparilikhitaka* and line 15, *utpadyamānaka*; No. 31, Plate xx. line 9, *utpannaka*, lines 9 and 16 *utpadyamānaka*, and line 11, *kāritaka*; No. 41, Plate xxvii. line 11, *atishṛishṭaka*; and No. 62, Plate xxxviiiB. line 4, *pravishṭaka*.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś* and *h*, in *chatvārīṇśad*, line 3 f., and *siṅha*, line 6; (2) the doubling of *k*, and usually of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *apakkramaṇa*, line 8 f., and *pauttraḥ*, line 5, (but not in *putrō* in the same line); and (3) the doubling of *v* after the *anusvāra*, in *samvatsara*, line 3.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta, whose feudatory, the *Vishayapati*⁴ Śārvanāga, was governing Antarvêdī⁵ or the country

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 105 ff.

² *id.* p. 138 ff.

³ As regards these two words, Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives *puraka* as another form of *pura*, 'a city'; but refers only to 'Arghashtapuraka' as an authority for the word. This city, however, only owes its existence to one of the early misreadings of *Maṇṭarāja-Paishṭapuraka* in line 19 of the Allahābād inscription, No. 1, page 7 above.

⁴ *Vishayapati* is a technical official title, meaning 'the lord, or governor, of a *vishaya*.'—See p. 32 above, note 7.

⁵ Antarvêdī may perhaps also denote any Doab or region between two rivers of repute and sanctity.—It also means, as an adjective, 'belonging to the inside of the sacrificial ground.'—It occurs,

lying between the Ganges and the Jamnâ. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and forty-six (A.D. 465-66); and in the month Phālguna (February-March), but without any specification of the day of the month or fortnight. It is an inscription of solar worship; and the object of it is to record a perpetual endowment, by a Brāhmaṇ named **Dêvavishṇu**, for the purpose of maintaining a lamp in a temple of the Sun at **Indrapura** or **Indrâpura**, i.e. the modern **Indôr**. This mention of the place, under its ancient name, connects the record satisfactorily with the locality in which the plate was found.

TEXT.¹

Sole Plate.

- 1 Siddham [II*] Yam³ viprâ vidhi-vat=prabuddha-manasô dhyân-aika-tânâ(na)-
stuvah³ yasy=ântam tridaś-âsurâ na vividur=nn=ôrdhvam na tiryâ-
- 2 g-gatih(m) yam lōkô bahu-rōga-vēga-vivaśaḥ samśritya chêtô-labhaḥ
pâyâd=vaḥ sa jagat-pidhâ⁴na-puta-bhid-raśmy-â-
- 3 karô bhâskarah || Paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Skandaguptasy**=âbhi-
varddhamâna-vijaya-râjya-samvatsara-śatê⁵ shach(ṭ)-chatvâ-
- 4 [ri*]ñśad-uttaratamê Phālguna-mâsê . tat-p[â*]da-parigrihitasya vishayapati-
Śarvvanâgasy=Ântarvvêdyâm bhōg-âbhivṛddhayê vartta-
- 5 mânê [I*] **Chandrâpuraka**-Padmâ-châturvvidya-sâmânya-brâhmaṇa-**Dêva**-
vishṇur=Ddêva-putrô Haritrâta-pauttraḥ Duḍika-prapauttraḥ satat-âgnihô-
- 6 tra-[ch*]chhandôgô Rânâyaṇi(ni)yô Varshagana-sagôttara **Indrâpuraka**-vaṇig-
bhyâm kshattriy-Âchalavarma-Bhri(bhru)kunṭhasinhâbhyâm=adhishtâ(shthâ)-
- 7 nasya prâchyâm diś=**Indrapur**-âdhishthâna-mâḍâsyâta-lagnam=êva prati-
shthâpitaka-bhagavatê savitrê dip-ôpayôjyam=âtma-yaśô-
- 8 bhivṛddhayê mûlyam prayachchhati⁶ [II*] **Indrapura**-nivâsinyâs=
tailika-śrēnyâ Jivanta-pravarâyâ itô=dhishthânâd=apakkrâma-
- 9 na-sampravêśa-yathâsthirâyâḥ âjasrikam grahapatêr=dvija-mûlyâ-dattam=Anayâ
tu śrēnyâ yad=abhagna-yôgam
- 10 prattha(tha)m-ârĥ-âvya[va*]chchhinna-samstham dēyam tailasya tulyēna⁷ pala-
dvayam tu⁸ 2 chandr-ârĥka-samakâliyam [II*]

as the name of a village, in 'Anterbed,' about thirty miles west of Uchaharâ, in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70; Lat. 24° 25' N.; Long. 80° 13' E. And we also have it in Antarvêdî, Antaravêdî, or Antravêdî, the name of a shrine at the mouth of the Vasishṭha branch of the river Gôdâvarî, seven miles south of Narsâpur, in the Narsâpur Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the Gôdâvarî District.

¹ From the original plate.

² Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

³ The form *stû* is rather unusual; the customary form being *stut*. But Dr. Bühler has given me the analogous instance of *âyata-stû*, which is mentioned by Kâtyâyana in his comments on Pâṇini, iii. 2, 76. The meaning of *âyata-stû* is not given in the *Mahâbhâṣya*; but Monier Williams explains it by 'panegyrist.'

⁴ This is rather an anomalous *akshara*; but it can mean nothing but *dhâ*.

⁵ Read *râjyê samvatsara-śatê*; see p. 38 above, note 5.—Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XII. p. 40) considered that there is a faint trace of the vowel *ê* of *râjyê*; but the vowel was not engraved.

⁶ Read *prayachchhati*.—That the marks after *tî* are the *visarga*, and not marks of punctuation, is shewn by the form of the *visarga* throughout this inscription; and, contrasted with it, the marks of punctuation after *bhâskarah*, l. 3, and at the end of the inscription.

⁷ *tulyēna* seems to be a mistake for *taulyēna*.

⁸ i.e. *tulyēna* (*taulyēna*).

- 11 Yô¹ vyakkramêd²=dâyam=imam nibaddham gô-ghnô guru-ghnô dvija-
ghâtakaḥ saḥ³ taiḥ pātakai[ḥ*]
12 pañchabhir=anvitô=dhar=gachchhên⁴=naraḥ s-ôpanipātakaiś=ch=êti ||

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained ! May that Sun, the rich source of rays that pierce (*the darkness which is*) the envelope of the earth, protect you,—whom Brāhmaṇs, of enlightened minds, (*have recourse to*)⁵ according to due rite, (*and thus become*) the utterers of praises in meditation, which are directed solely to him ; whose limit, either vertically or from side to side, neither the gods nor the demons could ascertain ; (*and*) by having recourse to whom, mankind, when they have lost control of themselves through much disease and agitation of the mind, acquire consciousness (*again*) !

(Line 3.)—In the augmenting victorious reign⁶ of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahā-rājādhirāja*, the glorious *Skandagupta* ; in the year one hundred, increased by forty-six ; (*and*) while the month *Phālguna* is current for the increase of the enjoyment, in (*the land of*) *Antarvêdī*, of the *Vishayaputi Śarvanāga*, who has been accepted (*with favour*) by his⁷ feet ;—

(L. 5.)—The Brāhmaṇ *Dêvavishṇu*, who belongs to the community of *Chaturvêdins* of *Padmā* of the town of *Chandrâpura*,—who is the son of *Dêva*, (*and*) the son's son of *Haritrâta*, (*and*) the son of the son's son of *Ḍuḍika* ; who always recites the hymns of the *agnihôtra*-sacrifice ;⁸ who belongs to the *Râṇyaniya* (*śâkhâ*) ; (*and*) who is of the *Varshagana gôtra*,—for the increase of his own fame gives an endowment, (*of which the interest is*) to be applied to (*the maintenance of*) a lamp for the divine Sun, which has been established (*in a temple*) by the *Kshatriyas* *Achalavarman* and *Bhrukunṭhasiṅha*, merchants of the town of *Indrâpura*,⁹ on the east of the settlement, (*and*) actually touching¹⁰ of the settlement of the town of *Indrapura*.

(L. 8.)—This gift of a Brāhmaṇ's endowment of (*the temple of*) the Sun, (*is*) the perpetual property of the guild of oil-men, of which *Jivanta* is the head, residing at the town of *Indrapura*, as long as it continues in complete unity, (*even*) in moving away from this settlement. But there should be given by this guild, for the same time as the moon and the sun endure, two *palas*¹¹ of oil by weight, (*or in figures*) by weight 2, uninterrupted in use, (*and*) continuing without any diminution from the original value.

(L. 11.)—Whosoever shall transgress this grant that has been assigned,—that man, (*becoming as guilty as*) the slayer of a cow, (*or*) the slayer of a spiritual preceptor, (*or*)

¹ Metre, *Indravajrâ*.

² Read *yô vikkrâmêd* ; or, better, *yô=tikkramêd*.

³ Read *sa*.

⁴ Read *dhô gachchhên*.

⁵ Supply *samsritya*, from the third *pāda* of the verse.

⁶ See page 38 above, note 5.

⁷ i.e. *Skandagupta's*.

⁸ *agnihôtra*, 'an oblation to the god Agni, consisting chiefly of milk, oil, and sour gruel, offered every morning and evening ; the maintenance of the sacred fire.'

⁹ Here, line 6, the vowel of the second syllable is long ; in lines 7 and 8 below, it is short.

¹⁰ The meaning of *mâḍasyâta* is not apparent.

¹¹ *pala*, a particular weight, = 4 *suvarṇas* (gold-pieces), or 64 *māshas* (beans) ; see the *Mānavadharmasāstra*, viii. 135, Burnell's Translation, p. 200.

the slayer of a Brāhman, shall go down (*into hell*), invested with (*the guilt of*) those (*well-known*) five sins,¹ together with the minor sins.²

NO. 17; PLATE X.

GANGDHAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF VISVAVARMAN. THE YEAR 480.

THIS inscription, which is now published for the first time, was brought to my notice in 1883, through a photograph sent to me by Colonel W. Muir, then Political Agent at Kôta in Central India.

Gāṅgdhār³ is a village about fifty-two miles south-west of Jhālrapāṭaṇ, the chief town of the Jhālāwād⁴ State in the Western Mālwa division of Central India. The inscription is on a stone-tablet standing under a tamarind-tree about a mile to the north of the village; evidently on the site of an old ruined temple.

At the top of the stone there is some **sculpture**, which I cannot quite make out in the rough drawing of it that was brought to me with the ink-impression; but it is probably a sixteen-leaved waterlily.—The **writing** covers the entire front of the stone, about 2' 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high by 3' 8" broad. Twelve letters are broken away and lost in the first part of line 1; eleven in line 2; three in line 3; and two or three all the way down from there as far as line 36. In lines 4 to 36, however, it is in most cases easy to supply what has been lost. In lines 37 to 40, again, from three to six letters are broken away at the beginning, and from two to four at the end of each line. The inscription was thus of a somewhat irregular shape, lines 1 to 6 and 37 to 41 being rather longer than lines 7 to 36; which looks as if the stone on which it was engraved was a panel in the wall of a temple.—The **size** of the letters varies from about $\frac{3}{8}$ " to $\frac{2}{16}$ ". The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets; and give a specimen of what may be called the Western Mālwa alphabet of the fifth century A.D. They include, however, in *khadga*, line 5, and in several other places, not merely a separate form of the lingual *d*, as distinct from the dental *d*, in accordance with the custom of the northern alphabets, but a quite unique form of it, which does not occur in any other early inscription that I know of, and which is the clear prototype of the modern Dēvanāgarī form of this letter. They also include the very rare initial *au*, in *aupāmya*, line 6.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and except for the words *siddhir=astu* at the end, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the *jihvāmūlīya*, e.g. in *chakitaiḥ=kriyatē*,

¹ i.e. the *pañcha mahāpātakāni*; see page 38 above, note 4.

² The *upanipātakāni*,—or more usually *upapātakāni*; the longer form being used in this verse for the sake of the metre,—are sins of the second degree, such as killing a cow, sacrificing for those for whom sacrifices ought not to be made, &c. &c.: see the *Mānavadharmasūtra*, xi. 60 to 67, Bunnell's Translation, p. 332 f.

³ The 'Gangrar, Gungra, and Gungurar,' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 35. Lat. 23° 56' N.; Long. 75° 41' E.—The modern name must be connected with Gargarā, the ancient name, according to line 23 of this inscription, of the small river, now called 'Kalisind,' on which it stands. But it is not apparent how the dental *dh* came to be introduced into it; nor why it appears as *r* in the corrupt English forms.

⁴ The 'Jhalawar, Jhallawar, and Jhallowa,' of maps, &c.

line 11, and *subhujāḥ=khadga*, line 26; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *vaṁśa*, line 29, and *aṇṣumān*, line 35; but not in *vaṁśa* in line 2; (3) the frequent doubling of *k*, *g*, *t*, and *p*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *vikkramēṇa*, line 8; *samaggram*, line 4; *vittrasta*, line 13; and *appratimēṇa*, line 4; and of *bh*, in *vyabbhira*, line 9; and (4) the same in respect of *kh*, *t*, *bh*, and *s*, in conjunction with a following *y*, e.g. in *prakkyāṭa*, line 2, and *vikkhyāpayan*, line 26; *bhṛitya*, line 4, and *prattyasta*, line 14; *abbhyudyata*, line 15; and *yassya*, lines 11, 12, 14, 16, and 31.

The inscription is of the time of a prince named **Viśvavarman**. It is dated, in words, when four hundred and eighty years had expired, i.e. in the four hundred and eighty-first year, on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November.)¹ The era is not specified in this record; but of course the date

¹ The passage containing the date, line 19 f., is not an easy one to deal with. — The date of four hundred and ninety-three, given in the next inscription, for Viśvavarman's son Bandhuvarman, shews that the number of the centuries in the present passage must be four. And the reading that I give is exactly in accordance with the appearance of the original. But there are the objections, (1) that it is a violation of the metre, since it gives us, in *chaturshu*, an amphibrach where a dactyl is required; and (2) that it leaves *kṛitēshu*, 'made, done, performed,' as a superfluous and rather unmeaning word, unless we somewhat strain its meaning by giving it the sense of 'fully completed (years).'—In the sense of '(years) accomplished, i.e. expired,' *kṛitēshu* occurs in line 1 of the Byānā inscription of Vishṇuwardhana, of the year 428, No. 59 below, Plate xxxviC. But, though this use of it is unusual, it is justifiable there, as it is not accompanied by *yātēshu*, 'having gone by,' or any similar word.—My first inclination about the present passage was, that *kṛitēshu* was used in the sense of 'made, effected, established by;' and that the three *aksharas* preceding it contained the name of the founder of the era. But Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, with whom I discussed the passage, was of opinion that *kṛita* could not be used in such a sense; and I am not able to quote anything opposed to his opinion. Moreover, that interpretation would have left us without any word to specify the centuries of the date.—My next inclination was to read *cha tsapu-kṛitēshu*, which would satisfy the metrical requirements, and may be justified by the appearance of the original; and to look upon *tsapu* as intended for a vocalisation of the numerical symbol for four hundred; "made by (the utterance of) *tsapu*." The very peculiar expression, *sōttarapadēshu*, which follows, seemed to point to something of this kind being intended. And Dr. Bühler has given an instance of a pronunciative value being certainly allotted to the symbol for four (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 47 f.). But to this interpretation there are the objections, (1) that the word *cha* would be rather superfluous and unmeaning; and (2) that the symbol for four hundred does not resemble the syllables *tsapu*. — Dr. Bhandarkar also suggested that the word 'four' is expressed by *kṛita* (in *kṛitēshu*). But this would leave the preceding two or three *aksharas* altogether unexplained. And, though *Kṛita*, as the name of the first of the four ages, is capable, on the numerical-word system, of being used to represent the number four, this system was not in use in inscriptions in India at this early time. The period of the invention of the system in question still remains to be determined. That the use of it was known to Varāhamihira (died A.D. 587; *Four. R. As. Soc. N. S.* Vol. I. p. 407), is shewn by his employing, in the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā*, viii. 20, 21, the words *Rudra* for 'eleven,' *Rāma* for 'three,' *aga* (mountain) for 'seven,' and *sara* (arrow) and *viśhaya* (object of sense) for 'five.' And it has been supposed that it was used by Āryabhaṭa (born A.D. 476; *id.* p. 405); but Dr. Bhau Daji (*id.* p. 404) has pointed out, from his own MS., that the half-verse in question, the only apparent instance, giving the number of the revolutions of the planet Jupiter in numerical words, is not really Āryabhaṭa's (a point that is supported also by the metre; for the two lines together make up a verse in the Upagīti metre; whereas Āryabhaṭa used the Āryā metre, and the first line is the second half of a verse in that metre), but is an addition, in all probability by Utpala or Bhaṭṭotpala (about A.D. 966; *id.* p. 410). The earliest epigraphical instances, at present available, are, in Cambodia, the Bayang inscription, dated Śāka-Saṃvat 526 (A.D. 604-5) and 546 (Barth's *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 36, line 11), where the dates are expressed by the (five) arrows (of Kāmadēva), *Dasra* (one of the two *Aśvinau*), and the (six) flavours, and by the (five) senses, the (four) oceans, and the (six) seasons; and, in India

TEXT.²

- itself, the record of Śāka-Saṃvat 867 (A.D. 945-46) for the accession of the Eastern Chalukya king Amma II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 16, line 31), in which the date is expressed by the (eight) demi-gods called Vasu, the (six) flavours, and the (seven) mountains.—The supposition that the present passage contains one of these numerical words, is certainly not tenable. And, after full consideration, I can see nothing to be done, save to take the reading *chaturshu*; to accept the violation of the metre; and, as we also have *yātēshu*, to translate *kṛitēshu* by 'fully-complete.'—In the same verse, there is also a violation of the metre (or some other mistake) in the words *saumyēshu*=*aśīta*; and, in line 11, the final long *ī* of *kāminī* is shortened for metrical purposes.

⁴ Also *tasy*=*ánujah*, "his younger brother," will suit the metre.

- 11 [śóbhai]h ||(I) yassy=āri-kāminī-mukhāmburūhair=bbalasya pūrvvaṃ pratāpa-
chakitaīh=kriyatē prañāmaḥ || Ratn-ōdgama-dyuti-
- 12 [vira]ñjita-kūla-tālair=uttrasta-nakkra-makara-kshata-ph[ē]na-mālaiḥ ||(I) chaṇḍ-
ānil-ōddhata-taraṅga-samasta-hastair=yyassy=ā-
- 13 [rṇṇavai]r=api balāni namaḥkriyantē || Bhūr=uddhri(ddhṛi)ta-druma-
vikampita-śaila-kila-vitrasta-vidruta-mṛiga-dvija-sūnya(nya)-gu-
- 14 [lmā] [I] yassy=ōnnata-pravisham[ī]kri(kṛi)ta-rājamārggā ssainya²-prayāṇa-samayē
vinimajjāt=īva || Prattyasta-mauli-
- 15 [ma]ñi-raśmi-nakha-prabh-āndhair=abbhyudyat-āñjalitayā śabal-agragandaiḥ ||(I)
vidyādharaīḥ ppriyatamā-bhuja-pāśa-ba-
- 16 [ddhair=yay]ssy=ādarād=divi yaśā[m]si namaḥkriyantē || Agrē=pi yā(yō)
vayasi samparivarttamānaś=śāstr-ānusāra-pari-
- 17 [varddhita]-suddha-buddhiḥ ||(I) sad-dharmma-mārggam=iva rājasu darśa-
yishyan=rakshā-vidhiṃ Bharata-vaj=jagataḥ=karōti || Tasmin=pra-
- 18 [śāsa]ti mahīn=nṛpati-pravirē svarggam yathā surapatāv=amita-prabhāvē ||(I)
n=ābhūā=adharmma-niratō vyasan-ānvitō
- 19 [vā lōkē] kadāchana janas=sukha-varjjitō vā || Yātēshu chatu[r]shu³
kri(kṛi)tēshu śatēshu sausaishvā(?) śhā)śīta-⁴sōttarapaḍēshv=iha vatsa-
- 20 [rēshu] ||(I) śuklē trayōdaśa-dinē bhuvī Kārttikasya māsasya sarvva-jana-
chitta-sukh-āvahasya || Nīl-ōtpala-pa-
- 21 [sṛita-rē]ṇv-arūṇ-āmbu-kirṇṇē bandhūka-bāṇa-kusum-ōj[j*]vala-kānan-āntē ||(I)
nidrā-vyapāya-samayē Madhusūdanasya kā-
- 22 [lē prabu]ddha-kumud-āgara-suddha-tārē || Vāpi-taḍāga-surasadmasabh-ōdupāna⁶-
nānāvidh-ōpavana-saṅkrama-dīrghik[ā]-
- 23 [bhiḥ] ||(I) sē(i)shṭām=iv=ābharāṇa-jātibhir=aṅganām svām yō Garggarā-
tata-purām sakka(ma)lañ-chakāra || Rājñas=tritiyam=iva chakshur=udā-
- 24 [ra-vṛitti]r=ddēva-dvijāti-guru-b[ā]ndhava-sādhu(?)bhaktaḥ ||(I) Śāstrai[h*] stutē
cha vinay[ē*] vyavahāra-hīnē yō=pakshapāta-rahitō nidadh[au]
- 25 [sva-chint]ām || Sarvvasya jīvitam=a-nityam=a-sāravach=cha dōlā-chalām=anu-
vichintya tathā vibhūtim ||(I) nyāy-āga[tē]-
- 26 [na vi]bhavēna parāñ=cha bhaktim vikkyāpayann=uparī chakkra-gadā-
dharasya || Pīna⁶-vyāyata-vṛitta-lambi-subhujah=khaḍga-vraṇ[ai]-
- 27 [r=añki]taḥ ||(I) karṇ-ānta-pratisarppamāna(na)-nayana[h*] gyā(śyā)m-āvadāta-
chchhaviḥ ||(I) darpp-āvishkri(shkṛi)ta-sō(sā)ra-śattru-mathanō dushṭh(śhṭ)-
āśva-
28. [— —] balī ||(I) bhaktyā ch=āsuhrīdāñ=cha bāndhava-samō dharmm-ārttha-
kā-m-ōditah || Prajñā-śauryya-kul-ōdgaṭō diśi-
- 29 [diśi] prakkhyāta-vīryyō vaśī (I) puttrē Vishṇubhatē tathā Haribhatē
sambaddha-vañśa-kriyāḥ ||(I) ēta-

¹ The final long *i* of *kāminī* is shortened for the sake of the metre.

² Read *sainya*.

³ See page 73 above, note 1.

⁴ Read *saumyēshv=asīta*; which, however, entails another violation of the metre, since *asīta*, 'the eightieth,' gives us an anapästich where an antispästich is required.—We might satisfy the requirements of the metre by reading *saumyē=shṭ-dśīta*, which would give the 'eighty-eighth (year).' But this would also give us a locative singular, *saumyē*, where the locative plural, *saumyēshu*, is required in apposition with *śatēshu*.

⁵ Read *ōdapana*, or *ōdupāna*.

⁶ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita; and in the next verse.

- 30 [t=pāpa]-path-āvarôdhi vipulā-śrī-vallabhê(bhai)r=âtmajaiḥ ||(1) Vishṇô[h*]
sthānam=akārayad=bhagava-
- 31 'taś=śrī]mān=**Mayûrākshakaḥ** || Kailāsa¹-tuṅga-śikhara-ppratimasya yassya
dṛiṣṭv=ākri(kṛi)tiṁ pra-
- 32 [muditai]r=vvadan-āravindi(ndai)ḥ ||(1) vidyādharāḥ ppriyatamā-sahitāḥ su-
śōbham=ādarśi(rśa)-bimba-
- 33 [m=iva] yānty=avalōkayantaḥ || • Yān²=dṛiṣṭvā sura-sundarī-kara-tala-
vyāghriṣṭa-prishṭha-kṣaṇam ||(1) pratyā
- 34 [vartta]na-śaṅkinô . ratha-hayān=ākri(kṛi)ṣhya chañchat-saṭān ||(1) puṇy-ôdarka-
mati-prabhāva-munibhis=sarṇi
- 35 [stû]yamānô=mbarê || samrajy=āñjali-kūṭṭalan³=nata-śirā bhītaḥ prayāty=
aṅsumān || Mātri(tri)ṇāñ⁴=cha
- 36 [pramu]dita-ghan-ātyarttha-nihirādininām ||(1) tāntr-ôdbhūta-prabala-pavan-ôd-
varttit-āmbhônidhinām ||(1)
- 37 — — — — —]gatam=idam dākini-samprakirṇam ||(1) vēśm=ātyuggram
nṛipati-sachivô=kārayat=punya-hêtôḥ || Pātālê⁵ [— — —]
- 38 [— —]ratibhir=gguptam bhujāṅg-ô[pa*]maiḥ ||(1) śīta-svādu-viśuddha-bhūri-
salilam sôpāni(na)-māl-ôj[*]valam ||(1) da(?)[— — —]
- 39 [— — —]gahanam kshīrôdadhi-sparddhinam ||(1) kûpañ=ch=ainam=akārayad=
guṇa-nidhiḥ śrimān=**Mayûrākshakaḥ** || Yāvach⁶=ch[— — —]
- 40 [— — —] sāgarā ratnavantô nānā-gulma-druma-vanavati yāvad=urvvi sa-
śai(?)lā ||(1) yāvach=ch=ēndur=ggraha-gaṇa-chitam vyôma bhā[sika]-
- 41 [rôti tā]vat=kīrttir=bbhavatu vipulā śrī-**Mayûrākshakasy**=ēditi⁷ Siddhir=
astu [||*]

TRANSLATION.

..... the arm of (the god) Vishṇu;
..... the serpentine movements of the trunk of (Airāvata) the
elephant of (Indra) the lord of the gods

(Line 2).—Born in a lineage of rulers of the earth who were possessed of renowned
prowess and fame
beautiful there was the illustrious king **Naravarman**, the famous one;—
who pleased the gods with sacrifices, the saints with observances of a noble nature
..... (his) servants with honourable
treatment that was unequalled in the world, and the whole earth with excellent achieve-
ments;—[who] the appliances of elephants and horses
..... in [battle-fields] which were full of the rays of (his) sword; (and whose)
enemies, losing the power of motion through fear, are destroyed (by simply) seeing his face
in the van of war.

(L. 5).—[His son⁸] magnanimous; equal to Bṛihaspati in
intellect; possessed of a countenance like the full-moon; the standard of comparison, as it

¹ Metre, vasantatilaka.

² Metre, Sârdûlavikrîḍita.

³ Read *samkuchy=āñjali-kūṭmalan*

⁴ Metre, Mandâkrântâ.

⁵ Metre, Sârdûlavikrîḍita.

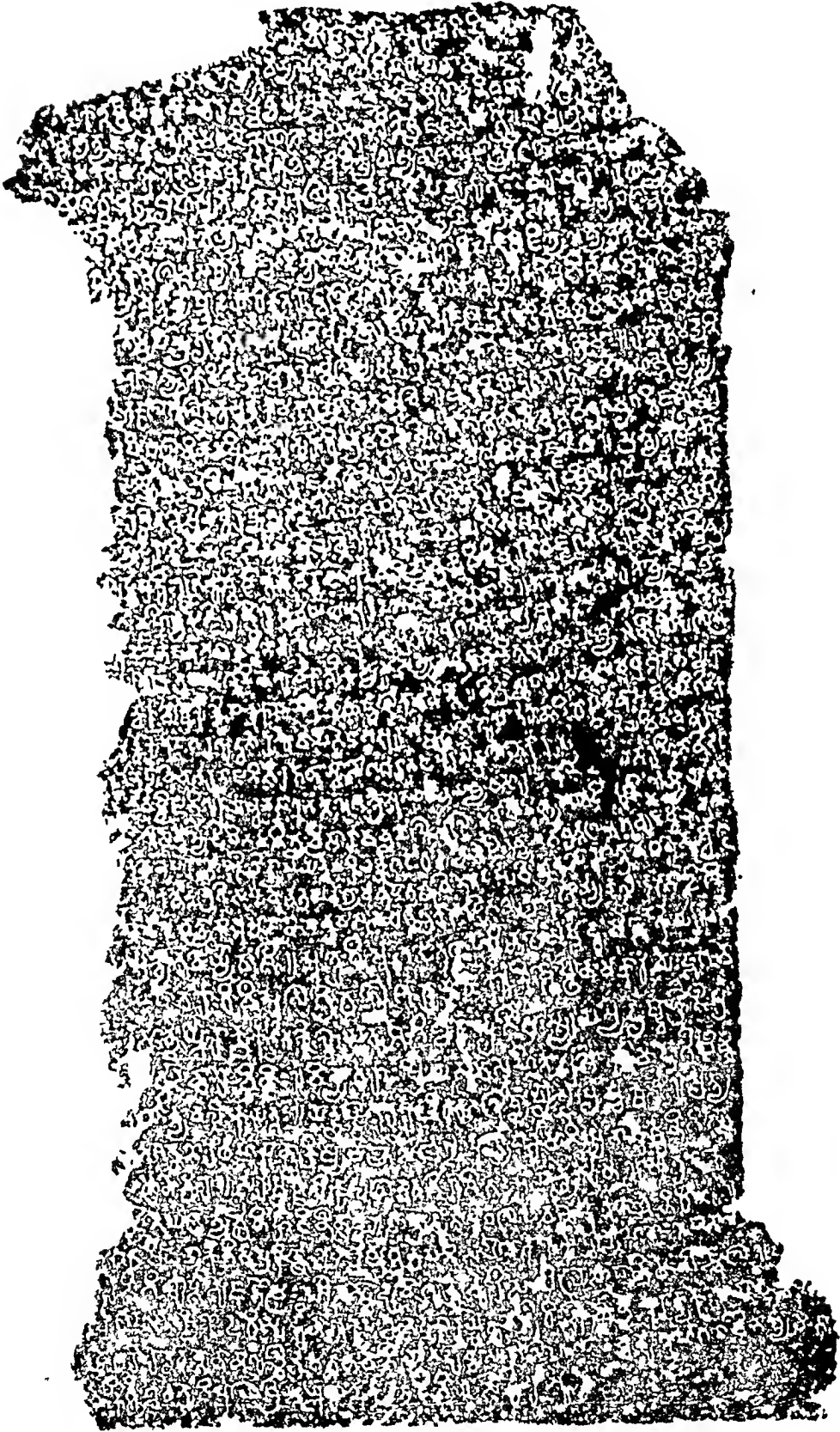
⁶ Metre, Mandâkrântâ.

⁷ The composer, or the writer, seems to have become confused here between *Mayûrākshakasy* = *ēti*, which is the correct reading, and *Mayûrākshakasya syād=iti*.

⁸ Or possibly "[his younger brother]"; see page 74 above, note 4.

Gangdhar Inscription of Visvavarman.—The Year 480

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were, for (*even*) Râma and Bhagîratha; on the earth, (*was*) **Viśvavarman**;—who surpassed (the mountain) Mèru in firmness, Vainya in hereditary virtue, the moon in development of lustre, (the god) Vishṇu in strength, and the most unendurable fire of universal destruction in brilliance, and (Indra) the lord of the gods in prowess;—who, when he grasps (*his*) weapon, cannot be gazed upon even for a moment by (*his*) enemies, whose eyes are blinded by fear, just like a sun, which, turning back upon (*its*) course, has an unendurable form and a brilliant and terrible lustre that is heightened by rising in a cloudless sky;—to whom obeisance is performed by the waterlilies which are the faces of the lovely women of (*his*) enemies, frightened beforehand by (*hearing of*) the prowess of (*his*) strength, (*and now*) destitute of ornaments, moist on the cheeks with the water of the tears that cling there, (*and*) deprived of beauty by having their wearing of adornments stopped;—whose forces, moreover, have reverence done to them by [the oceans], the palmyra-trees on the shores of which are beautified by the lustre of the production of jewels. (*from the waters*); the rows of the foam on which are broken through by the terrified sharks and marine monsters; (*and*) all of whose hands, which are their waves, are shaken about by a fierce wind;—at the time of the journeying forth of whose army, the earth has (*its*) thickets emptied of the beasts and birds which flee away from fear of the lances that uproot the trees and make the mountains tremble, and, having (*its*) highways made uneven by protuberances, sinks down as it were (*under the tread of his troops*);—whose reputation has respect paid to it in a reverential manner in the sky by the Vidyâdharas, bound in the fetters of the arms of (*their*) mistresses, who are blinded by the radiance, directed towards (*them*), of the rays of the jewels in (*his*) diadem, (*and*) the upper parts of whose cheeks are shaded by the lifting up of (*their*) joined hands in the act of respectful salutation;—and who, even when he was still in early youth, nourished (*his*) pure intellect by following the sacred writings, and now effects the protection of the world like Bharata, pointing out, as it were, the path of the true religion among kings. While he, the king, the bravest among kings, is governing the earth, just as (Indra) the lord of the gods, of unmeasured majesty, (*governs*) the heavens, there is never any one [among mankind] who delights in wickedness, [or] is beset by misfortune, or is destitute of happiness

(L. 19.)—And when four hundred fully-complete auspicious years,¹ together with the eightieth (*year*), had here gone by; on the bright thirteenth day of the month Kârttika which brings happiness to the thoughts of all mankind;—in the season² which abounds with waters that are of a reddish-brown colour with the pollen that is discharged from the blue waterlilies; when the skirts of the groves are radiant with the flowers of the *bandhûka*³ and *bâna*⁴-trees; when there is the time of the awakening from sleep of (the god) Madhusûdana;⁵ (*and*) when the stars are as pure as a bed of waterlilies in full bloom;—

(L. 22.)—He who has adorned (*this*) city on the banks of the Gargarâ with irrigation wells, tanks, and temples and halls of the gods, drinking-wells, and pleasure-gardens of

¹ See page 73 above, note 1; and page 75, note 4.

² *i.e.* Śarad, the autumn, consisting of the two months Āśvayuja (September-October) and Kârttika (October-November).

³ *bandhûka*; 'a shrub bearing a red flower; *Pentapetes Phœnicea*; *Terminalia Tomentosa*.'

⁴ *bâna*; 'the blue-flowering *Barleria*.'

⁵ Vishṇu, who sleeps during the four months of the rainy season. His slumber commences on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month Āshâdha (June-July), and ends on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Kârttika (October-November).

various kinds, and causeways, and long pools, just as if (*he were adorning his own*) beloved wife with different sorts of ornaments; he who is, as it were, the third eye of the king; who is of noble behaviour; who is devoted to gods, Brāhman, spiritual preceptors, relations, and holy men; and who, (*by nature*) not free from partiality (*for this particular virtue*), has (*always*) applied (*his*) thoughts to courteous behaviour, desitute of litigation, which is applauded by the sacred writings;—he who, having reflected that the life of every man lasts not for ever and is full of feebleness, and that prosperity is as unstable as a swing, is displaying, by means of (*his*) lawfully acquired riches, the most extreme devotion towards (the god Vishnu) who bears the discus and the club;¹—he who has two handsome arms that are muscular and long and round and pendulous; who is [marked] with the wounds of swords; whose eyes stretch to the tips of (*his*) ears; who is possessed of a clear skin like that of a young woman of tender age; who destroys (*his*) enemies when they display energy through pride; who is powerful; who through devotion behaves like a relation towards (*his*) enemies; who is experienced in (*the combined pursuit, without mutual conflict, of*) religion and wealth and pleasure:—

(L. 28.)—He, the illustrious Mayûrâkshaka,—who is sprung from a family possessed of wisdom and prowess; whose heroism is renowned in every region; who holds himself under control; (*and*) who has accomplished, in his son Vishnubhata and also Haribhata, the duty of (*continuing his*) lineage,—caused to be built by his sons, the favourites of great good fortune, this shrine of the divine (god) Vishnu, which blocks up the path of sin,—seeing the aspect of which, resembling the lofty peak of (the mountain) Kailâsa, the Vidyâdharas, accompanied by their mistresses, come and gaze into it with happy faces that are like waterlilies, as if it were the very lustrous surface of a mirror;—(*and*) seeing which (*aspect*), at the moment when the surface (*of the roof*) has been polished by the palms of the hands of the lovely women of the gods, the sun, who in the sky is praised in chorus by the saints possessed of superhuman power of mind resulting from religious merit, reins in his chariot-horses with (*their*) tossing manes, which think (*from the reflection*) that they are returning towards (*themselves*), and, joining (*his hands*) together (*so that they resemble*) an expanding bud in respectful salutation, runs away in fear with bent-down head.

(L. 35.)—Also, for the sake of religious merit, the counsellor of the king caused to be built this very terrible abode, (*and*) filled full of female ghouls, of the divine Mothers, who utter loud and tremendous shouts in joy, (*and*) who stir up the (*very*) oceans with the mighty wind rising from the magic rites of their religion.

(L. 37.)—And the illustrious Mayûrâkshaka, the receptacle of virtuous qualities, caused to be made this well, which is protected by in the lower regions, resembling serpents; which possesses much water, cool, and sweet, and pure; (*and*) which rivals the ocean.

(L. 39.)—As long as the oceans are full of jewels; as long as the earth, with (*its*) mountains, abounds with many thickets and trees and woods; and as long as the moon lights up the sky that is inlaid with the host of the planets;—so long let the fame of the illustrious Mayûrâkshaka remain abundant! Let there be success!

¹ This compound combines two well-known names of Vishnu,—Chakradhara, and Gadâdhara.

No. 18; PLATE XI.

MANDASOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA
AND BANDHUVARMAN.

THE MALAVA YEARS 493 AND 529.

THIS inscription, which I published, for the first time, in 1886, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 194 ff., was discovered through information given by the late Mr. Arthur Sullivan, who, in 1879, sent to General Cunningham, from Mandasôr, a hand-copy of the fragmentary pillar inscription of Yaśôdharman, No. 34 below, Plate xxiC. I saw this copy in 1883, and, recognising in it the name of Mihirakula, sent my copyists, in March 1884, to take impressions of this fragment and of any other inscriptions that they might find. In the search made by them, they discovered the present inscription, and also the entire duplicate copy of the pillar inscription of Yaśôdharman, No. 33 below, Plate xxiB., which had escaped the notice of Mr. Sullivan.

Mandasôr,¹ or more properly Daśôr, the ancient Daśapura,² on the north or left

¹The 'Mandesar, Mandesor, Mandesur, Mandisore, Mandosar, Mandasaur, Mundesor, and Mundesoor,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 35. Lat. 24° 3' N.; Long. 75° 8' E.

²Daśôr is the name by which, in preference to Mandasôr, the town is habitually spoken of by the villagers and agriculturists of the locality and neighbourhood, and even as far as Indôr. And in some bilingual *sanads* or warrants, of about a century and a half ago, I found this form, Daśôr, used in the vernacular passages, while the Persian passages of the same documents give the form Mandasôr. So also, Paṇḍits still habitually use the form Dasapura in their correspondence; a practice with which we may compare the use, also by Paṇḍits, of Ahipura and Nakhapura for respectively Sampgaum and Ugargol in the Belgaum District; except that it is doubtful whether these are original Sanskrit names, or only pedantic Sanskrit translations of original vernacular names.—The local explanation of the name is, that the place was originally a city of the Purāṇic king Daśaratha. But, on this view, the modern name should be Dasrathôr. The true explanation evidently is that,—just as now the township includes from twelve to fifteen outlying hamlets or divisions; Khilchîpur, Jankûpurâ, Râmpuriyâ, Chandrapurâ, Bâlâgañj, &c.,—so, when it was originally constituted, it included exactly ten (*daśa*) such hamlets (*pura*).—As regards the fuller form of Mandasôr, by which alone the town is known officially and is entered in maps, I cannot at present explain the origin of it. But Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji suggested to me that it may perhaps represent Manda-Daśapura, "the distressed or afflicted Daśapura," in commemoration of the overthrow of the town, and the destruction of the Hindu temples in it, by the Musalmâns, in memory of which, even to the present day, the Nâgar Brâhmaṇs of the place will not drink the water there. And, as tending to support this suggestion, I would mention that one of the Paṇḍits whom I questioned on the spot, gave me Mannadasôr as another form of the name. Another suggestion, by Mr. F. S. Growse, is that the name combines the two names of Maḍ and Daśapura; the former of them (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 195) being the name of a village, also called Afzalpur, about eleven miles south-east of Mandasôr, from which, it is said, were brought, from ruined Hindu temples, the stones that were used in the construction of the Musalmân fort at Mandasôr. The true explanation, whatever it may be, would probably be found in the *Daśapura-Mâhâtmya*, which is extant, but which I did not succeed in obtaining for examination.—In addition to the present inscription, the ancient Sanskrit name, Daśapura, occurs also in line 2 of an early Nâsik inscription of Ushavadâta (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 99, and Plate lii. No. 5); and in another inscription at Mandasôr itself, dated (Vikrama)-Samvat 1321 (A.D. 1264-65) Guru(vâra) or Thursday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhâdrapada, which is on a white stone built into the wall on the left hand inside the inner gate of the eastern entrance of the Fort.—Under the same name, the place is also mentioned, in connection with Avanti (Ujjain), in the *Bṛhat-Saṃhitâ*, xiv. vv. 11-16 (Kern's Translation, *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. V. p. 83).

bank of the river Śiwanā,¹ is the chief town of the Mandasôr District of Scindia's Dominions in the Western Mâlwa division of Central India. The inscription is on a stone slab, apparently rather good and dark sand-stone, built into the wall on the right hand half-way down a small flight of steps leading to the river in front of a mediæval temple of the god Śiva, under the name of Mahâdêva, at the Mahâdêva-Ghât, which is on the south bank of the river, just opposite the Fort, and, I think, in the limits of the hamlet of Chandrapurâ.

The **writing** covers, except for a margin of about half an inch, the whole front of the stone, about 2' 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " broad by 1' 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high. It has been a good deal worn away about the centre of the stone; and also the stone is chipped at several places round the edges; but only a few letters here and there are really illegible, and these can in each case be easily supplied.—The average **size** of the letters is about $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets; but they include two letters borrowed from the northern alphabets; *viz.* the separate form of the lingual *d*, as distinct from the dental *d*, *e.g.* in *tadit*, line 6, and *chûdd*, line 17; and also the rare lingual *dh*, *e.g.* in *drîdha*, lines 9 and 11. They give a very good specimen of what may be called the Western Mâlwa alphabet of the fifth century A.D.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and, with the exception of the opening *siddham* and the concluding words in line 24, the entire inscription is in verse.—In respect of **orthography** we have to notice (1) the occasional use of the *jihvâmûlîya* and *upadhmanîya*; *e.g.* in *jagatah=kshaya*, line 1; *ganaiḥ=kham*, line 8, *pravîṣṛitaiḥ=pushṇâti*, line 2; and *abhitâmraḥ=pâyât*, line 3; but not, for instance, in *avabhugnaiḥ kvachit*, line 5; *paraḥ kṛipand*, line 14; *rajah-piṇjaritaiḥ*, line 5; and *pratimânitâḥ pramuditâ*, line 9; (2) the occasional doubling of *t*, *dh*, and *bh*, in conjunction with a following *r*; *e.g.* in *chitrêṇa*, line 12; *rôddhra*, line 18; and *abbhra*, line 6; (3) the same of *th* and *dh*, with a following *y*; *e.g.* in *patthya*, line 9; and *svâddhyâya*, line 8; and (4) the same of *dh*, with a following *v*; *e.g.* in *addhvâdi*, line 3.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of a king named **Kumârâgupta**, who, from the description of him in line 13 as sovereign of the whole earth, can be no other than the well-known **Kumârâgupta** of the **Early Gupta** dynasty. Under him, the governor at **Daśapura** was **Bandhuvarman**, the son of Viśvavarman. The inscription belongs throughout to the solar form of worship. It narrates, in the first place, how a number of silk-weavers immigrated from the Lâṭa *vishaya*, or central and southern Gujarât, into the city of Daśapura; and how some of the band took up other occupations, while those who adhered to their original pursuit constituted themselves into a separate and flourishing guild. And it then proceeds to record that, while Bandhuvarman was governing at Daśapura, the guild of silk-weavers built at that city a temple of the Sun, which was completed when, in words, four hundred and ninety-three years had elapsed, "by (*the reckoning from*) the tribal constitution of the Mâlavas,"² and therefore when the four hundred and ninety-fourth year (A.D. 437-38) was current, on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Sahasya (December-January). Afterwards, under other kings, part of this temple fell into disrepair. And then it was restored by the same guild, when, in words, five hundred and twenty-nine years had elapsed, and therefore when the five hundred and thirtieth year (A.D. 473-74) was current, on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Tapasya (February-March). This second date is, of

¹ The 'Sau, and Seu,' of maps.

² See the Preface.

course, the year in which the inscription was actually composed and engraved; since we are told at the end that it was all composed by Vatsabhaṭṭi, and the engraving throughout is obviously the work of one and the same hand.

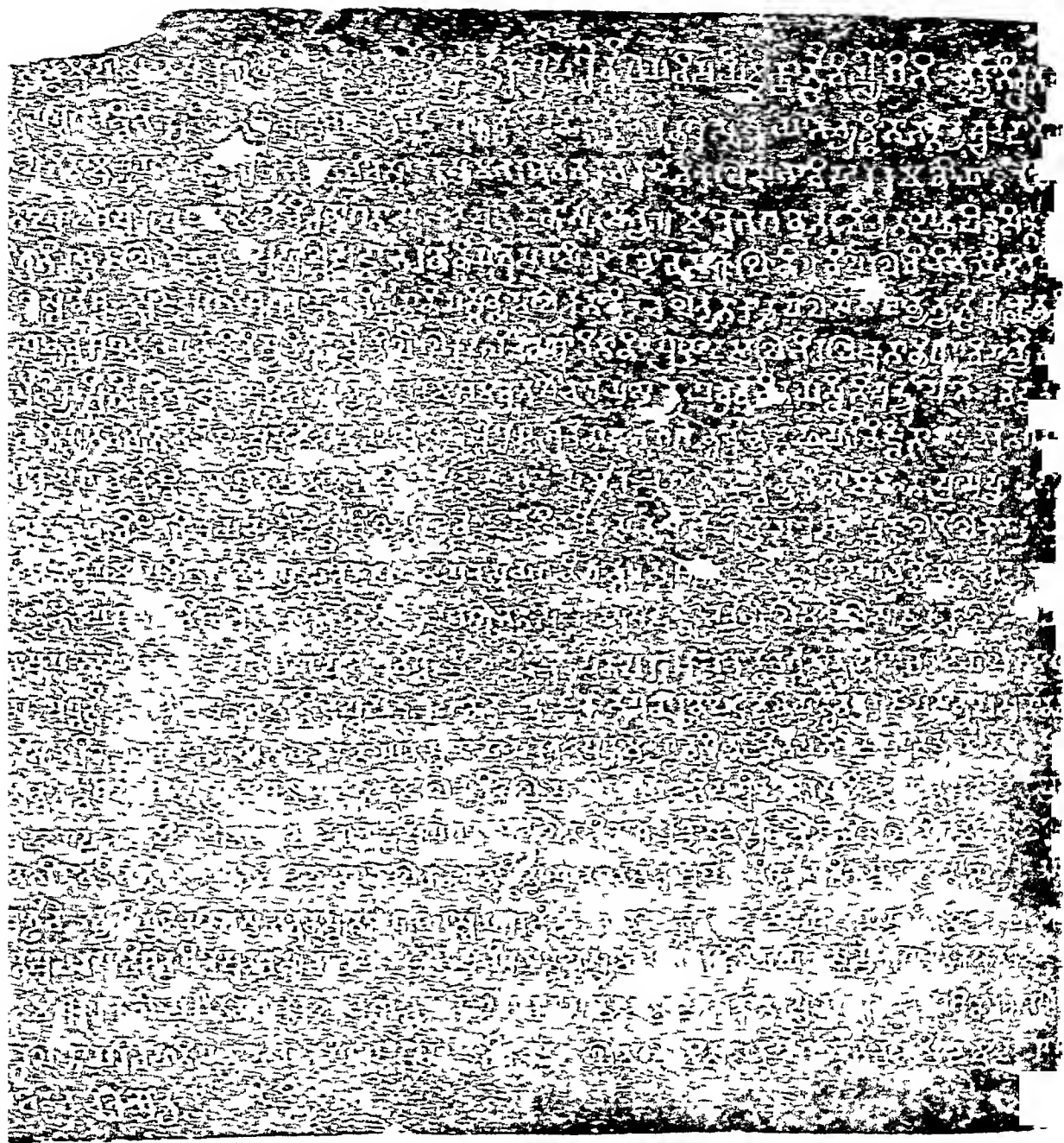
TEXT.¹

- 1 [Sid]dh[a]m [11] Y[ō³ v]rīt[^{*}]y-a[r]ttham=upāsyatē sura-gaṇais=siddhais=cha
siddhy=artthibhir=ddhyān-aik-āgra-parair=vvidhēya-vishayair=mmōksh-artthibhir
=yyōgibhiḥ 1 bhaktyā tīvra-tapōdhanais=cha munibhis=śāpa-prasāda-
kshamair=hētur=yyō jagataḥ=kshay-ābhuyadayayōḥ=pāyāt=sa vō bhāskarāḥ 1(11)
Tat[^{*}]va-jñāna-vidō=pi yasya na vidur=brahmarsha-
- 2 yō=bhyudyatāḥ=kṛtsnam yaś=cha gabhastibhiḥ pravisṛitaiḥ=push[ṇ]āti lōka-
trayam 1 gandharv-āmara-siddha-kinnara-narais=samstūyatē=bhyut[^h]ito
bhaktēbhyaś=cha dadāti yō=bhilashitam tasmai savitrē namah 1(11)
Yah³=pratyaham prativibhāty=udayāchalēndra-vistīrṇa-tunga-sikhara-sṣhalī-
āmsu-jālah kshīb-āṁganā-
- 3 jana-kapōla-tal-ābhitāmraḥ=pāyāt=sa vas=su-k[i]raṇ-ābharaṇō vivasvān 1(11)
Kusuma⁴-bhar-ānata-taruvara-dēvakulasabhā-vihāra-ramaṇi(ṇi)yat 1 Lāṭa-
vishayān=nag-āvṛita-śailāj=jagati prathita-śilpāḥ 1(11) Te⁵ dēśa pārtthiva-
guṇ-āpahṛitāḥ prakāśam=aaddhv-ādi-jāny-a-viralāny=asukhā-
- 4 ny=apāśya 1 jāt-ādarā Daśapuram prathamam manōbhir=anv=āgatās-
sa-suta-bandhu-janās=samētya 11 Mattēbha-gaṇḍa-taṭa-vichyuta-dāna-bindu-
sikt-ōpal-āchala-sahasra-vibhūshā(sha)pāyāḥ [1^{*}] pushp-āvanamra-taru-maṇḍa-
vatamsakāyā bhūmēḥ=paran=tilaka-bhūtam=idam kramēṇa 11 Taṭ⁶-ōttha-
vrīksha-chyuta-
- 5 naika-pushpa-vichitra-tir-ānta-jalāni bhānti 1 praphulta-padm-ābharaṇāni yatra
sarāmsi kāraṇḍava-samkulāni 11 Vilōka-vichī-chalit-āravinda-patad-rajah-
piñjaritais=cha hamsaiḥ 1 sva-kēsar-ōdāra-bhar-āvabhugnaiḥ kvachit=
sarāmsy=amburuhais=cha bhānti 1(11) Sva-pushpa-bhār-āvanatair=
nnagēndrair=mada-
- 6 pragalbh-āli-kula-svanais=cha 1 ajasra-gābhis=cha pur-āṅganābhir=vvanāni yasmin=
samalāmkṛitāni 11 Chalāt⁷-patākāny=abalā-sanāthāny=atyarttha-suklāny=adhik-
ōnatāni 1 taḍil-latā-chitra-sit-ābbhra-kūṭa-tuly-ōpamānāni grīhāni yatra 11
Kailāsa⁸-tunga-sikhara-pratimāni ch=ānyāny=ābhānti dīrggha-valabhī-
- 7 ni sa-vēdikāni 1 gāndharva-śabda-mukharāni(ṇi) nivishṭa-chitra-karmmāni lōla-
kadali-vana-sōbhitāni 11 Prāsāda⁹-mālābhir=alamkṛitāni dharāni vidāryy=
aiva samutthitāni 1 vimāna-mālā-saḍṛiśāni yatra grīhāni pūrṇ-ēndu-
kar-āmalāni 11 Yad¹⁰=bhāty=abhiramya-sarid-[d^{*}]vayēna chapal-ōrṇamīṇā
samupagūḍham

¹ From the ink-impression.² Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita; and in the next verse.³ Metre, Vasantatilaka.⁴ Metre, Āryā.⁵ Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next verse.⁶ Metre, Upēndravajrā; and in the next two verses.⁷ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.⁸ Metre, Vasantatilaka.⁹ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.¹⁰ Metre, Āryā.

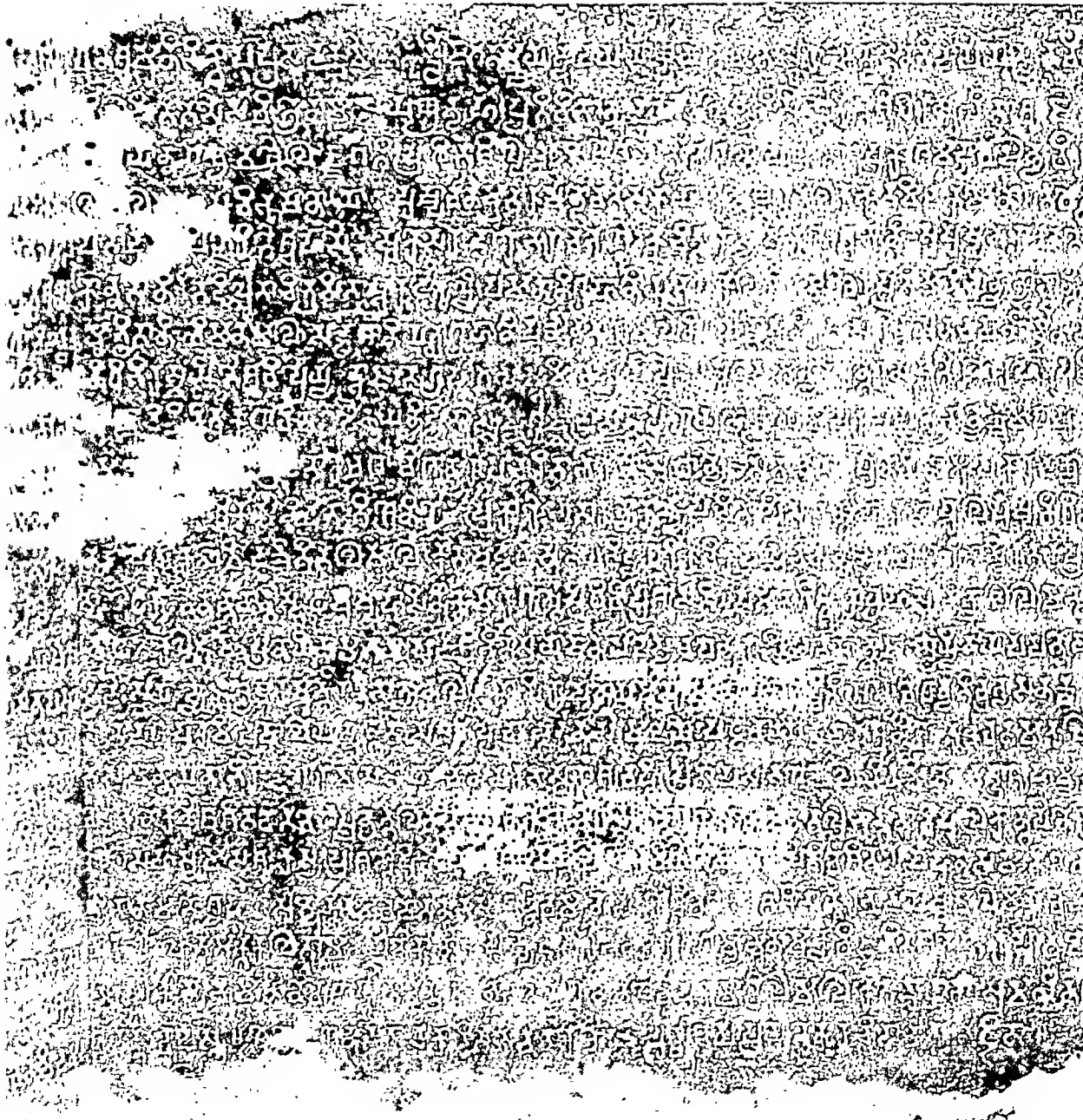
- 8 rahasi kucha-sálinibhyám Príti-Ratibhyám Smar-āngam=iva || Satya¹-
kshamā-dama-sāma-vrata-śaucha-dhairyya-svāddhyāya-vṛitta-vinaya-sthiti-bud-
dhy-upētaiḥ | vidyā-tapō-nidhibhir=a-smayitāis=cha vipair=yyad=bhrājatē
graha-gaṇaiḥ=kham=iva pradīptaiḥ || Atha² sāmētya niranvara-saṅgatair=
aharahā-pravijimbhita-
- 9 sauhṛdāḥ [³] nṛpatibhis=suta-vat=pratim[ā]nitāḥ pramuditā nyavasanta
sukham purē || Śravaṇa³-[su]bhaga[m] dh[ā]nurvaidya[m] dṛḍham
parinishthitāḥ sucharita-śat-āsaṅgāḥ=kēchid=vichittra-kathā-vidaḥ | vinaya-
nibhṛtās = samyag - dharmma - prasāṅga - parāyaṇāḥ = priyam = a - parusham
patthyam ch=ānyē kshamā bahu bhāshitum ||
- 10 Kēchit⁴=sva-karmmany=adhikās=tath=ānyair=vvijñāyatē jyōtisham=ātmavadbhiḥ |
adyāpi ch=ānyē samara-pragalbhāḥ=kurvvanty=ariṇām=a-hitam pra-
sahya I(II) Prājñā⁵ manōjña-vadhavaḥ prathit-ōru-varṁśā varṁś-ānurūpa-
charit-ābharaṇās=tath=ānyē | satya-vratāḥ praṇayinām=upakāra-dakṣhā
visrambha-
- 11 [pūrvva]m=aparē dṛḍha-sauhṛdās=cha || Vijita⁶-vishaya-saṅgair=ddharmma-
śīlais=tath=ānyair=m[ri]dubhir=adhika-sat[t⁷]vair=llōkayātr-āmaraiś=cha | sva-
kula-tilaka-bhūtair=mukta-rāgair=udārait=adhikam=abhivibhāti śrēṇir=ēvarṁ-
prakāraiḥ || Tārūnya⁷-kānty-upachitō=pi suvarṇṇahāra-tāmbūla-pushpa-
vidhinā sama-
- 12 [lāmkrī]tō=pi | nārī-janaḥ priyam=upaiti na tāvad=agryā(śryā)m yāyan=na
paṭṭamaya-vastra-y[u]gāni dhattē || Sparśa[va]tā⁸ varṇāntara-
vibhāga-chittreṇa nētra-subhagēna | yais=sakalam=idam kshititalam=alam-
kṛitam paṭṭa-vastrēṇa || Vidyādhari⁹-ruchira-pallava-karṇṇapūra-vāt-ērit-
āsthirataram pravichintya
- 13 [lō]kam | mānushyam=artha-nichayāmś=cha tathā viśālāmś=tēshām śubhā
matir=abhūd=achalā tatas=tu || Chatus¹⁰-samudr-ān[t]a-vilōla-mēkhalām
Sumēru-Kailāsa-bṛihat-payōdharām | van-ānta-vānta-sphuṭa-pushpa-hāsinim
Kumārāguptē prithivīm praśāsati || Samāna¹¹-dhīś=Śukra-Bṛihas-
patibhyām lālāma-bhūtō bhuvī
- 14 pārtthivānām | raṇēshu yaḥ Pārttha-samāna-karmmā babhūva gōptā¹²
nṛipa-**Viśvavarmmā** || Dīn¹³-ānukampana-parāḥ kṛipaṇ-ārtta-vargga-
sandh[ā]-pradō=dhika-dayātur=anātha-nāthaḥ | kalpa-drumaḥ praṇayinām=
abhayam pradaś=cha bhītasya yō janapadasya cha bandhur=āsīt ||
Tasy¹³=ātmajaḥ sthairyya-nay-ōpapannō bandhu-priyō
- 15 bandhur=iva prajānām | barmdhv-artti-harttā nṛipa-**Bandhuvarmmā** dvid-
dṛipta-paksha-kshapaṇ-aika-dakṣhaḥ || Kāntō¹⁴ yuvā raṇa-paṭur=vvinay-
ānvitāś=cha rāj=āpi sann=upasṛitō na madaiḥ smay-ādyaiḥ | śṛiṅgāra

¹ Metre, Vasantatilaka.² Metre, Hariṇī.³ Metre, Vasantatilaka.⁴ Metre, Vasantatilaka.⁵ Metre, Vasantatilaka.⁶ Metre, Upēndravajrā.⁷ Metre, Indravajrā.⁸ Metre, Drutavilambita.⁹ Metre, Indravajrā.¹⁰ Metre, Mālinī.¹¹ Metre, Āryā.¹² Metre, Varṁśastha.¹³ Metre, Vasantatilaka.¹⁴ Metre, Vasantatilaka.



INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM.

prabhavarman.—The Malava Years 493 & 529



mùrttir=abhibhāty=an-alamkṛitō=pi rūpēṇa yāḥ=kusumachāpa iva dvitīyaḥ ||
Vaidhavya¹-tivra-vyasana-kshatānām

- 16 smṛi(smṛi)tvā yam=adyāpy=ari-sundarīpām | bhayād=bhavaty=āyata-lōchanānām
ghana-stan-āyāsa-karaḥ prakampaḥ || Tasminn²=ēva kshītipati-vri(vri)shē
Baṁdhuvarma³=udārē samyak-sphītam Daśapuram=idam pālayaty=
unnat-āmsē | śilp-āvāptair=ddhana-samudayaiḥ paṭṭavāyair=udāram
śrēṇibhūtair=bbhavanam=atulaṁ kārītam
- 17 dīpta-raśmēḥ || Vistīrṇa⁴-tuṅga-śikharam śikhari-prakāśam=abhyudgat-ēndv-
amala-raśmi-kalāpa-gauram | yad=bhāti paśchima-purasya nivishṭa-
kānta-chūḍāmaṇi-pratisaman=nayan-ābhiramam || Rāmā-sanātha-[ra]chanē
dara-bhāskar-āniśu-vahni-pratāpa-subhagē jala-līna-mīnē | chandrāmśu-
harmyatala-
- 18 chandana-tālavṛinta-hār-ōpabhōdha(ga)-rahitē hima-dagdha-padmē || Rōddhra-
priyamgu-taru-kundalatā-vikōśa-pushp - āsava - pramud[i]t - āli - kal - ābhirāmē |
kalē tushāra-kaṇa-karkkaśa-śīta-vāta-vēga-pranṛitta-lavali-nagaṇ-aikaśākhē ||
Smara⁵-vaśaga-taruṇajana-vallabhāṅganā-vipula-kānta-pīn-ōru-
- 19 stana-jaghana-ghan-ālingana-nirbhartsita-tuhina-hima-pātē || Mālavānām⁶
gaṇa-sthityā yāt[ē] śata-chatusṭayē | tri-navaty-adhikē=bdānām=ri(ri)tau
sēvya-ghana-svanē || Sahasya-māsa-śuklasya praśastē=hni trayōdaśē |
maṅgal-āchāra-vidhinā prāsādō=yam nivēśitaḥ || Bahunā samatītēna
- 20 kālēn=ānyaiś=cha pārtthivaiḥ | vyaśīryat=aika-dēśō=sya bhavanasya tatō=
dhunā || Sva-yaśō-v[r]i(vri)ddhayē sarvvam=aty-udāram=udārayā saṁskā-
ritam=idam bhūyaḥ śrēṇyā bhānumatō griham || Aty⁷-unnatam=
avadātani nabha[h]-sprīśann=iva⁸ manōharaiḥ śikharaiḥ | śaśi-bhānvōr=
abhyudayēshv=amala-mayūkh-āyātana-
- 21 bhūtām || Vatsara-satēshu pañchasu viśamty⁹-adhikēshu navasu ch=
ābdēshu | yātēshv=abhiramya-Tapasya-māsa-śukla-dvitīyāyām || Spashtair¹⁰=
asōkataru-kēta-ka-simduvāra-lōlātimuktakalatā-madayantikānām | pushp-
ōdgamair=abhinavair=adhigamya nūnam=aikyam vijrīmbhita-śarē Hara-
pū(dhū)ta-dēhē ||
- 22 Madhu¹⁰-pāna-mudita-madhukara-kul-ōpagīta-nagan(ṇ)-aika-pṛithu-śākhē | kalē
nava-kusum-ōdgama-damtura-kānta-prachura-rōddhrē || Śāśin=ēva nabhō
vimalam kaus[t]ubha-maṇin=ēva Śārṅgiṇō vakshaḥ | bhavana-varēṇa
tath=ēdam puram=akhilam=alamkṛitam=udāram || Amalina¹¹-śaśi-
- 23 lēkhā-damturam piṅgalānām parivahati samūham yāvad=īśō jāṭānām |
vikāṭa-kamala-mālām=aṁsa-saktām cha Śārṅgi bhāvanam=idam=udāram

¹ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.

² Metre, Mandākrāntā.

³ Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next two verses.

⁴ Metre, Āryā.

⁵ Metre, Ślōka (Anusṭubh); and in the next three verses.

⁶ Metre, Āryā; and in the next verse.

⁷ *spriśan* is the nominative singular of the masculine; whereas the neuter *spriśat*, in apposition with *griham*, is what is required. This, however, would not suit the metre. The only emendation that suits the metre, is to alter the construction and read *nabhaḥ spriśat=iva*.

⁸ Read *vimśaty*.

⁹ Metre, Vasantatilaka.

¹⁰ Metre, Āryā; and in the next verse.

¹¹ Metre, Mālinī.

śāśvatan=tāvad=astu || Śrēṇy¹-ādēśēna bhaktyā cha kāritaṁ
 bhavanam ravēḥ | pūrvvā ch=ēyam² prayatnēna rachitā
 Vatsabhaṭṭinā ||

24 Svasti kartṛi-lēkhaka-vāchaka-śrōtṛibhyaḥ || Siddhir=astu ||

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! May that Sun protect you,—who is worshipped by the hosts of the gods for the sake of existence, and by the Siddhas³ who wish for supernatural powers, (*and*) by ascetics, entirely given over to abstract meditation (*and*) having worldly attractions well under control, who wish for the final liberation of the soul, and, with devotion, by saints, practising strict penances, (*who wish to become*) able to counteract curses; (*and*) who is the cause of the destruction and the commencing (*again*) of the universe! Reverence to that Sun,—whom (*even*) the Brāhmaṇical sages, though they knew the knowledge of the truth (*and*) exerted themselves, failed to comprehend; and who nourishes the whole of the three worlds with (*his*) rays diffused in all directions; who, when he is risen, is praised by Gandharvas,⁴ gods, Siddhas, Kinnaras,⁵ and Naras;⁶ and who grants (*their*) desires to those who worship (*him*)! May that Sun, decorated with glorious beams, protect you,—who shines, day after day, with the mass of (*his*) rays flowing down over the wide and lofty summit of the lordly mountain of dawn, (*and*) who is of a dark-red colour like the cheeks of intoxicated women!

(Line 3.)—From the district of **Lāṭa**, which is pleasing with choice trees that are bowed down by the weight of (*their*) flowers, and with temples and assembly-halls of the gods, and with *viḥāris*, (*and*) the mountains of which are covered over with vegetation, to (*this*) city of **Daśapura** there came, full of respect,—first, in thought; and afterwards (*in person*) in a band, together with (*their*) children and kinsmen,—men who were renowned in the world for (*skill in their*) craft (*of silk-weaving*), and who, being manifestly attracted by the virtues of the kings of the country, gave no thought to the continuous discomforts produced by the journey and its accompaniments. And in course (*of time*) this (*city*) became the forehead-decoration of the earth, which is adorned with a thousand mountains whose rocks are besprinkled with the drops of rut that trickle down from the sides of the temples of rutting elephants, (*and*) which has for (*its*) decorative ear-ornaments the trees weighed down with flowers. Here⁷ the lakes, crowded with *kāraṇḍava*-ducks, are beautiful,—having the waters close to (*their*) shores made variegated with the many flowers that fall down from the trees growing on the banks, (*and*) being adorned with full-blown waterlilies. The lakes are beautiful (*in some places*) with the

¹ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).

² Supply *prāstih*.—See page 87 below, note 10.

³ Siddhas; semi-divine beings, supposed to be of great purity and holiness, and said to be specially characterised by the possession of the eight supernatural faculties. Their habitation is in the sky, or in the middle region between the earth and the sky.

⁴ Gandharvas; the celestial musicians.

⁵ Kinnaras; mythical beings, with a human figure and the head of a horse, reckoned among the Gandharvas, and celebrated as musicians.

⁶ Naras; mythical beings, allied to the Gandharvas and Kinnaras.

⁷ The original has, as far as line 8, the relative construction, which I have changed, for convenience of translation, into the absolute.

swans that are engaged in the pollen that falls from the waterlilies shaken by the tremulous waves; and in other places with the waterlilies bent down by the great burden of their filaments. Here the woods are adorned with lordly trees, that are bowed down by the weight of their flowers and are full of the sounds of the flights of bees that hum loudly through intoxication (*caused by the juices of the flowers that they suck*), and with the women from the city who are perpetually singing. Here the houses have waving flags, (*and*) are full of tender women, (*and*) are very white (*and*) extremely lofty, resembling the peaks of white clouds lit up with forked lightning. And other long buildings on the roofs of the houses, with arbours in them, are beautiful,—being like the lofty summits of (the mountain) Kailāsa; being vocal with songs (*like those*) of the Gandharvas; having pictured representations arranged (*in them*); (*and*) being adorned with groves of waving plantain-trees. Here, cleaving asunder the earth, there rise up houses which are decorated with successions of storeys; which are like rows of aerial chariots; (*and*) which are as pure as the rays of the full-moon. This (*city*) is beautiful (*through*) being embraced by two charming rivers,¹ with tremulous waves, as if it were the body of (the god) Smara (*embraced*) in secrecy by (*his wives*) Prīti and Rati, possessed of (*heaving*) breasts. Like the sky with the brilliant multitudes of planets, it shines with Brāhmaṇs endowed with truth, patience, self-control, tranquillity, religious vows, purity, fortitude, private study, good conduct, refinement, and steadfastness, (*and*) abounding in learning and penances, and free from the excitement of surprise.

(L. 8.)—So assembling together, (*and*) day by day received into greater friendship by (*their*) constant associates, (*and*) honourably treated like sons by the kings, in joy and happiness they settled in (*this*) city. Some of them (*became*) excessively well acquainted with the science of archery, (*in which the twanging of the bow is*) pleasing to the ear; others, devoting themselves to hundreds of excellent achievements, (*became*) acquainted with wonderful tales; and others, unassuming in (*their*) modesty (*and*) devoted to discourses of the true religion, (*became*) able to say much that was free from harshness (*and yet was*) salutary. Some excelled in their own business (*of silk-weaving*); and by others, possessed of high aims, the science of astrology was mastered; and even to-day others of them, valorous in battle, effected by force the destruction of (*their*) enemies. So also others, wise, possessed of charming wives, (*and*) belonging to a famous and mighty lineage, are decorated with achievements that befit (*their*) birth; and others, true to (*their*) promises (*and*) firm in friendship with the accompaniment of confidence, are skilled in conferring favours upon (*their*) intimates. (*And so*) the guild shines gloriously all around, through those who are of this sort, and through others who,—overcoming the attachment for worldly objects; being characterised by piety; (*and*) possessing most abundant goodness,—(*are*) very gods in an earthly habitation.

(L. 11.)—(*Just as*) a woman, though endowed with youth and beauty (*and*) adorned with the arrangement of golden necklaces and betel-leaves and flowers, goes not to meet (*her*) lover in a secret place, until she has put on a pair of coloured silken cloths,—(*so*) the whole of this region of the earth, is (*almost superfluously*) adorned through them, (*as if*) with a silken garment, agreeable to the touch, variegated with the arrangement of different colours; (*and*) pleasing to the eye.

¹ Of these rivers, one, of course, is the Śiwanā, on the north bank of which the town stands. The other must be the 'Sumli,' which now flows into the Śiwanā about three miles to the north-east of the town.

(L. 12.)—Having reflected that the world is very unsteady, being blown about by the wind like the charming ear-ornaments, (*made of*) sprigs, of the women of the Vidyâ-dharas; (*and similarly*) the estate of man; and also accumulations of wealth, large (*though they may be*),—they became possessed of a virtuous (*and*) stable understanding; and then;¹—

(L. 13.)—While Kumârâgupta was reigning over the (*whole*) earth, whose pendulous marriage-string is the verge of the four oceans; whose large breasts are (the mountains) Sumêru and Kailâsa;² (*and*) whose laughter is the full-blown flowers showered forth from the borders of the woods;—

(L. 13.)—There was a ruler, king Viśvavarman,³ who was equal in intellect to Śukra and Bṛihaspati; who became the most eminent of princes on the earth; (*and*) whose deeds in war were equal to (*those of*) Pârtha;—who was very compassionate to the unhappy; who fulfilled his promises to the miserable and the distressed; who was excessively full of tenderness; (*and*) who was a very tree of plenty to (*his*) friends, and the giver of security to the frightened, and the friend of (*his*) country;—

(L. 14.)—His son (*was*) king Bandhuvarman, possessed of firmness and statesmanship; beloved by (*his*) kinsmen; the relative, as it were, of (*his*) subjects; the remover of the afflictions of (*his*) connections; pre-eminently skilful in destroying the ranks of (*his*) proud enemies. Handsome, youthful, dexterous in war, and endowed with humility, king though he was, yet was he never carried away by passion, astonishment, and other (*evil sentiments*); being the very incarnation of erotic passion, he resembled in beauty, even though he was not adorned with ornaments, a second (Kâmadêva) armed with the bow that is made of flowers. Even to-day, when the long-eyed lovely women of (*his*) enemies, pained with the fierce pangs of widowhood, think of him, they stagger about through fear, in such a way as to fatigue (*their*) firm and compact breasts.

(L. 16.)—While he, the noble Bandhuvarman, the best of kings, the strong-shouldered one,⁴ was governing this city of Daśapura, which had been brought to a state of great prosperity,—a noble (*and*) unequalled temple of the bright-rayed (Sun), was caused to be built by the silk-cloth weavers, as a guild, with the stores of wealth acquired by (*the exercise of their*) craft;—(a temple) which, having broad and lofty spires, (*and*) resembling a mountain, (*and*) white as the mass of the rays of the risen moon, shines, charming to the eye, having the similarity of (*being*) the lovely crest-jewel, fixed (*in its proper place*), of (*this*) city of the west.

(L. 17.)—In that season⁵ which unites men with (*their*) lovely mistresses; which is agreeable with the warmth of the fire of the rays of the sun (*shining*) in the glens; in

¹ The context is "a noble (*and*) unequalled temple of the bright-rayed (Sun) was caused to be built" &c., in line 16; all that intervenes, is by way of a parenthesis.

² Conf. *Bṛihat-Samhitâ*, xliii. 35, where the earth is described as having the mountains of sunrise and sunset for lips, and the Himâlaya and Vindhya for breasts.—Compare also line 34 of the Alinâ grant of Śîlâditya VII. of the year 447, No. 39 below, Plate xxv., where the Sahya and Vindhya mountains are called the breasts of the earth.—Similes of this kind doubtless varied in accordance with the extent of the kingdoms in which the inventors of them resided.

³ This, again, is a second parenthesis, the real context of the preceding verse being the description of Bandhuvarman in line 14 ff.

⁴ *lit.* 'high-shouldered.'

⁵ *i.e.* Hêmantâ, the cold weather, consisting of the months Mârgaśrsha (November-December) and Pausha or Sahasya (December-January).

which the fishes lie low down in the water; which (*on account of the cold*) is destitute of the enjoyment of the beams of the moon, and (*sitting in the open air on*) the flat roofs of houses, and sandal-wood perfumes, and palmleaf-fans, and necklaces;—in which the waterlilies are bitten by the frost; which is charming with the humming of the bees that are made happy by the juice of the full-blown flowers of the *rôdhra*¹ and *priyamgu*-plants² and the jasmine-creepers; in which the *lavalî*-trees³ and the solitary branches of the *nagañd*-bushes⁴ are made to dance with the force of the wind that is harsh and cold with particles of frost;—(*and*) in which (*the cold induced by*) the falling of frost and snow is derided by the close embraces of the large and beautiful and plump and bulky breasts and thighs of young men and (*their*) mistresses, completely under the influence of love;—when, by (*the reckoning from*) the tribal constitution of the *Mâlavas*, four centuries of years, increased by ninety-three, had elapsed; in that season when the low thunder of the muttering of clouds is to be welcomed (*as indicating the approach of warmth again*);—on the excellent thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month *Sahasya*,—this temple was established, with the ceremony of auspicious benediction.

(L. 19.)—And, in the course of a long time, under other kings, part of this temple fell into disrepair; so now, in order to increase their own fame, the whole of this most noble house of the Sun has been repaired again by the munificent corporation;—(this temple) which is very lofty (*and*) pure; which touches the sky, as it were, with (*its*) charming spires; (*and*) which is the resting-place of the spotless rays of the moon and the sun at (*their*) times of rising. Thus, when five centuries of years, increased by twenty, and nine years had elapsed; on the charming second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month *Tapasya*;—in the season⁵ when (*Kamadêva*), whose body was destroyed by *Hara*, develops (*his number of five*) arrows by attaining unity with the fresh bursting-forth of the flowers of the *asôka*⁶ and *kêtaka*⁷ and *sinduvâra*-trees,⁸ and the pendulous *atimuktaka*-creeper,⁹ and the wild-jasmine;—when the solitary large branches of the *nagañd*-bushes are full of the songs of the bees that are delighted by drinking the nectar; (*and*) when the beautiful and luxuriant *rôdhra*-trees swing to and fro with the fresh bursting forth of (*their*) flowers,—the whole of this noble city was decorated with (*this*) best of temples; just as the pure sky is decorated with the moon, and the breast of (the god) *Śārṅgin* with the *kaustubha*-jewel. As long as (the god) *Īśa* wears a mass of tawny matted locks, undulating with the spotless rays of the moon (*on his forehead*); and (*as long as*) (the god) *Śārṅgin* (*carries*) a garland of lovely waterlilies on his shoulder;—so long may this noble temple endure for ever!

(L. 23.)—By the command of the guild, and from devotion, (*this*) temple of the Sun was caused to be built; and this (*eulogy*)¹⁰ that precedes was, with particular care, compos-

¹ *rôdhra*, also *lôdhra*; the tree *Symplocos Racemosa*.

² *priyamgu*; a medicinal plant and perfume; *Panicum Italicum*; *Sinapis Ramosa*; saffron.

³ *lavalî*; the *Averrhoa Acida*.

⁴ *nagañd*; the *Cardiospermum Halicacabum*.

⁵ i.e. *Śisira*, the cool or dewy season, consisting of the months *Mâgha* (January-February) and *Phâlguna* or *Tapasya* (February-March).

⁶ *asôka*; the tree or shrub *Jonesia Asôka*.

⁷ *kêtaka*; the tree *Pandanus Odoratissimus*.

⁸ *sinduvâra*; the tree or shrub *Vitex Negundo*.

⁹ *atimuktaka*; a certain creeper, tree, or shrub, with apparently white flowers.

¹⁰ *praśasti*.—This was the customary technical term applied to inscriptions on stone. be supplied here; but it is of constant occurrence; e.g. in line 27 of the *Aphisad*.

ed by Vatsabhaṭṭi. Hail to the composer and the writer, and those who read or listen (to it)!
Let there be success!

No. 19; PLATE XIIA.

ERAN STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF BUDHAGUPTA. THE YEAR 165.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1838 by Captain T. S. Burt, of the Engineers, and was first brought to notice in the same year, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 633 f. when Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it,¹ accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxxi.), reduced from an ink-impression made by Captain Burt.—In 1861, in the same Journal, Vol. XXX. p. 17 ff., Dr. FitzEdward Hall published his revised reading of the text, from the original pillar, and a translation of it.—And finally, in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 82, General Cunningham, in reprinting Dr. Hall's translation, pointed out that the *aksharas* in line 3,—in which Mr. Prinsep had found a reference to the *Surāshṭras*; and which Dr. Hall read as *samsurabhū*, and translated by "chosen land of the gods,"—were in reality a repetition of the date in numerical symbols, as had, in fact, been suggested, though without particularisation, by Dr. Hall himself, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 127, note.

This is another inscription from *Ēraṇ*³ in the Khurāi Sub-Division of the Sagar District in the Central Provinces. It is on the west face towards the bottom of the lower and square part of a large monolith red-sandstone column, which stands near the well-known group of temples about half a mile to the west of the village, and which seems from its position to be specially connected with a small double temple that General Cunningham has named the "Lakshmi Temple,"² separated by the intervening "Vishnu Temple" from the "Varāha Temple," or temple of the Boar, at which there is the well-known inscription of Tōramāṇa, No. 36 below.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 1' 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high, has suffered a good deal in places from the weather; but on the original column the whole inscription can be read with certainty, except a few letters at the proper left side that have been quite worn away by sharpening tools on the edge of the stone. The bottom line of the inscription is about 3' 3" above the plinth from which the column rises.—The size of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{2}$ " to $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; they approximate in some respects to the type of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, Plate i., and in others to that of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4, Plate iiiA.; but they also present some developments and differences that must be attributed partly to their somewhat later age, and partly to the particular locality to which the inscription belongs. I should be inclined to name them a variety, with northern characteristics, of the Central India alphabet of towards the end of the fifth

Ādityasēna, No. 42 belpw, Plate xxviii.—The only instance that I can quote of its use to denote a copper-plate charter, is in line 20-21 of the 'Chicacole' grant of the *Mahārāja* Indravarman of the year 128 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 121).

¹ The translation is reprinted in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 249.

² See page 18 above, and note 1.

³ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 87, and Plates xxv. and xxvi.

century A.D. The letter *r*, as the first part of a compound consonant, is formed sometimes within the top line of the writing, *e.g.* in *arṇṇava*, line 1, and sometimes above it, *e.g.* in *paryyāṅka*, in the same line. The characters include, in line 3, forms of the numerical symbols for 5, 60, and 100.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse as far as line 4, and the rest in prose.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the constant doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *maittrāyaṇīya*, line 5; *pauttrēṇa*, line 6; and *pitrōḥ*, line 8.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Budhagupta**, whose feudatory, the *Mahārāja* **Suraśmichandra**, was governing the country lying between the river **Kālindī**, or the **Jamnā**, and the **Narmadā**. It is dated, completely in words, and partly in numerical symbols, in the year one hundred and sixty-five (A.D. 484-85), on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month **Āshāḍha** (June-July), and on **Suraguruvāra** or Thursday. It is a **Vaiṣṇava** inscription. And the object of it is to record the erection of the column, which is called a *dhvaja-stambha* or 'flag-staff' of the god **Vishṇu**, under the name of **Janārdana**, by a *Mahārāja* named **Mâtṛivishṇu** and his younger brother, **Dhanyavishṇu**.

TEXT.³

- 1 Jayati³ vibhuś=chatur-bhujaś=chatur-arṇṇava-vipula-salila-paryyāṅkaḥ jagataḥ
sthity-utpatti-nya[y-ādi⁴]-
- 2 hêtur=Ggaruḍa-kêtuḥ [11*] Śatê pañcha-shashty-adhikê varshânām bhûpatau
cha **Budhaguptê** | Āshāḍha-mâsa-ś[ukla]-
- 3 dvā⁵daśyām Suragurôr=ddivasê 1(11) Sam 100 60 5 [11*] **Kālindî**⁶
Narmmadayôr=mmadhyaṁ pâlayati lōkapāla-guṇair=jjagati mahār[āja]-
- 4 śriyam=anubhavati **Suraśmichandrê** cha 1(11) Asyām samvatsara-mâsa-
divasa-pûrvvâyām⁷ sva-karm-âbhiratasya kratu-yâji[nah]
- 5 adhîta-svādhyâyasya vipr-azshêr=Mmaittrāyaṇīya-vṛishabhasy=Ēndravishṇōḥ pra-
pauttrēṇa pitur=guṇ-ānukāriṇō Varuṇav[i]sh[nōḥ]
- 6 pauttrēṇa pitaram=anu-jâtasya sva-vamśa-vṛiddhi-hêtôr=Harivishṇōḥ puttrēṇ-
ātyanta-bhagavad-bhaktēna Vidhâtur=ichchhayâ svayamvaray=êva r[ā]ja-
- 7 lakshmy=ādhiगतēna chatuḥ-samudra-paryyanta-prathita-yaśasâ akshîṇa-māna-
dhanēn=ānēka-śatru-samara-jishṇunâ mahārāja-Mâtṛivishṇun[ā]
- 8 tasy=aiv=ānujēna tad-anuvidhāyin[ā] tat-prasāda-parigri[hî]tēna **Dhanya-**
vishṇunâ cha | mâtṛi(tâ)pitrōḥ puny-āpyāyan-ārtham=êsha bhagavataḥ⁸
- 9 puṇyajan-ārādanasya Janārdanasya dhvaja-stambhō=bhyuchchhritaḥ [11*]
Svasty=astu gô-brāhmaṇa-p[u]rôgābhyah sarvva-prajābhyā iti 1(11)

¹ Compare *dhvaja*, 'standard,' as applied to the Méharauli column, in line 6 of No. 32 below, Plate xxiA.

² From the original stone.

³ Metre **Āryā**; and in the next verse.—In the first *pāda* of this, and of the second verse, we have the proper number of twelve syllabic instants; but they are not arranged in accordance with the usual rule for this metre.

⁴ I have adopted Dr. Hall's suggestion for supplying the effaced letters. In the last legible syllable, part of the subscript *y* is quite distinct, and the consonant above it seems to be a broken *n*; and the requirements of both the metre and the sense are properly met by supplying *yādi* for the effaced syllables.

⁵ This *akshara* is somewhat damaged; but it is very distinctly *dvā*. Prinsep's reading of *trayōdaśyām* is proved to be wrong by the metre, if by nothing else.

⁶ Metre, **Āryā**.

⁷ Supply *tithau*.

⁸ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

TRANSLATION.

Victorious is the lord, the four-armed (god Vishṇu)—whose couch is the broad waters of the four oceans; who is the cause of the continuance, the production, and the destruction, &c., of the universe; (*and*) whose ensign is Garuḍa!

(Line 2.)—In a century of years, increased by sixty-five; and while **Budhagupta** (*is*) king; on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Āshāḍha; on the day of Suraguru;¹ (*or in figures*) the year 100 (*and*) 60 (*and*) 5:—

(L. 3.)—And while **Suraśmichandra** is governing, with the qualities of a regent of one of the quarters of the world,² (*the country that lies*) between the (rivers) **Kālindī** and **Narmadā**, (*and*) is enjoying in the world the glory of (*being*) a *Mahārāja*;—

(L. 4.)—On this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the year and month and day;—by the *Mahārāja* **Mātrivishṇu**, who is excessively devoted to the Divine One; who, by the will of (the god) Vidhātṛi, was approached (*in marriage-choice*) by the goddess of sovereignty, as if by a maiden choosing (*him*) of her own accord (*to be her husband*); whose fame extends up to the borders of the four oceans; who is possessed of unimpaired honour and wealth; (*and*) who has been victorious in battle against many enemies;—who is the son of the son's son of Indravishṇu, who was attentive to his duties; who celebrated sacrifices; who practised private study (*of the scriptures*); who was a Brāhmaṇ saint; (*and*) who was the most excellent (*of the followers*) of the Maitrāyaṇīya (*śākhā*);—who is the son's son of Varuṇavishṇu, who imitated the virtuous qualities of (*his*) father;—(*and*) who is the son of Harivishṇu, who was the counterpart of (*his*) father in meritorious qualities,³ (*and*) was the cause of the advancement of his race;—

(L. 8.)—(*By him*) and by his younger brother **Dhanyavishṇu**, who is obedient to him, (*and*) has been accepted with favour by him,—this flag-staff of the divine (god) Janārdana, the troubler of the demons,⁴ has been erected, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*their*) parents.

(L. 9.)—Let prosperity attend all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Brāhmaṇs!

¹ i.e. "on Thursday."—Suraguru, 'the preceptor of the gods,' is another name of Bṛhaspati, from which latter name the day takes its customary appellation of Bṛhaspativāra.

² *lōkapāla*.—The *lōkapālas*, or guardians of the points of the compass, are sometimes reckoned as eight, *viz.* 1, Indra, of the east; 2, Agni, of the south-east; 3, Yama, of the south; 4, Nirṛiti, or sometimes Sūrya, of the south-west; 5, Varuṇa, of the west; 6, Vāyu, of the north-west; 7, Kubēra, of the north; and 8, Īśāna, or sometimes Chandīa, and sometimes Prithivī, of the north-east;—and sometimes as four, *viz.* Nos. 1, 3, 5, and 7, above.

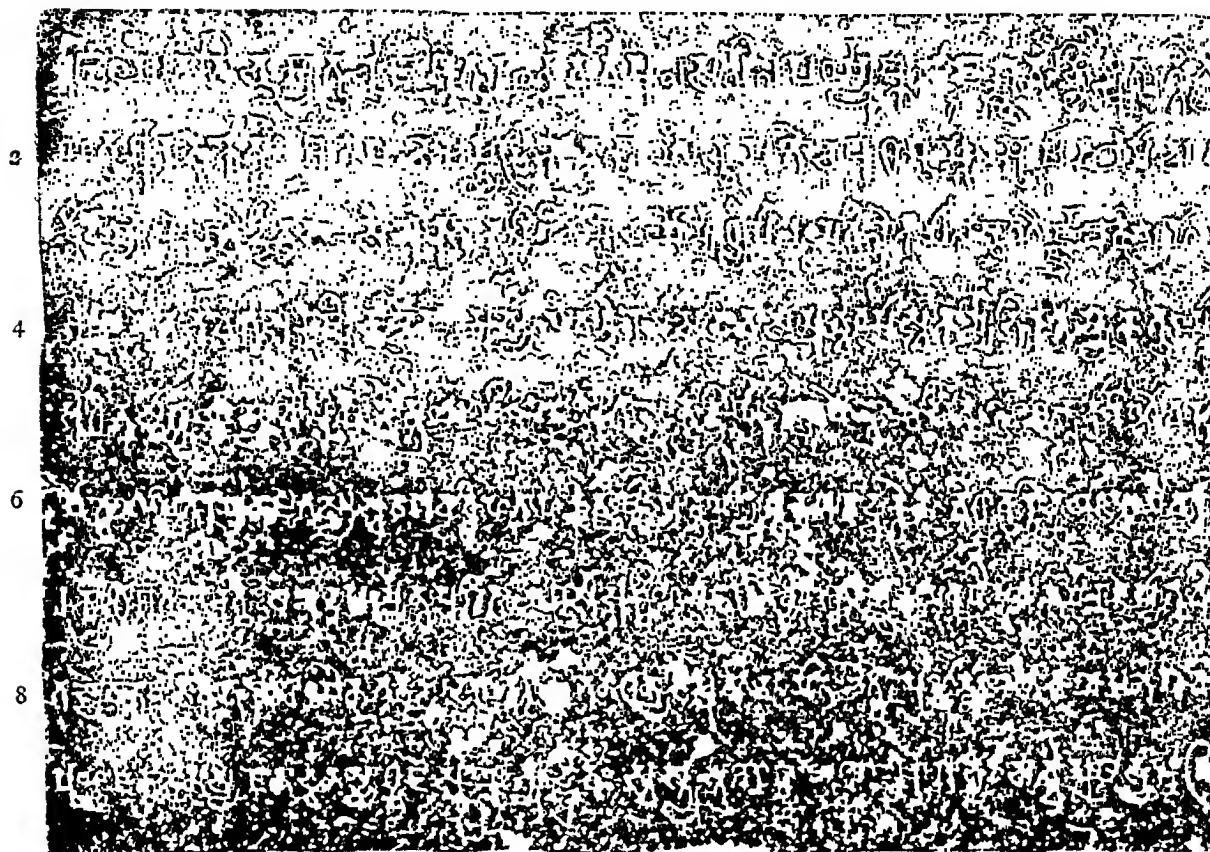
³ *pitaram*=*anu-jātasya*.—Dr. Hall explained this expression in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXX.* p. 139, note, by a passage quoted in the St. Petersburg Dictionary from the *Pañchatantra*; *viz.*—

Jātaḥ putrō=nujātas=cha atijātas=tath=aiva cha |
 apajātas=cha lōkē=smin=mantavyāḥ śāstra=vēdibhiḥ ||
 Mātrī-tulya-guṇō jātas=tv=anujātaḥ pituḥ samah |
 atijātō=dhikas=tasmād=apajātō=dham-ādhamah ||

"By those who know the scriptures, (*sons*) are to be understood among men as being a *jāta* son, or an *anujāta*, or an *atijāta*, or an *apajāta*. A *jāta* (*is*) one whose virtues are equal to (*those of his*) mother; an *anujāta* (*is*) equal to (*his*) father (*in virtue*); an *atijāta* surpasses that (*father*); (*and*) an *apajāta* (*is*) altogether inferior (*to him*)."

⁴ *puṇyajana*, *lit.* 'a good, pious, or virtuous man,' also denotes 'a class of supernatural beings, a fiend, a goblin, a demon.'

A.—Eran Pillar Inscription of Budhagupta.—The Year 165.



SCALE .25

B.—Eran Posthumous Pillar Inscription of Goparaja.—The Year 191.



No. 20; PLATE XII B.

ERAN POSTHUMOUS STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION
OF GOPARAJA.

THE YEAR 191.

THIS inscription, which has not previously been published, was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 89 f.

It is another inscription from Êran,¹ in the Khurâi Sub-Division of the Sagar District in the Central Provinces. It is on a small pillar, afterwards converted into a *linga* or phallic emblem of Śiva, which stands under some tall trees near the left bank of the Bina, about half a mile to the south-east of Êran, and half-way between it and the neighbouring village of Pêhêlêjpur.² The original lower part of the pillar is now broken away and lost; the remnant of it is about 3' 11" high and 1' 6" in diameter. The bottom part is octagonal; and the inscription is at the top of this octagonal part, on three of the eight faces, each of which is about 7" broad; the bottom line is about six inches above the level of the ground. Above this, the pillar is sixteen-sided. Above this, it is again octagonal; and the faces here have sculptures of men and women, who are probably intended for the Gôparâja of the inscription, and his wife and friends; the compartment immediately above the centre of the inscription, represents a man and a woman, sitting, who must be Gôparâja and his wife. Above this, the pillar is again sixteen-sided. Above this, it is once more octagonal; and on two of the faces here, there are the remains of a quite illegible inscription of four lines, in characters of the same type with those of the inscription now published. Above this, the pillar curves over in sixteen flutes or ribs, into a round top. The pillar was converted into a *linga*, by fitting an ablution-trough to it; this was attached over the part where the inscription lay; and it was only by the breaking of it, that the greater part of the inscription was disclosed to view.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 9" broad by 11" high, has suffered a good deal from the weather, and from the sharpening of tools on the edges of the stone; but, on the original pillar, it is fairly legible almost throughout; and the only historical items that have been lost are, in line 2, the name of Gôparâja's grandfather, and of the family to which he belonged.—The size of the letters varies from $\frac{3}{8}$ " to $\frac{5}{8}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and, though not quite so well formed, are of almost precisely the same type with those of the Êran pillar inscription of Budhagupta, No. 19 above, Plate xii A. The letter *z*, as the first part of a compound consonant, is formed within the top line of the writing in *pârîta*, line 5, and *bhâryâ*, line 7; but above it in *sârddham*, line 5. The characters include, in line 2, forms of the numerical symbols for 1, 7, 90, and 100.—The language is Sanskrit; and, the inscription is in prose as far as the end of the date, in line 2, and the rest in verse.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *vanîta*, lines 1 and 4; and (2) the doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*; e.g. in *vikkrânta* and *parira*, line 3.

¹ See page 18 above, and note 1.

² The 'Pahlehpur' of Gen. Cunningham's map (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. Pl. xiii.)

The inscription, which does not refer itself to the reign of any particular king, is dated, in both words and numerical symbols, in the year one hundred and ninety-one (A.D. 510-11), on the seventh lunar day of the dark fortnight, and solar day¹ of the month, of Śrāvaṇa (July-August). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being only to record that, in the company of a powerful king named Bhānugupta, a chieftain or noble named Gôparāja came to the place where the pillar was set up, and fought a battle; that Gôparāja was killed; and that his wife accompanied him, by cremating herself on his funeral pyre.³

TEXT.³

- 1 ॐ Samvatsara-śatê êka-navaty-uttarê Śrāvaṇa-bahula-paksha-sap[t]amy[ām]
- 2 samvat 100 90 1 Śrāvaṇa ba⁴ di 7 11 [-]la(?)ksha⁵-vaṇśād=
utpannô [- -]
- 3 rāj-êti-viśrutah tasya puttrô=ti-vikkrântô nāmnâ rāj=ātha Mādhavaḥ 11
Gôparāja[h]
- 4 sutas=tasya śrīmān=vikhyāta-paurushaḥ Śarabharāja-dauhittṛaḥ sva-vaṇśa-
tilakô=dhu(?)nā(?) [11]
- 5 Śrī⁶-Bhānuguptô jagati pravirô rājā mahān=Pārtha-samô=ti-sūraḥ tēn=ātha
sārdhdhan=tv=iha Gôpar[āj]j[ô]

¹The day is indicated as a solar day, as well as lunar, by the use, in the numerical-symbol record, of *di*, the abbreviation of *dina*, *dinê*, *divasa*, or *divasê*, in addition to, in the fuller record, *saptamî*, which denotes the lunar *tithi*.—The abbreviation *di* is preceded by *ba*, which stands for *bahula-paksha* or *bahula-pakshê*. Sometimes, instead of *ba*, we have *va*; e.g. in line 17 of the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the *Mahārāja Vināyakapāla*, *samvatsrô* (sic) 100 80 8 *Phālguna va di* 9 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 141); in which case *va* may, according to the general orthography of the particular record, stand for *ba*; or it may be an abbreviation of *vadya*, which is a synonym of *bahula*, and is of common enough use in the present day, though it was not so in ancient times. The corresponding method of denoting the bright fortnight, is by the use of the abbreviation *śu*, which represents *śukla* or *suddha*, similarly in composition with *paksha* or *pakshê*; e.g. in line 14 of the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription of Mahānāman, No. 71 below, Plate xliA., *samvat 200 60 9 Chaitṛa śu di* 8.—These abbreviations, *śu di* and *ba di* or *va di*, are often quoted as if they were words in themselves (*śudi*, *badi*, *vadi*), meaning respectively 'the bright fortnight' and 'the dark fortnight.' And Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives *vadi* as an indeclinable word, meaning 'in the dark half of a month;' with the remark that, according to some, it stands for *badi*, and is a contraction of *bahula-dina*; but with an intimation of his own opinion that it represents *vadya*. But I doubt whether the Hindus themselves, even when using the abbreviations, look on them as words. And it is worth noting that Molesworth and Candy's Marāṭhī Dictionary, which is very comprehensive, does not include these expressions, either as abbreviations, or as words. Even if a modern practice of treating these abbreviations as words, should be proved, it is an erroneous practice. By origin, the syllables are nothing but distinct and separate abbreviations, of which the first denotes the fortnight of the month, and the second, the day of the month or fortnight. And this is the point of view from which they have to be looked at, in dealing with any ancient records.

²i.e., according to the colloquial expression, she became *Satī* ('Suttee').—With this early instance of the cremation of widows, we may compare the indication of the same practice that is given in Bhagwanlal Indraji's Nêpāl inscription No. 1, of Mānadêva (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 164, line 7 f., and p. 165), when Rājyavatī, the widow of Dharmadêva, bids her son Mānadêva take up the government, in order that she may follow her deceased husband to the other world. This instance belongs to about A.D. 705 (see *id.* Vol. XIV. pp. 344, 350).—As noted by Gen. Cunningham, there are several other *Satī*-pillars, but of much later date, at Êran.

³ From the original stone.

⁴ i.e. *bahula-paksha*.

⁵ Metre, Ślôka (Aṇushṭubh); and in the next verse.

⁶ Metre, Indravajrā; and in the following verse.

- 6 mittrān=uva(?)tyā(?)ra(?) kil=ānuyātaḥ || Kṛitvā [cha*] y[u]ddham su-
mahat-prāk[ā]śam svarggam gatō divya-narē(?)[ndra-kalpāḥ]
7 bhakt=ānuraktā cha¹ priyā cha kântā bh[ā]r[y]=ā[va]lag[n]=ānugat=
āg[n]i-r[ā]śim ||

TRANSLATION.

Om! In a century of years, increased by ninety-one; on the seventh lunar day of the dark fortnight of (the month) Śrāvaṇa; (or in figures) the year 100 (and) 90 (and) 1; (the month) Śrāvaṇa; the dark fortnight; the day 7:—

(Line 2.)—(There was) a king, renowned under the name of . . . rāja, sprung from the . . laksha(?) lineage; and his son (was) that very valorous king (who was known) by the name (of) Mādhava.

(L. 3.)—His son was the illustrious Gôparāja, renowned for manliness; the daughter's son of the Śarabha king; who is (even) now(?) the ornament of (his) lineage.

(L. 5.)—(There is) the glorious Bhānugupta, the bravest man on the earth, a mighty king, equal to Pārtha, exceedingly heroic; and, along with him, Gôparāja followed (his) friends (and came) here. [And*] having fought a very famous battle, he,² [who was but little short of being equal to] the celestial [king (Indra)], (died and) went to heaven; and (his) devoted, attached, beloved, and beauteous wife, in close companionship, accompanied (him) onto the funeral pyre.

No. 21; (No PLATE.)

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE
MAHARAJA HASTIN.

THE YEAR 156.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered, about 1852, by Colonel Ellis, Political Agent at Nāgaudh, and was first brought to notice in 1858, in Mr. Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 251 f., by Professor H. H. Wilson's translation, combining both this and the next inscription of the year 163, from Mr. Thomas' reading of the texts.—In 1861, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 6 ff., Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from the original plates.—And in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 11, No. 1, General Cunningham, in partially reprinting Dr. Hall's translation, substituted a close approximation to the correct interpretation of the date, agreeing with Professor H. H. Wilson and differing from Dr. Hall; and also gave a lithograph of the passage containing the date (*id.* Plate iv. No. 1.)

The inscription is on some copper-plates that were found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khôh,³ about three miles south-west of Uchaharā,⁴ the present capital

¹ The metre is faulty here, as the *cha*, which should remain short, is lengthened by the following double consonant, *pr*.

² Gôparāja.

³ The 'Kho' of maps. It should be in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89, but is not shewn there.—*khôh* means literally 'a cave.'

⁴ The 'Oochaira, Uchahara, Uchara, Uchera, Ucheyra, Uhchehra, Unchehra, Unchehrah, Unchera, Urchara, and Urcharah,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89. Lat. 24° 23' N.; Long. 80° 51' E.—

of the Native State of Nāgaudh or Nāgaundh¹ in the Baghēlkhand division of Central India. They were originally deposited in the Library of the Sanskrit College at Benares; but, with the ring and seal, were lost sight of in being transferred from there to the Allahābād Museum, and thence to the Provincial Museum at Lucknow (Lakhnau). I am informed that the second plate has been recently found at Lucknow. But I have not been able to obtain it, or an ink-impression of it, for examination. And I, therefore, edit the inscription here from a hand-copy made by General Cunningham, which, though not suitable for lithography, suffices admirably for reading the text.

The plates, two in number, and inscribed on one side only, appear to have been in a state of excellent preservation throughout. From the original accounts, they seem to have been connected as usual by a ring, the ends of which were secured in the lower part of a seal, the front of which had on it the legend, *Śrī-mahārāja-Hastinaḥ*, "of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Hastin," as on the seal of his grant of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv.—The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type as those of the following inscription of the same *Mahārāja* of the year 163, No. 22 below, Plate xiii. The letter *r* in conjunction with a following *y*, is formed in two ways; in *kāryaḥ*, line 14, and *kuryāt*, line 14-15, the *r* is written within the top line of the writing, with only a single *y* below it, as in *kuryāt*, line 12, and *sūryadatta*, line 19, of No. 23 below, Plate xiv.; while in *sūryyadatta*, lines 10 and 21, and *maryyādāḥ*, line 12, it is formed above the top line, as in the case of conjunction with other letters, and the *y* is doubled.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 16 to 20, the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *vanśa*, line 6; (2) the doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *vakkṛā*, line 20; and *sagōttra* and *puttra*, line 9; (3) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *avaddhyānēna*, line 15; and (4) the occasional use of *b* for *v*, in *sāmbatsarē*, line 2; and *barsha*, line 19.

In addition to 'Uchahara,' Gen. Cunningham uses three other forms, 'Uchahara,' 'Uchahada,' and 'Uchahāda,' (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 5); but, in my inquiries at Satnā, I could not obtain anything in support of them.—He has also proposed (*id.* p. 10) to identify Uchaharā with 'Udyāra,' the supposed capital of Svāmīdatta mentioned in line 19 of the Allahābād pillar inscription, No. 1; but the real reading there (page 7 above) gives Giri-Koṭṭūra, or "Koṭṭūra on the hill."—Uchaharā is probably by no means an unique name; as the maps give an 'Ocharah,' ten miles towards the north-east, an 'Oocharah,' twenty-nine miles north by east, an 'Uchera,' thirty-one miles to the south-east by east, and another 'Uchera,' about fifty-nine miles to the south-east by south, from the place under reference.

¹ The 'Nagode, Nagound, and Nagudh,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70. Lat. 24° 33' N.; Long. 80° 37' E.—On the badges of the Police Sepoys, I found the name written Nāgaud. But the correct form is undoubtedly Nāgaudh, which is sometimes nasalised and pronounced Nāgaundh.—The Rājā is officially called the 'Rājā of Nagode,' and Nāgaudh was formerly the capital of the State. The present capital is Uchaharā. And the Political Agency is now at Satnā, which, in reality the name of a river, has been adopted as the name of the station on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. The station and the Agency are really in the lands of the village of Bardāḍih.—Gen. Cunningham has proposed (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 12) to identify Nāgaudh with the Nāgadēya that is mentioned in line 5 of the Kārītālī plates of the *Mahārāja* Jayanātha of the year 174, No. 26 below. But the name would rather seem to be derived from *nāga-vadha* or *nāga-bandha*, 'the slaughter or the capture of the hooded-serpents or of the Nāga tribe;' whereas Nāgadēya would mean 'the gift to the hooded-serpents, or to the Nāga tribe.'

The inscription is one of the *Parivrājaka*¹ *Mahārāja* Hastin. It is dated, in words, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings,"² in the year one hundred and fifty-six (A.D. 475-76), in the *Mahā-Vaiśākha saṃvatsara*,³ and on the third lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month *Kārttika* (October-November). The inscription is non-sectarian, except for the opening invocation of the god Śiva, under the name of *Mahādēva*. The object of it is to record the grant, by the *Mahārāja* Hastin, of the village of *Vasuntarashandika* to *Gōpasvāmin* and other Brahmins.

TEXT.⁴*First Plate.*

- 1 Namô Mahādēvāya || Svasti Shatpāñchāś-ōttarē=bda-śatē Gupta-nṛipa-
 2 rājya-bhuktau Mahā-Vaiśākha-sāmbatsarē⁵ 1⁶ Kārttika-māsa-śukla-paksha-tritīyā-
 3 yām=asyān=divasa-pūrvvayām⁷ nṛipatiparivrājaka-kul-ōtpannēna 1⁸ mahā-
 4 rāja-Dēvādhyā⁹-pranaptrā mā(ma)hārāja-Prabhāñjana-naptranā¹⁰ mahārāja-
 Dāmōdara-sutēna

¹ *parivrājaka* means literally 'a wandering religious mendicant, an ascetic in the fourth and last religious order or stage of life.'—The compound used in line 3 of the Text, *nṛipati-parivrājaka*, 'a kingly ascetic,' is of the same class with *rāj-arshi*, 'a royal saint, a saint of royal descent.' Compare also *rājādhirāj-arshi*, 'a saintly sovereign,' which is applied to Chandragupta II. in the Udayagiri cave inscription, No. 6, page 35 above, line 3.—The particular kingly ascetic, from whom Hastin's family derived its origin, was Suśarman (see No. 25 below, Plate xvB. line 5 f.)—The word *parivrājaka* seems to have been adopted as the regular and habitual appellation of the family. At any rate, it furnishes, for distinctive purposes, a convenient and unobjectionable name for it.

² *Gupta-nṛipa-rājya-bhuktau*; line 1f.—The same expression occurs in Nos. 22, 23, and 25. It indicates clearly that the Gupta dynasty and sway were still continuing; and of course the date refers to the era used by the Guptas. But there is nothing in the expression, tending to give the era the name of the "Gupta era."—Prof. H. H. Wilson's translation of this date, combined with that of the following inscription, No. 22, (Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 251) was "in the 163rd year of the occupation of the kingdom by the Gupta kings." And this was substantially correct. But he added a note that *bhuktē* or *bhuktau* might be read *muktē* or *muktau*, 'from the end or cessation.'—In publishing this translation, Mr. Thomas pointed out that the reading *muktē* or *muktau* could not possibly be admitted. And, following this, Dr. Hall (*Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. pp. 3 f., note, and 6, 12) adopted the reading *bhuktau* or *bhuktē*; but laid down the dictum that *bhukti*, "if unqualified by a temporal particle, denotes 'possession,' or 'fruition,' only as a thing of the past;" and he then proceeded to translate the passage by "in the year one hundred and fifty-six of the extinction of the sovereignty of the Gupta kings;" and again "one hundred and sixty-three years after the domination, of the Guptas had been laid to rest."—Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 11) gave "in the year one hundred and fifty-six of the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings." And this, again, was substantially correct, though not grammatically.—As in the case of *sūtē*, in line 3 of the Kāhāwā pillar inscription of Skandagupta (see page 67 above, note 7), it is impossible to imagine how *bhukti*, *lit.* 'the act of enjoying or eating; enjoyment, eating; fruition, possession, usufruct,' ever came to be applied in the sense of 'extinction;' except under the influence of a preconceived bias, so strong as to prevent entirely the critical consideration which would at once have shewn the error.

³ *saṃvatsara*, 'a year,' is used principally, if not entirely, to denote (as is indicated by the first component, *saṃ*, 'with, together with') years that have a close connection with those that precede and follow them; *i.e.* years of cycles, eras, and reigns.—In the present case, the twelve-year cycle of planet Jupiter is referred to.

⁴ From Gen. Cunningham's hand-copy.

⁵ Read *saṃvatsarē*.

⁶ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁷ Supply *tithau*.

⁸ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁹ See page 97 below, note 4. ¹⁰ R.

- 5 gô-sahasra-hasty-aśva-hirany-ānēka-bhūmi-pradēna guru-pitṛi-māṭṛi-pūjā-tatparē-
 6 ṇ=ātyanta-dēva-brāhmaṇa-bhaktēna II¹ naika-samara-śatata²-vijayinā sva-vanś-ā-
 7 mōdakarēna mahārāja-śrī-Hastinā sva-puny-āpyāyan-ārtham=ātmānam sva-
 8 rgga-sôpāna-pañktibhir=ārôha(pa)yatā brāhmaṇa-Vājisinēya³Mādhyā
 9 ndina-Kautsasagôṭṭra-Gôpasvāmī Bhavasvāmī I Sandhyāputtra I Divākara
 10 dattaḥ Bhāskaradatta I Sūryyadattasya⁴ Vasuntarashaṇḍīka-grāmō-
 11 tisṛiṣṭaḥ II Samantād=garttā uttarē paśchimô(mē)na

Second Plate.

- 12 pūrvva-bhūktā⁵ mā(ma)ryyādāḥ [II*] Samndhyā⁶puttra-pramukhānām
 s-ôdraṅgaḥ s-ôparikarāḥ
 13 a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśyaḥ chōra-varijam [II*] Tad=asmat-kul-ôṭṭhaiḥ mat-
 pādapiṇḍ-ôpājī-
 14 vibhīr=vvā kālāntarēshv=api na vyāghāṭaḥ kāryaḥ [I*] ēvam=Ajñāpta⁷
 yô=nyathā ku-
 15 ryāt=tam=aham dēhāntara-gatô=pi mahat=āvaddhyānēna nirddahēd⁸=Uktam
 cha bhagavatā pa-
 16 ram-arshiṇā vēda-vyāsēna I Pūrvvā⁹-dattām dvijātibhyô yatnād=
 rakshya(ksha) Yudhishṭhira¹⁰
 17 mahi(hi)m mahimatām¹¹ śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyô=nupālanaṁ¹² [II*]
 Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhukta rā-
 18 jabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā
 phalam [II*]
 19 Shashṭim=ba(va)rsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmi-daḥ āchchhēttā
 ch=ānuma-
 20 ntā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēd=iti II Likhitañ=cha¹³ Vakkr-āmātya-
 21 [pra*]naptrā bhōgik-āmātya-Naradatta-naptrā bhōgi¹⁴ka-Ravidatta-puttr[ēna*]
 Sūryya-
 22 dattēn=ēti [I*] Dūtakô Bhāgrahaḥ [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to (the god) Mahādēva! Hail!¹⁵ In a century of years, increased by the fifty-sixth (year); in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahā-

¹ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

² Read *śata*.

³ Read *vājasanēya*.

⁴ Read, in composition, *Gôpasvāmī-Bhavasvāmī-Sandhyāputtra-Divākara-datta-Bhāskaradatta-Sūryyadattēbhyô*.

⁵ Read *bhukta*.—F. E. Hall read *bhūkti*. But the *bhūktā* (for *bhukta*) of Gen. Cunningham's copy, seems preferable.

⁶ Read *sandhyā*.

⁷ Read either *ājñāptē*, or *ājñāpitē*.

⁸ Read *nirddahēyam*.

⁹ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following two verses.

¹⁰ Read *yudhishṭhira*.

¹¹ For some various readings here, see page 99 below, note 1.

¹² Read *nupālanaṁ*, or *nupālanaṁ*.

¹³ Supply *śāsanaṁ*, or *tāmraśāsanaṁ*, in apposition with *likhitam*; and see page 99 below, note 2.

¹⁴ This *gi* is omitted in Gen. Cunningham's copy.

¹⁵ *svasti*; *lit.* "it is well" (*su asti*).—Like *siddham* (see page 25 above, note 4), this word of constant use as a *mangala*, or 'auspicious invocation,' at the commencement of inscriptions.—

Vaiśākha *saṃvatsara*; on the third lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika,—on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the day (&c.),¹—

(Line 3.)—By the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Hastin**,—who is born in the family of a kingly ascetic;²—who is the great-grandson³ of the *Mahārāja* **Dêvādhyā**;⁴—who is the grandson of the *Mahārāja* **Prabhañjana**;—who is the son of the *Mahārāja* **Dâmôdara**;—who is the giver of thousands of cows, and elephants, and horses, and gold, and many lands;—who is earnest in paying respect to (*his*) spiritual preceptor and (*his*) father and mother;—who is extremely devoted to the gods and Brāhman;—who has been victorious in many hundreds of battles;—(*and*) who causes the happiness of his own race,—

(L. 7.)—(*By him*),—for the purpose of increasing his own religious merit, (*and*) in order to cause (*himself*) to ascend by the steps of the ladder that leads to heaven,—the village of **Vasuntarashandika** is granted to the Brāhman **Gôpasvāmin**, of the *Vāja-sanēya-Mādhyamīna* (*śākhā*) and the *Kautsa gôtra*, and to **Bhavasvāmin**, **Sandhyāputra**, **Divākaradatta**, **Bhāskaradatta**, and **Sūryadatta**.

(L. 11.)—On all sides (*there are*) trenches (*of demarcation*);⁵ (*and*) on the north by the west, the boundaries are those that have been previously enjoyed. (*This village is made the property*) of **Sandhyāputra** and the others, with the *udraṅga*⁶ and the *upari*—

It also occurs, governing a dative case, at the end of the *Mandasôr* inscription of **Kumāragupta** and **Bandhuvarman**, No. 18, page 84 above, line 24; and as a neuter noun, signifying 'prosperity,' in conjunction with *astu*, 'let there be,' the two together governing a dative, at the end of the *Ēraṇ* pillar inscription of **Budhagupta**, No. 19, page 89 above, line 9, and at the end of the *Ēraṇ* inscription of **Tôramāna**, No. 36 below, Plate xxiiiA. line 8.

¹ The text (line 3) has *asyān=divasa-pūrvvāyām*, in apposition with which *tithau* has to be supplied.—The same expression was used in the *Gadhwa* inscription of **Chandragupta II** No. 7, page 37 above, line 2 f.; and it occurs in other places also.—But the fuller and more formal expression was *asyām saṃvatsara-māsa-divasa-pūrvvāyām*, "on this (lunar day), (specified as above by the *saṃvatsara* (or year) and month and day," which occurs, for instance, in the *Majhagawām* grant of the *Mahārāja* **Hastin** of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv. line 2 f.—Another variety of the expression is *asyān=divasa-māsa-saṃvatsar-ānupūrvvāyām*, in the *Shāhpur* image inscription of **Ādityasēna**, No. 43 below, Plate xxixA. line 2.—In the *Bilsāḍ* pillar inscription of **Kumāragupta**, No. 10 page 44 above, line 7, we have *asyān=divasa-pūrvvāyām*, without the specification of any details except the year.

² See page 95 above, note 1.

³ In this and the other three formal inscriptions of this family, Nos. 22, 23, and 25 below, *pranaptṛi* and *napṛi* are used, instead of the more customary and stricter terms, *prapaṭra*, or 'son of a son's son,' and *pauṭra*, 'son's son;' see page 15 above, note 3. *Pranaptṛi* and *napṛi* may denote, at any rate in early times, descendants through a daughter, as well as through a son; and I therefore translate them by the less binding expressions of 'great-grandson' and 'grandson.' We may, however, assume with safety that they are used here to denote descendants through sons.

⁴ F. E. Hall (*Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 6, and p. 8, note) read this name as **Dêvāhya**, and rejected H. H. Wilson's reading of **Dwārhya** (which is evidently a misprint for **Dêvārhya**, i.e. **Dêvādhyā**) with the remark—"in both inscriptions, the name is most legibly incised; and Mr. Thomas' decipherments bear out my lection unhesitatingly." The fact remains, however, that in all the three inscriptions of **Hastin**, and in the inscription of **Samkshôbha**, the name is unmistakably **Dêvādhyā**; as, *dhya* is no real word or termination at all; and Prof. H. H. Wilson was right, and Dr. FitzEdward Hall was wrong.

⁵ *garta*; lit. 'a hollow, a hole, a cave.

⁶ *udraṅga* is a technical fiscal term.—Dr. Bühler has brought to notice (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 189, note 39) that in the *Śāivatakôsha*, Zachariæ's edition, pp. xxix., 260, it is explained by *uddhāra*

kara,¹ (and with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or regular troops;² (but) with the exception of (the right to fines imposed on) thieves.³

(L. 13.)—Therefore, even in future times, no obstacle (to the enjoyment of this grant) is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by my feudatories.⁴ This injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 15.)—And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage,⁵ the arranger of the

and *udgrantha* (? *udgrāha*), and thus seems to mean 'the share of the produce collected usually for the king.'—The only passage in which it occurs otherwise than among the technical conditions of a grant, is in connection with Kharagraha II.; e.g. in line 46 of the Alīnā grant of Śīlāditya VII. of the year 447, No. 39 below, Plate xxv.—In this passage, as it is given in line 46 of the grant of Śīlāditya III. of the year 352 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 308), it appears to be spelt with a double *d*, *uddraṅga*; so also in line 10 of the grant of the *Mahārāja* Guhasēna of the year 246 (*id.* Vol. IV. p. 175.)

¹ *uparikara* is a technical fiscal term, the meaning of which has not been made clear. But I would suggest that the first component is the Prākṛit word *uparī* or *upri* (see Molesworth and Candy's *Marāṭhi Dictionary*, and Wilson's *Glossary of Indian Terms*); and that the term denotes 'a tax levied on cultivators who have no proprietary rights in the soil.'

² *a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśya*; a technical term of constant occurrence.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 175, note 41) takes *chāṭa-bhaṭa* as meaning *chāṭan prati bhaṭāḥ*, 'soldiers against robbers,' and as denoting the royal police. But, that *chāṭa* is not governed by *bhaṭa*, seems to be made clear by the analogous but differently arranged expression, *a-bhaṭa-chchhātra-prāvēśya*, in line 26 of the Chammak grant of the *Mahārāja* Pravaraśēna II., No. 55 below, Plate xxxiv., and in line 27-28 of his Siwanī grant, No. 56, Plate xxxv. And, in line 6 of the Goa grant of Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman of Śāka-Saṃvat 532 (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 365), we have the simple expression *a-bhaṭa-pravēśya*.—I follow Dr. Bühler's interpretation (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 115 and note).—A slightly different expression, but of exactly the same purport, viz *pratinishiddha-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśa* occurs, for instance, in l. 10-11 of the Kapālēśwar grant of Mahā-Bhavagupta (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 56).—Other expressions, which help to indicate the bearing of the term, are *samastarōjakīyānām=a-pravēśya*, 'not to be entered by any of the king's people,' e.g. in line 17 of the Ilāḥ grant of Dadda II. of Śāka-Saṃvat 417 (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 117); and *rāja-sēvakūnām vasatidaṇḍa-prayānadaṇḍau na staḥ*, in line 97 of the Paiṭhan grant of Rāmachandra of Śāka-Saṃvat 1193 (*id.* Vol. XIV. p. 318). The latter expression may refer to 'fees' imposed on the king's servants for halting at, or starting from, a village; or it may refer to 'fines,' i.e. 'forced contributions of money or supplies,' obligatory on the holders of villages on such occasions.

³ This elliptical expression, *chōra-varjyam*, lit. "with the exception of thieves," is explained by the fuller expression *chōra-daṇḍa-varjyam*, "with the exception of fines (imposed) on thieves," in line 14 of the Khōh grant of the *Mahārāja* Jayanātha of the year 177, No. 27 below, Plate xvii.

⁴ *mat-pādapiṇḍ-ōpajivin*; lit. 'subsisting on the cakes which are my feet.'—Compare *tat-pādapadm-ōpajivin*, 'subsisting (like a bee) on the waterlilies that are his feet,' which, in later times in the south, became the customary technical expression for the relation of feudatory princes and nobles, and other officials, to their paramount sovereigns; e.g. in line 8 of the Kādarōlli inscription of Śāka-Saṃvat 997 (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 105).—Compare, also, an expression of very similar purport,—*tat-pādapallav-ōpāsōbhīt-ōttamāṅga*, 'whose head is adorned with the fresh sprouts that are his feet,'—in line 5 f. of the Baḷagāṃve inscription of Śāka-Saṃvat 970 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 179).—See also page 55 above, and note 1.

⁵ Vyāsa; whose name, as well as his epithet of "arranger of the Vēdas," is usually inserted in this passage; e.g. in line 13 of the Majhgawān grant of the *Mahārāja* Hastin of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv.—In line 13 of No. 26 below, Plate xvi., line 14 of No. 27, Plate xvii., line 22 of

son of the *Amātya*¹ Vakra; the grandson of the *Bhōgika*² and *Amātya* Naradatta; (and) the son of the *Bhōgika* Ravidatta. The *Dūtaka*³ (is) *Bhāgraha*.⁴

No. 22; PLATE XIII.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA HASTIN.

THE YEAR 163.

THIS inscription, again, appears to have been discovered about 1852, by Colonel Ellis, Political Agent at Nāgaudh, and was first brought to notice in 1858, in Mr. Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 251 f., by Professor H. H. Wilson's translation combining both this and the preceding inscription of the year 156, from Mr. Thomas

¹ *Amātya*, *lit.* 'an inmate of the same house; a counsellor,' is a technical official title.

² *Bhōgika*, *lit.* 'one who enjoys or possesses,' is explained in Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary by 'housekeeper, groom.' In the inscriptions it is a technical official title, possibly connected with the territorial terms *bhōga* and *bhukti*.—If we may judge by the passage in line 8 of the Kāvī grant of Jayabhaṭa II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 114), the *Bhōgikas* came in rank below the *Sāmantas* and above the *Vishayapatīs*.

³ *Dūtaka*, and, occasionally *Dūta* (e.g. in line 14 of the Nirmaṇḍ grant of the Mahāsāmanta and Mahārāja Samudrasēna, No. 80 below, Plate xlv.), *lit.* 'a messenger,' is the technical title of an officer employed in connection with formal grants. The term is most commonly used in connection with copper-charters. But there are a few instances in which it occurs in inscriptions on stone; e.g. Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī's Nēpāl inscriptions, No. 3, line 21 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 167), No. 4, line 17-18 (*id.* p. 168), No. 6, line 13 (*id.* p. 170), &c. And these are sufficient to shew that the *Dūtaka*'s office was to carry, not the actual charter itself, for delivery into the hands of the grantees, but the king's sanction and order to the local officials, whose duty it then was to have the charter drawn up and delivered. And, in accordance with this, there is no mention of any *Dūtaka* when we have such expressions as *ājñā svayam*, "the order (is) (that of the grantor's) own self," e.g. in line 19 of the 'Chicacole' grant of the Mahārāja Indravarman of the year 128 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 121); *sva-mukh-ājñā*, "the order (is) (that of the grantor's) own mouth," e.g. in line 24 of the Khōh grant of the Mahārāja Saṁkshōbha, No. 25 below, Plate xvB.; *ājñāptih sva-mukham*, with the same meaning, e.g. in line 34 of the Gōdāvarī grant of the Rāja Prithivimūla (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 118); and *sva-mukh-ājñāyā utkīrṇam*, "engraved at the order of (the grantor's) own mouth," e.g. in line 23 of the Āraṅ plates of the Rāja Mahā-Jayarāja, No. 40 below, Plate xxvi.—As pointed out by Dr. Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 161, note 28), *Ājñādāpaka*, *lit.* 'conveyer of orders,' in line 29 of the Ujjain grant of Vākpatirāja of Dhārā (*id.* p. 160) seems to have been another regular title of the same officer; though this is, I think, at present the only instance in which it occurs.—And it is now plain that it is the same office which is referred to in such expressions as *ājñā mahāmahattara-Gaurisarmā*, "the order (is) (conveyed by) the Mahāmahattara Gaurisarmā," in line 24 of the 'Chicacole' grant of the Mahārāja Indravarman of the year 146 (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 123); *ājñāptis=Siyaśarmā*, in line 28 of the 'Pedda-Maddāli' grant of Jayasimha I. (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 138); and *ājñāptih Dāmākīrttibhōjakah &c.*, in line 12-13 of the Halsī grant of the eighth year of Mṛigēśavarman (*id.* Vol. VI. p. 24 f.).—Line 13 of the Khōh grant of the Mahārāja Śarvanātha of the year 197, No. 30 below, Plate xixB., mentions, in addition to the ordinary *Dūtaka*, another *Dūtaka*, sent as a messenger to a second writer, who was ordered to insert certain additional privileges. And this, again, is in favour of my position that the *Dūtaka* carried the orders for the drawing up of a charter, not the charter itself.

⁴ In No. 22 below, Plate xiv. line 30, this name occurs with the short vowel *a* in the first syllable. It is impossible to decide which form is correct, as the first component may be either *bhā*, 'light, splendour, lustre,' or *bha*, 'a star, a planet.'

reading of the texts.—In 1861, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 10 ff., Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from the original plates.—And in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 11 f., No. 2, General Cunningham, in partially reprinting Dr. Hall's translation, substituted a close approximation to the correct interpretation of the date, agreeing with Professor Wilson and differing from Dr. Hall; and also gave a lithograph of the passage containing the date (*id.* Plate iv. No. 2.)

The inscription is on another set of copper-plates that were found, with the plates containing the inscription of the same *Mahārāja* Hastin of the year 156, No. 21 above, somewhere in the valley near the village of Khôh,¹ in the Nāgaudh State in the Baghêl-khand division of Central India. They were originally deposited in the Library of the Sanskrit College at Benares, but were transferred, first to the Provincial Museum at Allahâbâd, and then to the Provincial Museum at Lucknow, where they now are; but without their ring and seal, which were lost during the transfers.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are three in number. The first two measure about $7\frac{1}{8}$ " by $5\frac{5}{8}$ ", and the third, which was evidently added as an afterthought, when it was found that the inscription could not be completed on the front of the second and that the back of it was not suitable for engraving, about $5\frac{3}{8}$ " by $2\frac{3}{8}$ ". They are quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. Except, however, for the small piece broken away at the beginning of the third plate, the writing is in a state of excellent preservation throughout. The plates are rather thin; and the letters, being rather deeply engraved, shew through so plainly on the backs of them that even vowel-marks can be read there; and it is evidently owing to this, that the inscription was finished on a third and smaller plate, instead of on the back of the second. The engraving is well executed; but the interiors of the majority of the letters shew, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—There is a hole in the upper part of each plate for a ring, with a seal attached to it; but the ring and seal are not now forthcoming. From the original accounts, the seal appears to have had on it the legend *Sri Mahārāja Hastināḥ*, "of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Hastin," as on the seal of his grant of the year 191, No. 23 below, Plate xiv.—The weight of the three plates is 1 lb. 12 oz.—The average size of the letters is between $\frac{3}{16}$ " and $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and the present inscription, with the following, from No. 21. Plate xvA., to No. 31, Plate xx., illustrates what may be called the standard alphabet with northern characteristics, of Central India, from towards the end of the fifth to the middle of the sixth century A.D. In *sūryadatta*, line 30, on the one hand, and on the other, in *kāryya*, line 20, and *kuryyāt*, line 21, we have further illustrations of the use of methods of writing *r* in combination with a following *y*, on which I have commented at page 94 above. In *brahmachārīṇe* and *cha*, line 8, *chāṭa*, line 16, and *chāṭa*, line 23, we have a form of *ch* which belongs properly to a somewhat later period, and is an southern alphabet; but which is perhaps indicative of the current and non-official form of the letter in Central India in this period.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictory and imprecatory verses in lines 22 to 28, the inscription is in prose throughout. It is

¹ See page 93 above, and note 3.

² When the rings are arranged as in these plates, the inscription is found to be completed on the front of the first plate and the top of the second. But all the plates of this family, and all of Uchchakalpa, as far as Plate xx., have the ring-hole in the top of each plate.

engrossed with less care than is usual in epigraphical records of this early date.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *vanśa*, line 6; (2) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *vaḥkrā*, line 28; (3) the doubling of *t*, under the same circumstances, in *ttri*, line 1; *chaittra*, line 2; and other places; but not in *putrēṇa*, line 29; (4) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *maddhyēma*, line 18; but not in *avadhyānēna*, line 21; and (5) the use of *v* for *b*, in *lamvōshṭha*, line 14.

The inscription is one of the **Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin**. It is dated, in words, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the **Gupta kings**," in the year one hundred and sixty-three¹ (A.D. 482-83), in the Mahā-Aśvayuja *samvatsara*, and on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April). Except for the opening invocation of the god Śiva, under the name of Mahādēva, the inscription is non-sectarian. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the *Mahārāja Hastin*, of the *agrāhāra* of *Kōrparika* to certain Brāhmaṇs.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Namô Mahādēvāya (II) Svasti Ttri-shashty-uttarē=bda-śatē Gupta-nṛpa-
rājya-bhuktau
- 2 Mah-Aśvayuja-samvatyarē³ Chaittra-māsa-śukla-paksha-dvitiy[ā*]yām=asy[ā*]n=
divasa-
- 3 pūrvv[ā*]yā[m*]⁴ nṛpatiparivrājaka-kul-ōtpannēna mahārāja-Dēvādhyā-
pranapt[r*]ā

¹In respect of the date of this inscription, Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 9 and 11, and Vol. X. p. 116) has expressed the opinion that one hundred and sixty-three is a mistake for one hundred and seventy-three. And certainly the record in No. 21, page 95 above, that the year 156 was Mahā-Vaiśākha, leads *prima facie* to the conclusion that 163 would be Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha, and that Mahā-Aśvayuja would be (either 161 or) 173; especially since the record of No. 25, page 112 below, that 209 was Mahā-Aśvayuja, points to the names of the *samvatsaras* running in regular succession, without any adjustment by expunction, through this period of fifty-four years. But Gen. Cunningham's suggestion that the apparent error is "a mistake of the engraver, who has written *śasht*" (sic.) "(60) instead of *sapt*" (sic.) "(70), which in Gupta characters might easily happen," takes no account of an additional *akṣara* that must then have been omitted altogether. "Increased by seventy-three" would be, not *ttri-sapty-uttarē*, but *ttri-saptaty-uttarē*. And it would not be an easy matter for the engraver to turn this full and correct form into *ttri-śashty-uttarē*. Gen. Cunningham's present tables for the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 118 ff.; and *Indian Eras*, Table xvii. Col. 10, p. 135 ff.) will have to be re-examined. In this process, with the possibility, which there always is, of the drafters of these epigraphical records making a mistake between current and expired years, it may turn out that this passage really does contain a mistake; which, if it does exist, is more likely to be in the direction of *ttri*, 'three,' having been engraved instead of *dvi*, 'two,' and perhaps of the drafter of the record having also written one hundred and sixty-two, instead of one hundred and sixty-one.—Meanwhile, Dr. Thibaut, who is a competent authority, has recorded his opinion (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 322) that "observation has, as we know, never been the strong point of Hindu astronomers; and if, according to their system, a certain year was to be called Mahā-Chaitra, they would scarcely have hesitated to do so, even if they had found that the name was not justified by Jupiter's actual position." And, until the matter is definitely settled one way or the other, it is better to adhere to the distinct reading of the year one hundred and sixty-three.

² From the original plates.

³ Read *samvatsarē*.

⁴ Supply *tithau*.

- 4 mahārāja-śri-Prabhāñjana-niptra mahārāja-Dāmōdara-sutēna gō-sahasra-
 5 hasty-śva-hiranyanēka-bhānā-pradān gura-pitri-mātri-pūja-tanatparēn¹ ā-
 6 ganta-dēvaśi-śrī-mahābhaktēna nāika-samara-śata-vijayinā sva-vanś-amōdaka-
 7 rēna mahārāja-śri-Bhastinā sva-puṇy-āpyāyat-Artham Agnisv[ā²]mputtra-
 Bharadvāja-
 8 sagōtrā-Vāji(ja)-anēya-sabrahmachariṇē³ Dēvasvāminē³ Śarvasvāminē
 cha
 9 Gōśvāminē Vāji(ja)-anēya-sabrahmachariṇē Kautsa-sagōtrāya Di-
 10 vākāśvāminē⁴ Śa[ā⁵]jīsvāminē Vajasanēya-sabrā(hra)hmachariṇē
 Bhārgava-
 11 Vasuśāstrāya Vajrasarmma⁶ Bappasvāminē Vāsula-sagōtr[ā⁷]ya
 12 Kūṭhāśvāminē Kumārādēva⁸ Vāji(ja)śanēya-sabrāhmachari-
 13 nē⁹ Māṇḍī¹⁰śanēya¹¹ Nāgaśa[tr¹²]mma Rukharādēva⁹ Kandravadēva⁹
 Vihga[tr¹³]dēva¹³

Second Plate.

- 14 Dēvanāga Kumārāsēna¹⁴ Rudrasarmma¹⁵ Dēvadā(?)ṅgarā(?)¹²
 Lamv[ē(mō)]shtha Dēdamita¹⁶
 15 Mahādēva Gunthaka ity-ēvam-ādibhyō brāhmaṇēbhy-ōttare paṭṭē
 Kōrppari-
 16 Kāgrāhārah¹⁷ s-ōparikarah a-chāṭa-bhāṭa-prāvēśyō-tisrīṣṭah-
 17 s¹⁸-Tasy āghāṭh pūrvēna Kōrpparagatā¹ uttarēn-Ānimuktakakōṇakah
 18 Vangata-grām dasya dakṣiṇa-p[ā¹⁹]ravē Valaka-maddhyēma¹⁷ vrikalī
 amrāta-amtāra-
 19 kaḥ²⁰ [I^{*}] paśchinēna Nāgasari¹ dakṣiṇēna Balavarmma-parichebbhēdah [II^{*}]
 Tad-asma-
 20 [I^{*}]-kul-ūthair mmat-pādami(ja)nd-ōpajivibhir-vvā²¹ kālāntarēshv-api nā
 vyāghārah kāryya[h^{*}] [I^{*}]
 21 ēvam-ājñāptē²² yō nyathā kuryyān(t) tam-aham dēhānara-gatō-pi mahat-
 āvadhyānē-

¹Read *śāśatparēn*.—The engraver omitted to cut the *ś* of *śā*; and to cancel the *na*, when he inserted, partly above the line and somewhat small, the *za* for which *na* had been engraved by mistake.

²Read *chārinē*.

³First *na* was engraved; and then it was corrected into *nē*, by partial erasure of the upper stroke of the *ai*.

⁴Read *sarmanē*.

⁵Read *dāśya*.

⁶Read *chārinē*.

⁷Read *sarmma*.—From here, down to *ity-ēvam-ādibhyō* in line 15, is properly a compound; but it is spoilt by the three nominative cases at the end of this line, and by the unnecessary mark of punctuation in the next line.

⁸, ⁹, and ¹⁰ Read *dēva*.

¹¹After this *na*, some letter, which is not quite certain, was engraved and then cancelled.

¹²This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

¹³Read *dēvadāngirah (?)*.

¹⁴This is perhaps a mistake for *dēvamitra*.

¹⁵Read *brāhmaṇēbhyā uttarē*.

¹⁶Read *tisrīṣṭas*.

¹⁷Read *maddhyamē*.

¹⁸Read *amrāta*; and probably *sambhāra*.

¹⁹First *nnā* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *rvvā*.

²⁰Read *ājñāptē* or *ājñāpitē*.

- 22 na nirddahêd¹=Uktañ=cha bhagavatâ param-arshiṇâ vêda-vyâsêna [1*]
 Pûrvva²-dattâ[m*]
 23 dvijâtibhyô yatnâd=rakshya(ksha) Yudhishtîrah³ mahî[m*] mah[1*]matâm
 śrêsthâ dânaçh=chhrê-
 24 yô=ṇupâlanam I(II) Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ
 sa(ya)sya ya-
 25 yasya⁴ yadâ bhûmis=tasya [tasya*] tadâ phalan(m) [II*] Sva-
 dattâ[m*] para-dattâm vâ yô harê-
 26 ta vasundharâḥ(m) sa vishth[â*]yâ[m*] kṛimir=bhûtvâ pitrabhi⁵ saha
 pachyatê [II*]

Third Plate.

- 27 Sh[a]sh[im] v[ar]vva(sha)-sahasrâṇi svarggê môdati bhu(bhû)mi-daḥ
 âchchhêt[im]â
 28 ch=ânumant[â*] ma(cha) t[â*]ny=êva narakê vasê[t*] [II*] Likhitañ=
 cha⁶ Vakkr-âm[â*]tya-prana-
 29 ptranatrâ⁷ bhôgika-Naradatta-napt[r*]â bhôgika-Ravidatta-putrêna(ṇa) mahâ-
 30 sândhivigrahika-Suryadatênah⁸ [1*] Bhagrahō dûtaka[h*] [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to (the god) Mahâdêva! Hail! In a century of years, increased by sixty-three;⁹ in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; in the Mahâ-Aśvayuja *saṃvatsara*; on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra,—on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the day (&c.),—

(Line 3.)—By the *Mahârāja*, the illustrious **Hastin**,—who is born in the family of a kingly ascetic;—who is the great-grandson of the *Mahârāja Dêvâdhyâ*;—who is the grandson of the *Mahârāja*, the illustrious **Prabhâñjana**;—who is the son of the *Mahârāja Dâmôdara*;—who is the giver of thousands of cows, and elephants, and horses, and gold, and many lands;—who is earnest in paying respect to (*his*) spiritual preceptor and (*his*) father and mother;—who is extremely devoted to the gods and Brâhmaṇs;—who has been victorious in many hundreds of battles;—(*and*) who causes the happiness of his own race,—

(L. 7.)—(*By him*),—for the purpose of increasing his own religious merit,—the *agrâhâra* of **Kôrparika**, in the northern *paṭṭa*,¹⁰ is granted, with the *udraṅga* and the

¹ Read *nirddahéyam*.

² Read *yudhishtîra*.

³ Read *pitribhiḥ*.

⁴ Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh); and in the following three verses.

⁵ Read *yasya*; the engraver repeated the *ya* by mistake.

⁶ Supply *śâsanam*.

⁷ Read *pranaptâ*.—Mistakes of this kind would occur through the engraver not spacing the *aksharas* out as far as they were spaced in the painted arrangement on the copper. He would thus come to engrave *naptâ* (for *naptâ*) two *aksharas* before the place intended for it; and he then ignorantly, and also imperfectly, repeated the *aksharas*, by engraving the painted marks still remaining on the plate.

⁸ Read *suryadattêna*.

⁹ See page 102 above, note 1.

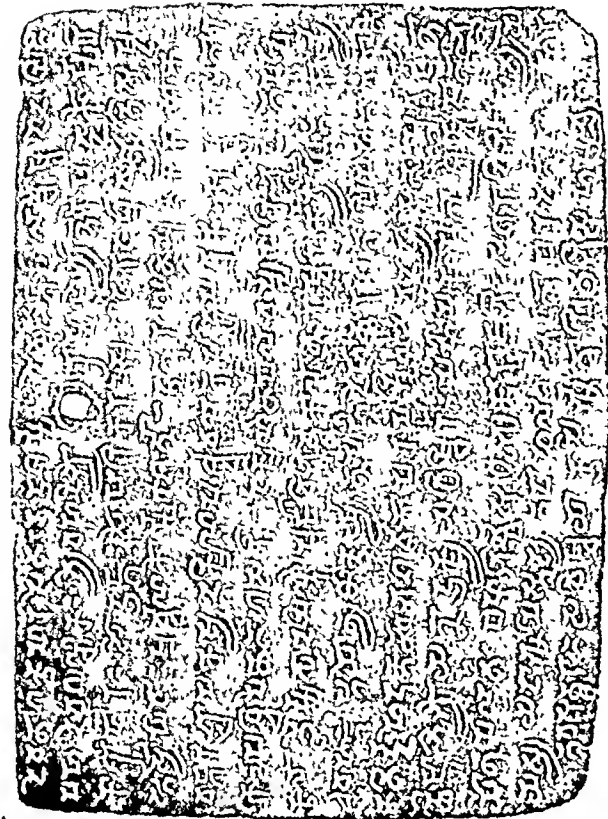
¹⁰ *paṭṭa*, as used here, is apparently some technical territorial term. Compare *paṭi*, for *paṭṭi*, in line 8 of the Halsi grant of Bhânuvarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 28 and 29, note), which, both in Kanarese and in Marâṭhî, is used for 'a strip of land, a division of a village.' Compare also *paṭṭikâ* in line 16 of the Kaira grant of Vijayarâja of the year 394 (*id.* Vol. VII. pp. 248 and 250, note 27), and in line 11 ff. of the cancelled grant on the same plates (*id.* p. 252)

Khoh Plates of the Maharaja Hastin.—The Year 103.

i.

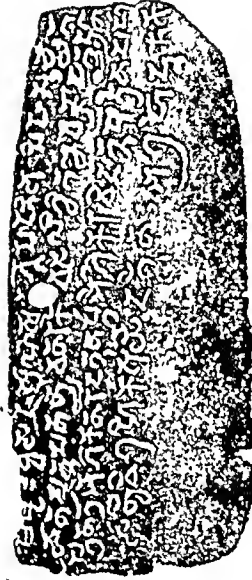


ii.



14 16 18 20 22 24 26

iii.



28 30

SCALE .66

uparikara, and (*with the privilege that it is*) not to be entered by the irregular or regular troops, to (*certain*) Brāhman, commencing with Dēvasvāmin, the son of Agnisvāmin, of the Bharadvāja *gōtra* (*and*) a student of the Vājasaneyā (*śākhā*), and Śarvasvāmin, (*and*) Gōrisvāmin,—Divākarasvāmin, of the Kautsa *gōtra*, a student of the Vājasaneyā (*śākhā*), (*and*) Svātisvāmin,—Varuṇasārman, of the Bhārgava *gōtra*, a student of the Vājasaneyā (*śākhā*), (*and*) Bappasvāmin,—Kumārādēva, of the Vāsula *gōtra*, a student of the Kaṭha (*śākhā*),—(*and*) Mātṛisārman, a student of the Vājasaneyā (*śākhā*), (*and*) Nāgasārman, Rukharādēva, Kaudravādēva, Vishṇudēva, Dēvanāga, Kumārasēna, Rudrasārman, Dēvadāngiras (?), Lambōshṭha, Dēvamitra (?), Mahādēva, (*and*) Guṇṭhaka.

(L. 17.)—The boundaries of it (*are*),—on the east, (the boundary-trench or village called) Kōrparagartā; on the north, Animuktakakōṇaka, (*and*) a *vr̥ika*-tree¹ in the centre of Valaka on the south side of the village of Vaṅgara, (*and*) a² clump³ of *amrāta*-trees;³ on the west, (the tank or village called) Nāgasarī; (*and*) on the south, the *parichchhēda*⁴ of Balavarman.

(L. 19.)—Therefore, even in future times, no obstacle (*to the enjoyment of this grant*) is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by my feudatories. This injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 22.)—And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage, the arranger of the Vēdas,—“O Yudhishṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! He becomes a worm in ordure, and is tormented together with his ancestors, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!”

(L. 28.)—And (*this charter*) has been written by the *Mahāsāmdhivigrahika*⁵ Sūryadatta; the great-grandson of the *Amātya* Vakra; the grandson of the *Bhōgika* Naradatta; (*and*) the son of the *Bhōgika* Ravidatta. Bhagraha⁶ (*is*) the *Dūtaka*.

¹ *vr̥ika*; the *Sesbana Grandiflora*.

² Or,—if we keep the original reading of *saṁtāraka*,—‘the ferry (*at the place*) of the *amrāta*-trees.’

³ *amrāta*; the hog-plum, *Spondias Mangifera*.

⁴ *parichchhēda*; *lit.* ‘division, separation,’ is a technical territorial term, the exact purport of which cannot be at present suggested.

⁵ *Mahāsāmdhivigrahika*, *lit.* ‘a great officer entrusted with the arrangement of peace and war,’ is a technical official title denoting an official superior to the *Sāmdhivigrahikas* (see page 16 above, note 6). Another of his titles was *Mahāsāmdhivigrahādhipati*; e.g. in line 18-19 of the grant of Gōvinda III. of Śaka-Samvat 726 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 127.)

⁶ See page 100 above, note 4.

symbols for 1, 3, 90, and 100.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 13 to 18, the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *h*, in *siṅha*, line 20; (2) the doubling of *k*, *g*, and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *vakkra*, line 18; *viggrahika*, line 19; and *chaittra*, line 2, and *pittrōr*, line 7; but not in other places, e.g. in *sagôtrēbhyaś*, line 8; (3) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *avaddhyānēna*, line 12; (4) the occasional use of *b* for *v*, in *sambatsara*, line 2 (twice), and *sambat*, line 20; and (5) the occasional use of *v* for *b*, in *vrāhmaṇa*, line 5, and *vahuḥhir*, line 14.

The inscription is one of the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja* Hastin. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, "in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings," in the year one hundred and ninety-one (A.D. 510-11), in the Mahā-Chaitra *saṃvatsara*, and on the third lunar day of the dark fortnight, and the third solar day of the whole month, of Māgha (January-February).¹ Except for the opening invocation of the god Śiva, under the name of Mahādēva, the inscription is non-sectarian. The object of it is to record the grant, by the *Mahārāja* Hastin, at the request of a certain person named Mahādēvidēva, of the village of Vālugarta to certain Brāhmaṇs.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Namô Mahādēvāya || Svasty=Ēka-navaty-uttarē=bda-śatē Gupta-nṛ pa-
rājya-bhuktau śrīmati pravarddhamāna³-
- 2 Mahā-Chaitra-samba(mva)tsarē Māgha-māsa-bahula-paksha-tṛtīyāyām=asyā[m*]
samba(mva)tsara-māsa-divasa-pūrvvā-
- 3 yām⁴ [I*] Nripatiparivrājaka-kul-ōtpannēna mahārāja-Dēvādhyā-pranaptrā
mahārāja-śrī-Prabhamjana-naptrā mahā-
- 4 rāja-śrī-Dāmōdara-sutēna gō-sahasra-hasty-aśva-hirāny-ānēka-bhūmi-pradēna
guru-pitri-mātri-pūjā-
- 5 tatparēṇ=ātyanta-dēva-vrā(brā)hmaṇa-bhaktēn=ānēka-samara-śata-vijayinā sva-
vaṃś-āmōdakarēṇa mahā-
- 6 rāja-śrī-Hastinā Mahādēvidēva-sukha-vijñaptyā Vālugarttō nāma grāmaḥ
pūrvv-āghāṭa-parichchhēda-ma-
- 7 ryādayā s-ōdraṅgaḥ s-ōparikarō=ch[ā*]ṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśyaḥ mātāpittrōr=
ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ābhivṛddhayē Mahādē-

rect ancient form of the letter is used throughout the rest of this inscription also, e.g. in *yuvva*, line 2, and *vijaya*, line 3.

¹The double record of this date is of considerable importance. In line 2, the day is distinctly specified as the third lunar day of the dark fortnight; while, in line 21, in numerical symbols, it is shewn as the third day of the month, without any specification of the fortnight. So, again, in No. 25 below, page 114 f., the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra (line 2 f.), is shewn in line 24 as the twenty-ninth solar day of the whole month. The four entries together prove that, as might be expected in the case of an era belonging to Northern India, the arrangement of the fortnights of the months of the Gupta year followed the northern custom, with the dark fortnight preceding the bright.

² From the original plates.

³ The vowel *ē*, of *nē*, appears to have been engraved and then cancelled here. In Plate xvB, l. 2, the reading is as I transcribe it here.

⁴ Supply *tithau*.

- 8 vidêva-sukhâm cha svargga-sôpâna-paṅktim=ârôpayatâ Aupamanyava-
sagôtrêbhyaś=Chhandôga-Kauthuma-
9 sabrahmachâribhyô=mibhya¹ brâhmaṇêbhyaḥ Gôvindasvâmi- I Gômika²-
svâmi-Dêvasvâmibhyaḥ putra-pau-
10 tr-ânvay-ôpabhôgyas=tâmra-śâsanên=âgrâhârô=tisrîshṭaḥ chaura-varjjam [I*] Tad=
asmat-kul-ôtt hair=mmat-pâda-
11 piṇḍ-ôpajîvibhir=vvâ kâl-ântarêshv=api na vyâghâtaḥ karaṇîyaḥ [I*]
êvam=âjñâptê³ yô=nyathâ
12 kuryât=tam=aham dêhântara-gatô=pi mahat=âvaddhyânêna nirddahêyam=
Uktam cha bhagavatâ parama-

Second Plate.

- 13 [r]sh[i]ṇâ vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsêna II(I) Pûrvva⁴-dattâm dvijâtibhyô yatnâd=
raksha Yudhishṭhira mahî[m*]
14 mahimatâm śrêshṭha dânaç=chhrêyô=nupâlanam I(II) Va(ba)hubhir=
vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ ya-
15 sya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam [II*] Shasṭim
varsha-sahasr[â*]ṇi svarggê môdati bhûmi-daḥ
16 âkshêptâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt [II*] Sva-dattâm
para-dattâm=bâ(vâ) yô harêta vasundharâm
17 sa visṭhâyâm kkrimir=bhûtvâ pitribhiḥ saha majjatê [II*]
A-pâniyêshv=aranyêshu śushka-kôṭara-vâsinah
18 kṛishṇ-âhayô=bhijâyantê pûrvva-dâyam haranti yê II Likhitam⁵ cha
Vakkr-âmâtya-pranapṭri-naptrâ⁶
19 bhôgika-Naradatta-pranapṭrâ Ravidatta-naptrâ Sûryadatta-puttrêṇa mahâ-
sândhiviggrahika-
20 Vibhudattên=êti [I*] Mahâva(ba)lâdhikṛita-Nâgasinhô dûtakaḥ [II*]
Samba(mva)t 100 90 I
21 Mâgha di 3 [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to (the god) Mahâdêva! Hail! In a century of years, increased by ninety-one; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the **Gupta kings**; in the prosperous augmenting Mahâ-Chaitra *saṁvatsara*; on the third lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Mâgha,—on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the *saṁvatsara* and month and day,⁷—

¹ Read *mîbhya*.

² Read *gôvindasvâmi-gômika*.

³ Read *âjñâptê*, or *âjñâpitê*.

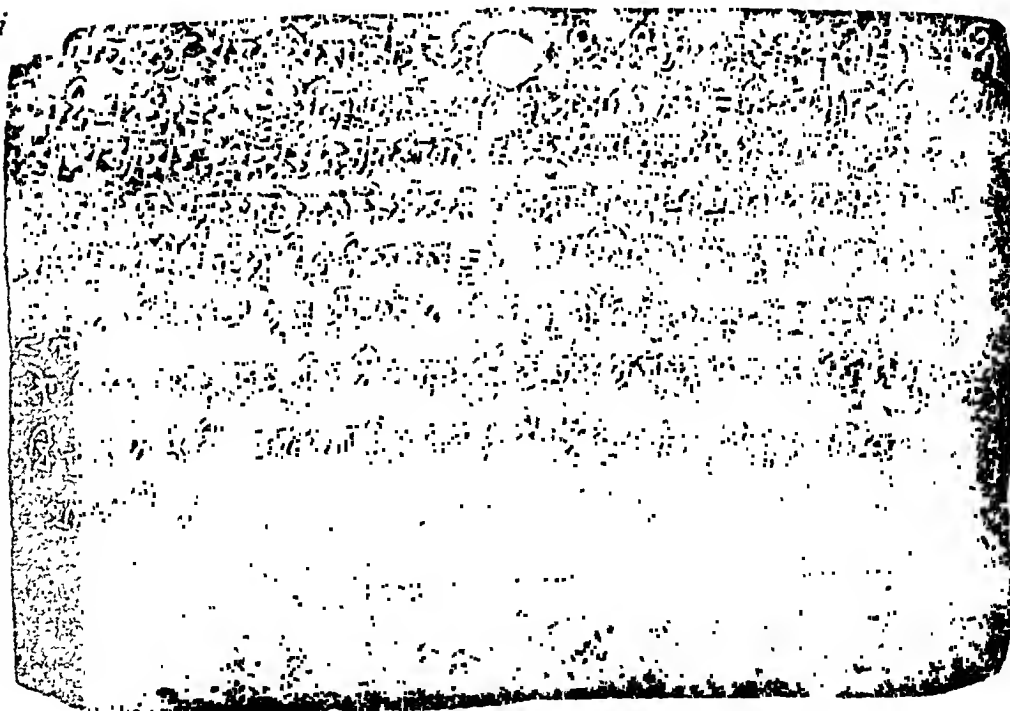
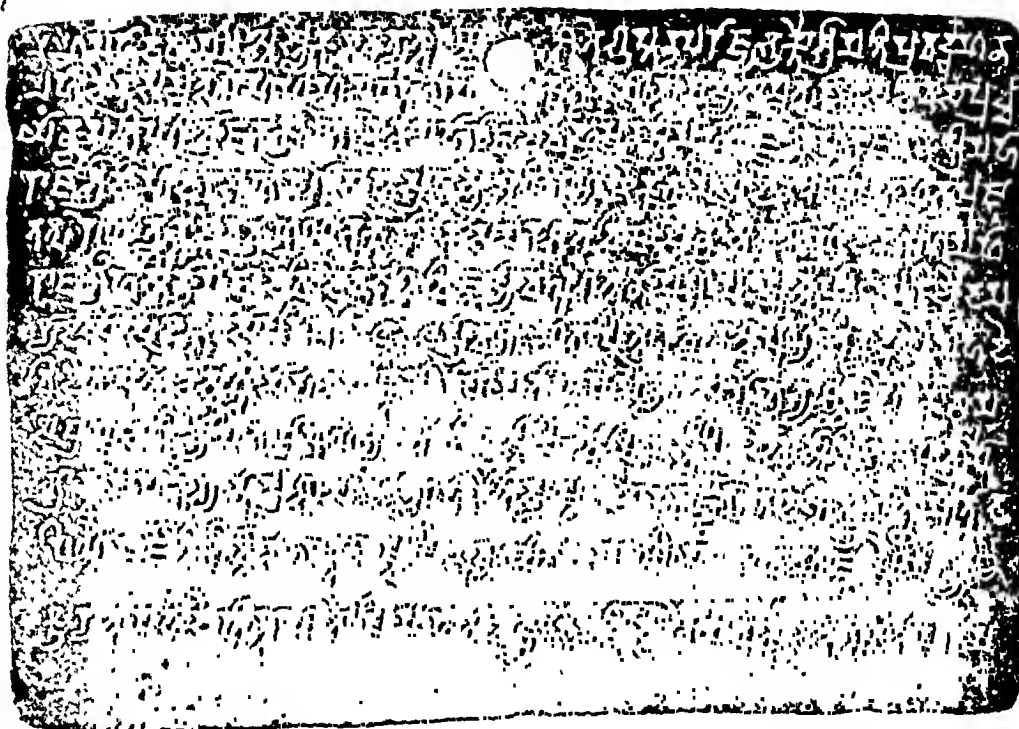
⁴ Metre, Ślôka (Anusṭubh); and in the following four verses.

⁵ Supply *śâsanam*.

⁶ This must be a mistake for either *napṭri-naptrâ*, or *pranapṭri-putrêṇa*; since, as the text stands, it passes over the generation between Vakra and Naradatta.

⁷ See page 97 above, note 1.

Majhgawam Plates of the Maharaja Hastin.—The Year 191.



(Line 3.)—By the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Hastin,—who is born in the family of a kingly ascetic;—who is the great-grandson of the *Mahārāja Dēvādhyā*;—who is the grandson of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Prabhañjana*;—who is the son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Dāmōdara*;—who is the giver of thousands of cows, and elephants, and horses, and gold, and many lands;—who is earnest in paying respect to (*his*) spiritual preceptor and (*his*) father and mother;—who is extremely devoted to the gods and Brāhmaṇs;—who has been victorious in many hundreds of battles;—(*and*) who causes the happiness of his own race,—

(L. 6.)—(*By him*), at the agreeable request of *Mahādēvidēva*, the village named *Vālugarta*, in accordance with the usage of the specification of (*its*) ancient boundaries, with the *udranga* and the *uparikara*, (*and with the privilege that it is*) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops, is granted as an *agrādāra*, by a copper-charter,—for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*his*) parents and of himself, and in order to erect the steps of a ladder leading to heaven, acceptable to *Mahādēvidēva*,—to these Brāhmaṇs, of the *Aupamanyava gōtra*, students of the *Chhandōga-Kaushuma (śākhā)*, (*viz.*) *Gōvindasvāmin*, *Gōmikasvāmin*, and *Dēvasvāmin*,—to be enjoyed by (*their*) sons and sons' sons, with the exception of (*the proceeds of fines imposed on*) thieves.

(L. 10.)—Therefore, even in future times, no obstacle (*to the enjoyment of this grant*) is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by my feudatories. This injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 12.)—And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage, *Vyāsa*, the arranger of the *Vēdas*,—"O *Yudhishtīra*, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) is more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with *Sagara*; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He becomes a worm in ordure, and is tormented together with his ancestors, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! Those who confiscate a previous grant, are born (*again*) as black serpents, inhabiting the dried-up hollows of trees, in desert places destitute of water!"

(L. 18.)—And (*this charter*) has been written by the *Mahāsāmdhivigrahika Vibhudatta*, the son¹ of the great-grandson of the *Amātya Vakra*; the great-grandson of the *Bhōgika Naradatta*; the grandson of *Ravidatta*; (*and*) the son of *Sūryadatta*. The *Mahābalādhikṛita*² *Nāgasīṇha* (*is*) the *Dātaka*. The year 100 (*and*) 90 (*and*) 1; (*the month*) *Māgha*; the day 3.

¹ See page 108 above, note 6.

² *Mahābalādhikṛita*, *lit.* 'a great officer placed at the head of the forces,' is a technical official title, denoting an officer superior to the *Balādhikṛita*.—The latter title, *Balādhikṛita*, occurs in line 2 of the *Shāhpur* image inscription of *Ādityasēna*, No. 43 below, Plate xxixA.—A synonym for *Mahābalādhikṛita* was *Mahābalādhyaṅksha*, which occurs in Mr. Bendall's *Nēpāl* inscription of *Harsha-Samvat 34* (*Journey in Nēpāl*, p. 75, line 17.)

No. 24; PLATE XV A.

BHUMARA STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE
MAHARAJAS HASTIN AND SARVANATHA.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered by General Cunningham; and was first brought to notice by him, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 8 f. and 16, No. 9, where he published his translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate iv. No. 9.)

Bhumarâ¹ is a village about nine miles to the north-west of Uchaharâ, in the Nâgaudh State in the Baghelkhand division of Central India. From line 3 of the inscription, the ancient name of the place seems to have been Âmbîlôda. The inscription is on one of the faces of the bottom and rectangular part of a small red-sandstone pillar, popularly called *thâdî-patthar* or "the standing stone," in the lands of this village.

The writing, which covers a space of about $10\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by $1' 6\frac{3}{4}"$ high, is in a state of very fair preservation throughout.—The size of the letters varies from $\frac{5}{8}"$ to $\frac{7}{8}"$. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 9, forms of the numerical symbols² for 9 and 10.—The language is Sanskrit; and the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *puttra*, line 5; (2) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyâta*, line 2; and (3) the use of *b* for *v*, in *sambatsarê*, line 8.

The inscription is one of the two *Mahârâjas* Hastin, of the Parivrâjaka family, and Śarvanâtha,³ of Uchchakalpa. It is dated, in numerical symbols, on the nineteenth day,⁴ without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Kârttika (October-

¹The 'Bhumara and Bumra' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70. Lat. $24^{\circ} 25'$ N.; Long $80^{\circ} 41'$ E.—Gen. Cunningham wrote the name 'Bhubhara.' And, at Satnâ, it was given to me as 'Bhubhura.' But my office-people brought back the name as either Bumarâ or Bhumarâ, and said that the villagers do not know of any other form of the name. Of these two forms, Bhumarâ agrees most closely with the names in the maps, and seems to be the correct one.

²I am a little doubtful about the second symbol, which occurs again in line 24 of No. 25 below, Plate xvB., and line 14 of No. 71, Plate xliA. But it resembles most a rather straight and upright form of the symbol for 9. The only other possibilities are 7 or 8.

³For this *Mahârâja*, see Nos. 28, 29, 30, and 31 below.

⁴Other instances will be met with, in the present series, of the number of a day exceeding sixteen, which is the extreme number in a lunar fortnight, bright or dark. And such instances are still more common in other inscriptions.—In such cases, whether there is any mention of a lunar fortnight or not, and also in cases in which the number of the day does not exceed sixteen, and the lunar fortnight is not mentioned, it is sometimes thought that the reference is to the solar, not the luni-solar, months and year. But I do not consider that this necessarily follows. At Hulgûr, in the Bankâpur Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the Dhârwad District, there is an inscription of the Yâdava king Mahâdêva of Dêvagiri, in which the date (line 15 ff.) is *Saka-varshada 1189neya Prabhava-samvatsarada Jyêshthâ ba 30 Budhavarâ sâryagrahanad-andu*, "(the month) Jyêshthâ of the Prabhava *samvatsara*, which is the 1189th Saka year (A.D. 1267-68); the dark fortnight; (the solar day or lunar *tîthi*) 30 (of the month); Wednesday; at the time of an eclipse of the sun." And we also have the Kôṭā inscription of the Śāmantâ Dêvadatta, in which the date (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 351 f.) runs *Samvat 800 70 9 Mâgha su di 20*, "the year 800 (and) 70 (and) 9 (A.D. 822-23); (the month) Mâgha; the bright fortnight; the day 20 (of the month)." Of these, the first is a southern date, according to the arrange-

November), in the *Mahā-Māgha samvatsara*, without any reference to an era. But the choice lies only between Gupta-Samvat 189 and 201; and, as we have for the *Mahārāja Hastin* the early date of the year 156, in No. 21 above, page 93, the preference is in favour of the year one hundred and eighty-nine (A. D. 508-9). The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it being simply to record the erection, at *Āmblôda*, of a boundary-pillar between the territories of the two *Mahārājas* in question.

One point of importance in connection with this inscription, is that its existence on stone furnishes definite evidence that the *Parivrājaka Mahārājas* and the *Mahārājas* of *Uchchakalpa* really did belong to this part of the country. This is a point on which stone-inscriptions give testimony of a kind that can never be derived from the mere finding, in a certain locality, of copper-plates, which, being small and portable, are always liable to be carried to a considerable distance from the places to which they properly belong,¹ and can only be applied territorially when the places mentioned in them can be identified.

TEXT.²

- 1 Svasti Mahādēva-pād[ā].
- 2 nuddhyâtô(ta)-mahārāja-Hasti-
- 3 rājyê Āmblô³dê mahārāja-
- 4 Śarvvanātha-bhōgê Indana-
- 5 naptrā Vāsu-grāmika-puttra-
- 6 Śivadāsēna vala-ya-
- 7 shṭi uchchhritā⁴ [I*] Mahā-
Māghê
- 8 samba(mva)tsarê Kārttika-
māsa
- 9 divasa 10 9 [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In (*the boundary of*) the kingdom of the *Mahārāja Hastin*, who meditates on the feet of (the god) Mahādēva; at (the village of) *Āmblôda*; (*and*) in (*the boundary*

ment by which the bright half of the month comes first; and the second is a northern date, according to the arrangement by which the dark half comes first. These instances, of course, are exceptional ones. But they suffice to shew that, both in northern and in southern India, down to comparatively late times, the numbering of the solar days and lunar *tithis* of the month up to thirty did occasionally continue alongside of the more usual reckoning by fortnights, in which the lunar *tithis* of each fortnight are denoted by the numbers one to fifteen only, and the solar days by the numbers one to fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen, as the case may be.

¹ A marked instance of the distances to which copper-plates and seals may travel, is afforded by the finding of the seal of the Maukhari Śarvavarman, No. 47 below, at Aśīrgadh in the Nimād District in the Central Provinces. Its original locality must have been some hundreds of miles to the east of this.

² From the ink-impression.

³ The engraver seems to have first engraved *hlô*, or perhaps *dhlo*, and then corrected it into *mblô*.

⁴ Read *valaya-yashṭi*=*uchchhritā*. — As regards the correction of *vala* into *valaya*, *vala-yashṭi* or *bala-yashṭi* gives no meaning; whereas the appropriateness of *valaya-yashṭi*, 'boundary-staff or pillar,' is apparent. The mistake arose from the omission to repeat, at the beginning of line 7, the *ya* at the end of line 6.

of) the *bhōga*¹ of the *Mahārāja Śarvanātha*,—(this) boundary-pillar has been set up by Śivadāsa, the grandson of Indana, and the son of the *Grāmika*² Vāsu;—in the *Mahā-Māgha samvatsara*; the month *Kārttika*; the day 10 (and) 9.

No. 25; PLATE XVB.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SAMKSHOBHA.

THE YEAR 209.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 15, No. 7, where he published a translation of it, with a lithograph of the two passages containing the date (*id.* Pl. iv. No. 4),—is on another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of *Khôh*,³ in the *Nâgaudh* State in the *Baghêlkhand* division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the *Rājā* of *Nâgaudh*, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about $8\frac{3}{8}$ " by $4\frac{7}{8}$ ", and the second about $8\frac{1}{8}$ " by $4\frac{7}{8}$ ". They are quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. They have apparently been subjected to the action of fire; but the inscription is in a state of very good preservation throughout. The plates are fairly thick; but the letters are deep, and shew through very distinctly on the backs of them. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and $2\frac{1}{3}$ " in diameter. It had not been cut, when the grant came under my notice; but one end of it had been forced out of the socket of the seal, so that it could be separated from the plates. The seal, in the lower part of which the ends of the ring were originally fused and so secured, is rectangular, about $1\frac{3}{8}$ " by $\frac{7}{8}$ ". It must have had a legend, on a countersunk surface; but it is now perfectly illegible, and not worth reproducing by a lithograph. Also, from the shape of the seal, as contrasted with that of the *Khôh* grant of the *Mahārāja* *Hastin* of the year 191, No. 23 above, Plate xiv.: and compared with the seal of the *Khôh* grant of the *Mahārāja Śarvanātha* of the year 193, No. 28 below, Plate xviii., it would seem to be a seal of one of the *Mahārājas* of *Uchchakalpa*, rather than of one of the *Parivrājaka Mahārājas*.—The weight of the two plates is 1 lb. $8\frac{1}{2}$ oz., and of the ring and seal, 6 oz.; total 1 lb. $14\frac{1}{2}$ oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the somewhat rare initial *ô*. in *ôpāni*, line 14. In *kuryāt*, line 17, and in *kāryyah*, line 16, we have further illustrations of the two methods of forming *r*, in combination with a following *y*, on which I have commented at page 94 above. The characters also include, in line 24, forms of the numerical symbols⁴ for 9 and 20.

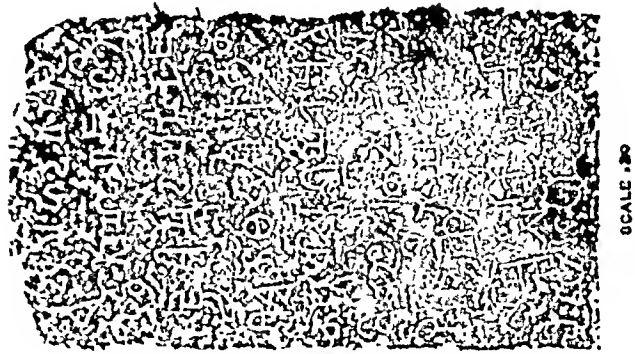
¹ *bhōga*, *lit.* 'enjoyment, possession, government,' is a technical territorial term, probably of much the same purport as the *bhukti* of other inscriptions.

² *Grāmika*, 'a villager, the headman of a village,' is a technical official title corresponding to the modern Kanarese *Gauda* and Marāṭhī *Pāṭīl*.

³ See page 93 above, and note 3.

⁴ As regards the symbol for 9, see page 110 above, note 2.

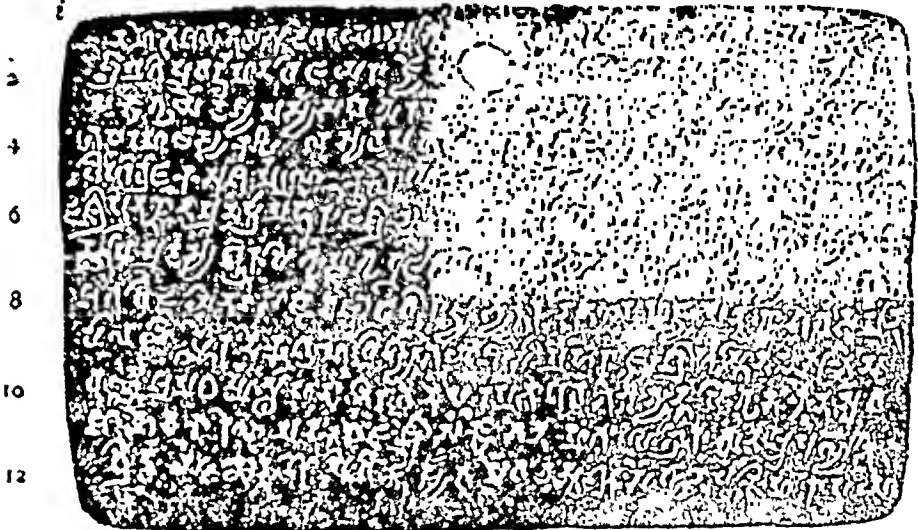
A.—Bhumara Pillar Inscription
of the Maharajas
Hastin and Sarvanatha.



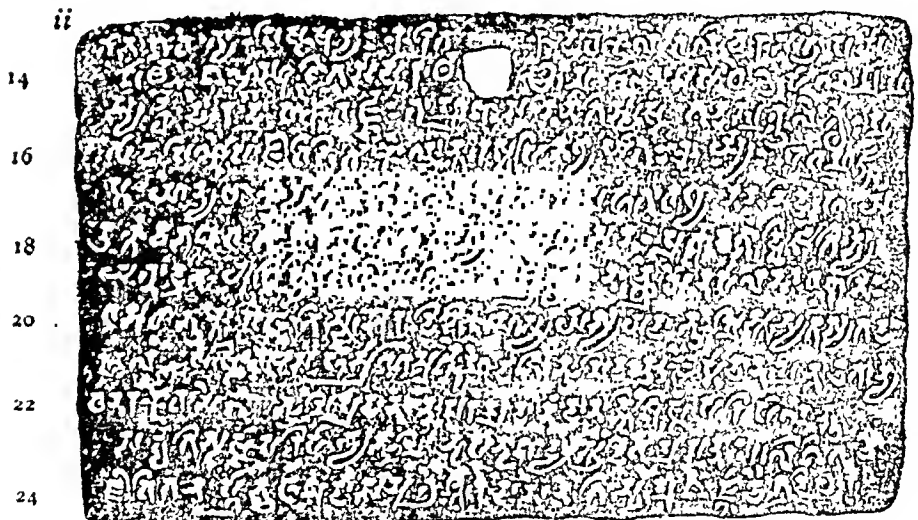
SCALE .80

2 4 6 8

B.—Khoh Plates of the Maharaja Samkshobha.—The Year 209.



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24

undoubtedly the older form of **Ḍāhala**, **Ḍāhāla**, **Ḍahāla**, or **Ḍahalā**, which seems to represent the modern **Bundêlkhaṇḍ**, and which was in later times a province of the Haihayas or Kalachuris of Tripura near Jabalpur, whose original capital was Kālāñjara in Bundêlkhaṇḍ. This, therefore, is another item of evidence connecting the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* with this part of the country.¹

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm Namô bhagavatē Vāsudēvāya || Svasti Nav-ōttarē=vda(bda)-śata-dvayē
Gupta-nṛipa-r[ā*]jya-bhuktau
- 2 śrīmati pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājyē Mah-Āśvayuja-sa[m*]vatsarē Chaitra-māsa-
śukla-
- 3 paksha-trayōdaśy[ā*]m=asyām sambha(va)tsara-māsa-divasa-pūrvvāyā[m*]³ [I*]
Chaturddaśa-vidyāsthāna-vidi-
- 4 ta-paramārthasya Kapilasy=[ai*]va mah-arshēḥ sarvva-tat[t*]va-jñasya
Bharadvāja-sagōtrasya nṛipa-
- 5 pi⁴parivrājaka-**Suśarmmaṇaḥ** kul-ōtpannēna mahārāja-śrī-**Dēvādhyā**-putra-
pranaptrā mahārā-
- 6 ja⁵-śrī-**Prabhañjana**-pranaptrā mahārāja-śrī-**Dāmōdara**-naptrā gō-sahasra-
hasty-aśva-hiraṇy-ānēka-
- 7 bhūmi-pradasya guru-pitri-mātri-pūjā-tatparasy=ātyanta-dēva-vrā(brā)hmaṇa-
bhaktasy=ānēka-samara-
- 8 śata-vijayinaḥ s-āstṭādaś-ātavi-rājy-ābhyantaram **Ḍabhā(Phā)lā-rājyam=**
anvay-āgataṁ samadī⁶
- 9 pālayipṇō(shṇō)r=anēka-guṇa-vikhyāta-yaśasō mahārāja-gri(śrī)-**Hastinaḥ**
sutēna
- 10 varṇṇ-āśrama-dharma-sthāpanā-niratēna paramabhāgavatēn=ātyanta-pitri-
bhaktēna sva-vaṁ-
- 11 ś-āmōdakarēṇa mahārāja-śrī-**Samkshōbhēna(ṇa)** mātāpitrōr=ātmanaś=cha
puṇy-ābhi-
- 12 vriddhay⁷ **Chhōḍugōmi**-vijñāptyā tam=ēva cha sva[r*]gga-sōpāna-pamktim=
ārōpaya-

Second Plate.

- 13 tā bhagava⁸tyāḥ Piṣṭapuryāḥ kārītaka-dēvakulē va(ba)li-charu-sat[t*]r-
ōpayō-

¹ It is perhaps worth mentioning, that there is in this neighbourhood a station on the Allahābād-Jabalpur railway, called **Ḍabhaurā** (the 'Dabhura' and 'Daboora' of maps), about fourteen miles east of Māṇikpur, and fifty miles east by north of Kālāñjara.

² From the original plates.

³ Supply *tithau*.

⁴ Read *nṛipati*.—In the second syllable, first *ti* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *pa*.

⁵ This *ja* was first omitted, and then inserted in the margin of the plate.

⁶ Some correction or other is required here; but it is not apparent what was intended; possibly, however, *samyak*, *sampadi*, or *sapadi*. I do not suggest *samadhīpālayishṇōr*, because I cannot find any authority for the composition of *sam* and *adhi* with *pā*, 'protect'.—In the third syllable, *ḍi* was certainly engraved; but the *i* may perhaps have been cancelled.

⁷ Read *ābhivṛiddhayē*.

⁸ The mark over this *va* is only a fault or rust-hole in the copper. There are several other similar faults or rust-holes in these two plates; e.g. after *sy=ārddham* in line 15.

- 14 g-ârthah(ñ) khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-saṃskâr-ârthañ=cha Mañinâga-pêṭhê Opâni-grâma-
- 15 sy=ârdhani. chôra-drôhaka-varjjah(ñ) tâmra-sâsanên=âtisriṣṭam [1*] tad=asmat-kul-ôṭṭhau(tthai)h ma-
- 16 t-pâdapiṇḍ-ôpajîvibhîr=vvâ kâlântarêshv=apî na vyâghâtaḥ kâryyaḥ [1*] êvam=âjñâ-
- 17 pta¹ yô=nyatnâ kuryât=tam=aham dêhântara-gatô=pi mahat=âvadhyanêna nirddahêyam [11*]
- 18 Uktar² cha bhagavatâ param-arshiṇâ vêda-vyâsena Vyâsênaḥ³ [1*] Pûrvva⁴-dattâm dvijâtibhyô
- 19 yatnâd=raksha Yudhisṭhiraḥ⁴ mahîm=mahimatâ[m*] śrêṣṭha dânaçh=chhrêyô=nupâlanah(ñ) [11*] Va(ba)hubhiḥ
- 20 vasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya vasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ
- 21 phalam [11*] Shasṭim varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê môdati bhûmi-daḥ âkshêptâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=ê-
- 22 va narakê vasêt [11*] Bhûmi⁵-pradânân=nâ(na) param pradânam dânaçh=viśiṣṭam paripâlan=chha⁶
- 23 sarvvê=tisriṣṭâ[m*] paripâlya bhûmi[m*] nripâ Nrig-âdyas=tridivam prapannâḥ || Likhitañ⁷=cha
- 24 Jîvita-naptrâ Bhujamgâdasa-putr-Êśvaradâsên=êti [1*] Sva-mukh-âjñâ [1*] Chaitra di 20 9 [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Reverence to the divine (god) Vāsudêva ! Hail ! In two centuries of years, increased by nine ; in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the **Gupta kings** ; in the glorious augmenting and victorious reign ; in the Mahâ-Aśvayuja *saṃvatsara* ; on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra,—on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the *saṃvatsara* and month and day.

(Line 3.)—By the *Mahârāja*, the illustrious **Saṃkshôbha**,—who is born in the family of the kingly ascetic **Suśarman**, who had learned the whole truth of the fourteen sections of science ;⁸ who was a great sage, (*being*) indeed (*an incarnation of*) Kapila ; who knew all the first principles ; (*and*) who was of the **Bharadvâja gôtra** ;—who is the great-grandson of the son of the *Mahârāja*, the illustrious **Dêvâdhyâ** ;—who is the great-grandson of the *Mahârāja*, the illustrious **Prabhâñjana** ;—who is the son of the *Mahârāja*, the illustrious **Dâmôdara** ;—who is the son of the *Mahârāja*, the illustrious **Hastin**, who was the giver of thousands of cows, and elephants, and

¹ Read either *âjñaptê*, or *âjñâpitê*.² Read *vyâsêna*.³ Metre, Ślôka (Anuṣṭubh) ; and in the following two verses :⁴ Read *yudhisṭhira*.⁵ Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.⁶ Read *paripâlanâñ=cha*.⁷ Read *likhitañ*.—And supply *sâsanam*.⁸ *chaturdaśa-vidyâsthâna* ; *vis.* the four Vêdas, the six Vêdângas, the P. system of philosophy, the Nyâya system, and Dharma, or law.

gold, and many lands; who was earnest in paying respect to (*his*) spiritual preceptor and (*his*) father and mother; who was extremely devoted to the gods and Brāhman; who was victorious in many hundreds of battles; who sought to govern properly the kingdom of Dabhālā,¹ which had come (*to him*) by inheritance, together with (*all the country*) included in the eighteen forest kingdoms; (*and*) whose fame was renowned through many good qualities;—who is intent upon establishing the religious duties of the castes and the different periods of life;—who is a most devout worshipper of the Divine One;—who is extremely devoted to (*his*) ancestors;—(*and*) who causes the happiness of his own race,—

(L. 11.)—(*By him*),—for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*his*) parents and of himself,—at the request of Chhōḍugōmin, and (*with the object of*) causing him to ascend the steps of the ladder that leads to heaven,—half of the village of Ōpāni, in the Maṇināga pēṭha,² is granted by a copper-charter, with the exception of (*the right to fines imposed on*) thieves and mischief-doers, for the purpose of observing the *bali*, *charu*, and *sattra*,³ at the temple, which (*he*) has caused to be built, of the divine (goddess) Piṣṭapurī, and for the purpose of renewing whatever may become broken or torn.

(L. 15.)—Therefore, even in future times, no obstacle (*to the enjoyment of this grant*) is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by my feudatories. This injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 18.)—And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage, Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas,—“O Yudhishtira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents to (*an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! (*There is*) no gift better than a gift of land, and the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) better than making a grant; all kings, commencing with Nriga, have attained heaven, (*by*) preserving land that had been granted!”

(L. 23.)—And (*this charter*) has been written by Īśvaradāsa, the grandson of Jivita, (*and*) the son of Bhujamgadāsa. The order (*is that*) of his own⁴ mouth. (*The month*) Chaitra; the day 20 (*and*) a.

¹ Or possibly Dahālā; but the second syllable, though rather badly formed, seems to be *dhā*, rather than *hā*.

² *pēṭha*; a technical territorial term, represented in modern Marāṭhī by *pēṭā*. Another form of it, *venṭha*, occurs in line 30-31 of the Harihar grant of Bukkarāya of Śālivāhana-Śaka 1270 (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 347); and we also have *venṭheya* or *penṭheya* in line 24 of the Harihar inscription of Achyutarāya of Śālivāhana-Śaka 1460 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 331).

³ *bali* is the offering of ghee, grain, rice, &c., to the gods and all creatures of every description; *charu*, the oblation of rice, barley, and pulse boiled with butter and milk, for the deceased ancestors; and *sattra*, the giving of alms and refuge. They are three of the *pañcha-mahāyajña*, or ‘five great sacrifices,’ which are usually (*e.g.* in line 27 f. of the Māliya grant of the Mahārāja Dharasēna II., No. 78 below, Plate xxiv.) enumerated as *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva* (the offering to all deities), *agnihōtra* (see page 71 above, note 8), and *atithi* (hospitality; the *sattra* of the present inscription).—The *sattra*-rite was the special object of the *sattra*, or ‘charitable hall or almshouse,’ which is mentioned for instance, in No. 7, line 6, page 38 above.

⁴ *Samkshōbha*’s. These words imply that he employed no *Dūtaka* to convey the orders to the local officials, but gave them in person; see page 100 above, note 3.

No. 26; PLATE XVI.

KARITALAI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE
MAHARAJA JAYANATHA.

THE YEAR 174.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 12. f. No. 3, where he published a translation of it, with a lithograph of the two passages containing the date (*id.* Plate iv. No. 5),—is from some copper-plates that were found, about 1850, in a small receptacle inside a ruined temple of the god Vishṇu, in his incarnation as the Boar, at Kârīṭalâi,¹ a village about twenty-three miles north-east of Muḍwârâ,² the chief town of the Muḍwârâ Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Jabalpur District in the Central Provinces. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of General Cunningham.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about $9\frac{3}{8}$ " by $6\frac{3}{4}$ ", and the second $9\frac{1}{8}$ " by $6\frac{9}{16}$ ". The edges of them are here and there fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation throughout. The plates are fairly thick; but the letters are deep, and shew through on the backs, so clearly that in many places they can be read there. The engraving is good; but the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—In the upper part³ of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. But the ring, and the seal attached to it, are not forthcoming.—The weight of the two plates is 2 lbs. 7 oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and the present inscription, with the five that follow, and with No. 22 above, Plate xiii., No. 24, Plate xvA., and No. 25, Plate xvB., illustrates what may be called the standard alphabet, with northern characteristics, of Central India, from towards the end of the fifth to the middle of the sixth century A.D. The characters include the rather rare initial *ô*, in *ôghadêva*, line 1, and the equally rare *jh*, in *ajjhitadêvî*, line 5; also, in lines 24 and 25, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 4, 10, 70, and 100.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 14 to 21, the inscription is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice, in *utpadyamânaka*, line 10 f., the affix *ka*, which I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *vanśa*, line 10; (2) the constant doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *puttra*, line 2; *sagôṭtra*, line 7; and *ttrâtâ*, line 20; and (3) the occasional use of *b* for *v*, in *sambatsara*, line 21, and *sambat*, line 24.

The inscription is one of the *Mahârāja Jayanâtha*; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called **Uchchakalpa**.⁴ The date of the writing of the

¹ The 'Karitalai and Kareetullace' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89. Lat. $24^{\circ} 3' N.$; Long. $80^{\circ} 46' E.$

² The 'Moorwari, Moorwarra, and Murwâra,' of maps, &c.

³ See page 101 above, note 2.

⁴ The 'literal meaning, 'that which is but little short of being a high place,' points perhaps rather to the name being properly that of a hill; but of course with a town on it.

charter is given, in both words and numerical symbols, as the year one hundred and seventy-four, and the fourteenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Āshāḍha (June-July). There is no information given as to the era. But the Bhumarā pillar inscription of the *Mahārājas* Hastin and Śarvanātha, No. 24 above, page 110, shews that the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* and the *Mahārājas* of Uchchakalpa were contemporaries; and, therefore, that the era of the latter must be the same with that of the former, which is distinctly indicated as being the Gupta era. And the result, accordingly, for the present date, is A.D. 493-94. The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant, by the *Mahārāja Jayanātha*, to a Brāhmaṇ, of the village of Chhandāpallikā in the Nāgadēya¹ *santaka*.²

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 Om Svasti Uchchakalpān=mahārāja-Ōgha⁴dēvas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-
ānudyātō mahā-
- 2 dēvyān Kumāradēvyām=utpannō mahārāja-Kumāradēvas=tasya puttras=
tat-pād-[ā*]nudyātē(tō)
- 3 mahādēvyām Jayasvāmīnām=utpannō mah[ā*]rāja-Jayasvāmī tasya
puttras=tat-pād-[ā*]nudyātē(tō)
- 4 mah[ā*]dēvyā[m*] Rāmadēvyām=utpannō mahārāja-Vy[ā*]ghras=tasya
puttras=tat-pād-ānudyātō mahā-
- 5 dēvyām=Ajjhitadēvyām=utpannō mahārāja-Jayanāthaḥ kuśālī Nāgadēya-
santaka-Chha-
- 6 nē āpallikāyām brāhmaṇ-ādin=kuṭumbinaḥ kārūkāmś=cha samājñāpayati [I*]
Vadatarīm=bō⁵=stu
- 7 yath=aisha grāmō mayā sva-puṇy-ābhivṛddhavē Kaṇvasagōttra-Vāja-
sanēyaMādhyā-
- 8 ndina-brāhmaṇa-Mittrasvāmināḥ s-ōdraṅgaḥ s-ōparikaraḥ a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-
prāvēśyaḥ
- 9 chōra-varjītō=tisṛiṣṭas=Tē yūyam=asya samuchita-bhāgabhogā-kara-pratyāy-
ōpa-
- 10 nayām kaka(ri)shyatha ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyāś=cha bhaviṣyatha [I*] Yē
ch=āsmad-vanś-ōtpadya-
- 11 mātaka-rājānas=tair=iyām dattir=nna vilōpy=ānumōdanīyā samuchita-rāj-ā-
- 12 bhāvya-kara-pratyāyā na grāhyāḥ [I*] Yaś=ch=aimām dattim lōpayēt
sa pañchabhiḥ

¹ As regards Gen. Cunningham's desire to identify Nāgadēya with the modern Nāgaudh, see page 94 above, note 1.

² *santaka* is a technical territorial term, the exact meaning of which is not apparent. It is perhaps identical in etymology with the Prākṛit *santaka*, 'belonging to,' in *asmat-santaka*, 'belonging to Us,' which occurs in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions, No. 55 below, line 21, and No. 56, line 23.—In No. 29 below, line 7, we have the slightly different form, as a territorial term, of *santika*.

³ From the original plates.

⁴ Read *rāj-augha*.

Read *viditām vō*.

Second Plate.

- 13 mahâpâtakair=upapâtakaiś=cha saṁyukta[h*] syân(d)=Uktaṁ cha Mahâ-
bhâratê bhagavatâ
- 14 Vyâsēna [I*] Sva¹-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yatnâd=raksha Yudhisṭhira
mahim=mahimatâṁ śrêshṭha
- 15 dânaçh=chhrâyô=nupâlanam [II*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ
Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya
- 16 yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam [II*] Prâyēṇa hi
narēndrânâṁ vidyatê n=â-
- 17 śubhâ gatih pûyântê tē tu satatam prayacnchhantô vasun-
dharâm [II*] Shasṭi-varsha-sahasrâ-
- 18 ni svarggê mōdati bhûmi-daḥ âchchhêtâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=ēva
narakê vasêt [II*]
- 19 Âsphôṭala(ya)nti pitarah pravalganti pitamahâḥ bhûmi-dô=sma[t*]-kulê
jâtaḥ sa nô(nah)
- 20 ttrâtâ bhavishyati [II*] Sarvva-sasya-sampiddhân=tu yô harêta vasun-
dharâm śva-vishṭhâyâm kṛimi-
- 21 r=bhûtvâ pitribhis=saha majjati I(II) Samba(mva)tsara-ga(śa)tê chatuḥ-
saptatê Âshâḍha-mâsa-
- 22 sya chaturddaśamê divasê asyâm divasa-purvâyâm² likhitam³ mayâ
bhôgika-Râjyî-
- 23 l-âmâtya-naptṛi-bhôgika-Dhruvadatta-puttra-bhôgika-Guñjakîrttinâ [I*] Dûtak-
ôparika⁴
- 24 dikshita-grihapati-sthapatissamrât-Chchha(chha)rvvadatta iti || Samba(mva)t
100 70 4 Âshâ-
- 25 dha di 10 + I(II)

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From (the city or hill of) Uchchakalpa;⁵—(There was) the *Mahârâja* Ôghadêva. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the *Mahârâja* Kumâradêva, begotten on the *Mahâdêvî*⁶ Kumâradêvî. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the *Mahârâja* Jayasvâmin, begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* Jayasvâminî. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the *Mahârâja* Vyâghra, begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* Râmadêvî.

(Line 4.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the *Mahârâja* Jayanâtha,—begotten on the *Mahâdêvî* Ajjhitadêvî,⁷—being in good health,⁸ issues a command to the

¹ Metre, Ślōka (Anusṭuph); and in the following five verses.

² Supply *tithau*.

³ Supply *śāsanam*.

⁴ Read *dûtaka uparika*.—*Dûtaka* should be a word by itself, in the nominative singular; not in composition with *uparika*.

⁵ The context is in line 5 f.,—"the *Mahârâja* Jayanâtha issues a command." The genealogy that intervenes, is by way of a parenthesis.

⁶ See page 16 above, note 2.

⁷ The first part of this name, *ajjhita*, must be a Prākṛit word. There might be some temptation to correct it into the Sanskrit *ujjhita*; but there is not the slightest approach to the vowel *u* below the final *m* of the preceding word *dēvyām*, in any of the passages in which it occurs.—Gen. Cunningham read the name as Majjhitadêvî; but this is incorrect, as there is no trace whatever of an *anusvāra* over the *vyâ* of *dēvyām*, in any of the passages.—We have another Prākṛit name in Ijjâdêvî in line 5 of the Dêd-Baraṇārka inscription of Jîvitagupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxixB.

⁸ *kusalin*; a technical expression of constant use in charters.

cultivators, beginning with the Brâhmanas, and to the artisans, at (the village of) Chhandâpallikâ in the Nâgadêya *santaka* :—

(L. 6.)—"Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing my own religious merit, this village is granted by me,—with the *udranga* and the *uparikara*, (and with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops, (but) with the exception of (the right to fines imposed on) thieves,—to the Brâhman Mitrasvâmin, of the Kânva *gôtra* and the Vâjasañeya-Mâdhyamdina (*śâkhâ*).

(L. 9.)—"You yourselves shall render to him the offering of the tribute of the customary royalties¹ and taxes, and shall be obedient to (his) commands.

(L. 10.)—"And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (but) should be assented to; (and) the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken.

(L. 12.)—"And whosoever may confiscate this grant,—he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins and the minor sins."

(L. 13.)—And it has been said in the Mahâbhârata by the venerable Vyâsa,—'O Yudhishtîra, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) (is) more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara, whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it)! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Fathers (in the world of the dead) clap their hands upon their arms, (and) grandfathers leap (from joy), (saying)—'A giver of land has been born in our family; he shall become our deliverer'! He who confiscates land, rich in all (kinds of) grains, (that has been granted),—he becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog, and sinks (into hell), together with (his) ancestors!"

(L. 21.)—In a century of years, together with the seventy-fourth (year), on the fourteenth day of the month Âshâdha,—on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the day (Śc),²—(this charter) has been written by me, the Bhôgika Guñjakîrtti, the grandson of the Bhôgika, the Amâtya Râjyila, and the son of the Bhôgika Dhruvadatta. The Dûtaka (is) the Uparika, Dîkshita,³ householder,⁴ and chief of architects,⁵ Śarvadatta.

(L. 24.)—The year 100 (and) 70 (and) 4; (the month) Âshâdha; the day 10 (and) 4.

¹ *bhâgabhôga*; *lit.* 'enjoyment or snares. My rendering is on the authority of Monier Williams' explanation of *bhâga-bhuj*, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, by 'enjoying taxes, a king, sovereign.'

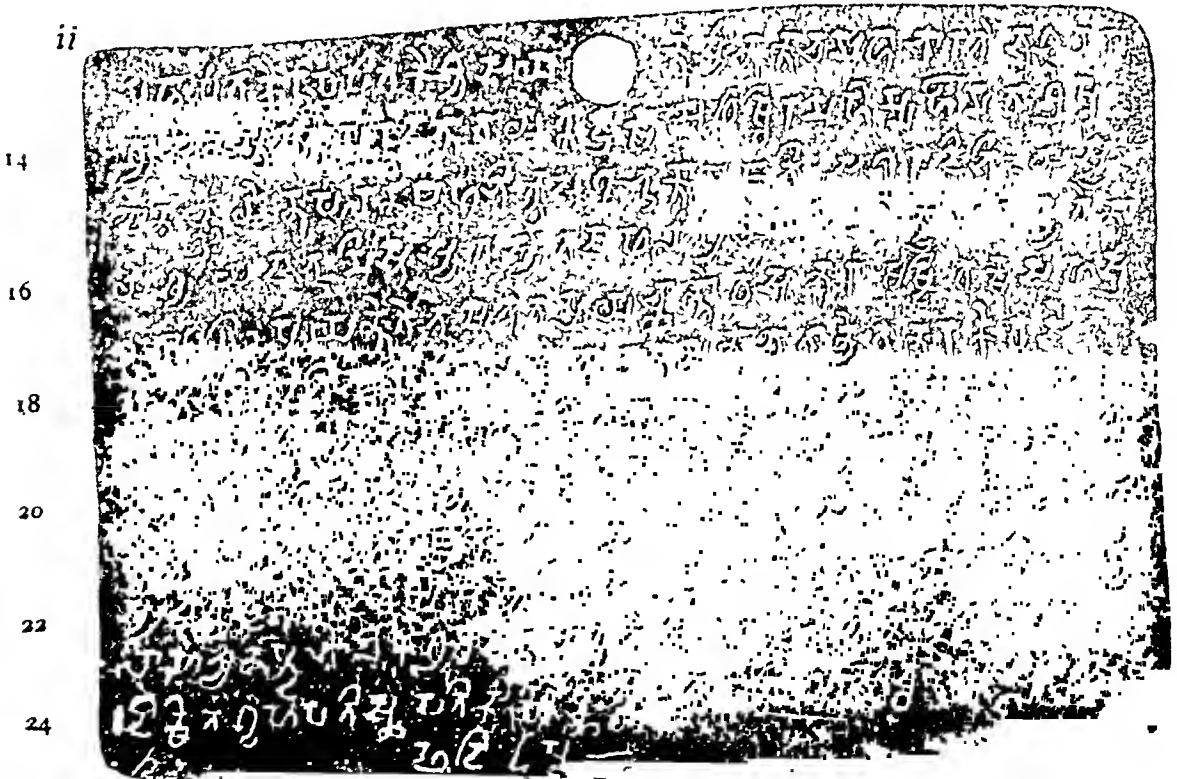
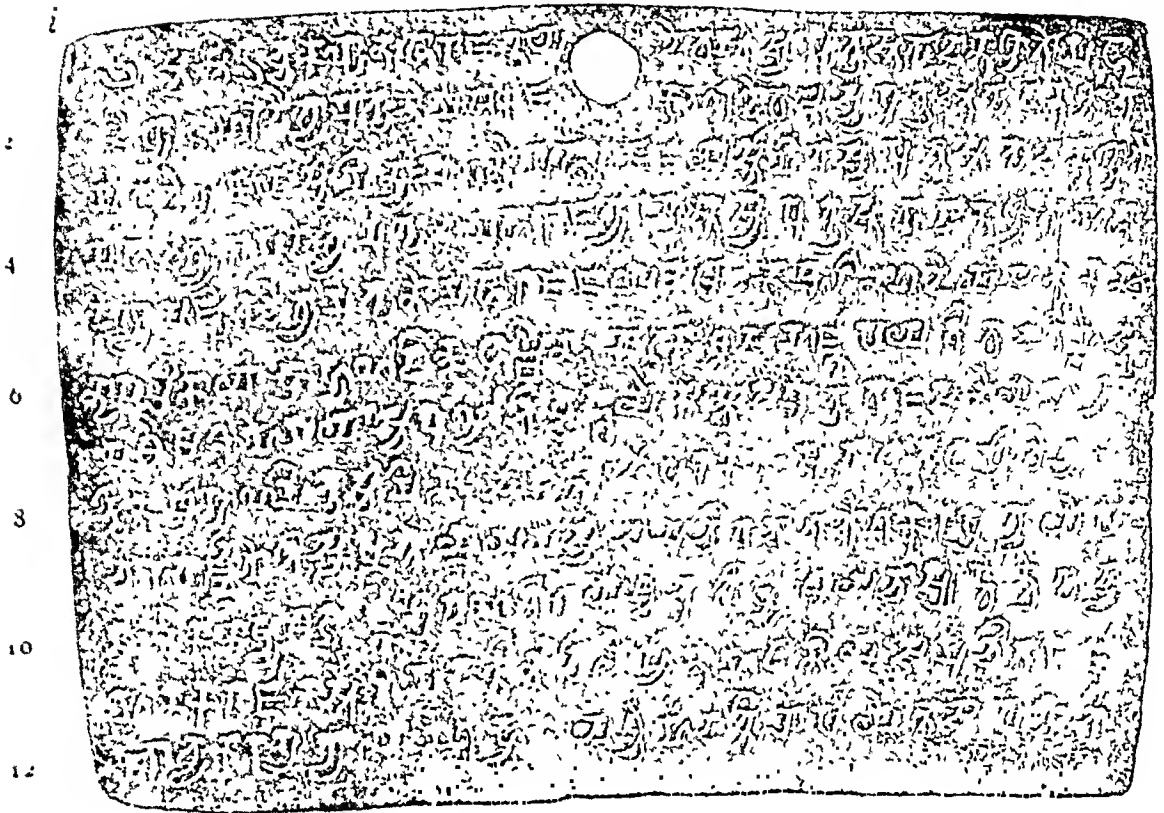
² See page 97 above, note 1.

³ *Dîkshita*; 'one who has received initiation, or by whom the preparatory ceremonies have been observed.'

⁴ *grîhapati*; 'the master of a house, a householder; a man of the second class, who, having finished his studies, is married and settled.'

⁵ *sthapati-samraj*; the meaning, however, is not quite certain. Perhaps it may mean 'superintendent of the attendants or the women's apartments.'

Karitalu Plates of the Maharaja Jayanatha.—The Year 174



No. 27; PLATE XVII.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE
MAHARAJA JAYANATHA.

THE YEAR 177.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 13, No. 4, where he published a partial translation of it, with a lithograph of the passage containing the date (*id.* Pl. iv. No. 6),—is from another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khôh,¹ in the Nâgaudh State in the Baghelkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Rājā of Nâgaudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about $9\frac{3}{8}$ " by $6\frac{5}{8}$ ", and the second $9\frac{1}{2}$ " by $6\frac{5}{8}$ ". They are quite smooth, the edges having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims; the inscription, however, is in a state of very good preservation throughout. The plates are fairly thick; but the letters here and there shew through faintly on the backs of them. The engraving is good, but shews, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. But the ring and seal are not forthcoming.—The weight of the two plates is 3 lbs. 11 oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the preceding inscription of the same *Mahārāja* of the year 174, No. 26 above, Plate xvi. In *rājānas*, line 12, the vowel *ā* is attached, in a very unusual way, to the top stroke of the *j*; instead of to the centre of it, as in *rōjā* (for *rāja*), line 13; this occurs occasionally in other inscriptions also; and it is difficult to say whether it is an authorized variety of practice, or only a mistake on the part of the engraver. The letter *r*, in combination with a following consonant, is formed uniformly above the top line of writing. The characters include the rather rare *jh*, in *ajjhita*, line 5.—The language is Sanskrit; and the entire inscription is in prose, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 16 to 20. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice (1) the use of the Prākṛit word *phuṭṭa*, in line 10; and (2) in *pratishṭhāpitaka*, line 9, and *utpadyamānaka*, line 12, the affix *ka*, which I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *kkramēna*, *puttra*, and *prapauttra* line 9; and (2) the use of *v* for *b*, in *vali*, line 10.

The inscription is one of the *Mahārāja Jayanātha*; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called Uchchakalpa. The date of the writing of the charter is given, in words, as the year one hundred and seventy-seven (A.D. 496-97), and the twenty-second day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Chaitra (March-April). It is a Vaishṇava inscription. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the *Mahārāja Jayanātha*, to some Brāhman, of the village of Dhava-shandikā, for the purposes of a temple of the god Viṣṇu, under the name of Bhagavat or the Divine One. established by them there.

¹ See page 93 above, and note 3.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 Svasty=Uchchakalpân=mahârâj-Aughadêvas=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtô mahâ-
- 2 dêvyâm Kumârad[ê*]vyâm=utpannô mahârâja-Kumâradêvas=tasya puttras=tat-p[â*]d-ânudhyâtô
- 3 mahâdêvyâm Jayasvâminyâm=utpannô mahârâja-Jayasvâmi(mî) tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtô
- 4 mahâdêvyâm Râmadêvyâm=utpannô mahârâja-Vyâghras=tasya puttras=tat-p[â*]d-ânudhyâtô mahâ-
- 5 dêvy[â*]m=Ajjhitadêvyâm=utpannô mahârâja-Jayanâthaḥ kuśali(lī) Dhavashaṇḍikâyâ[m*] vrâ(brâ)hma-
- 6 ṇ-âdîn=kuṭumvi(mbi)naḥ kârukâmś=cha samâjñāpayati [I*] Viditam vō=stu yath=aisha grāmô may=â-
- 7 chandr-ârka-samakâlikah Śâśatanêya-Sarvvavâdha-divira-tatputtra-bhâgavata-Gaṅga-ta[t*]puttra-
- 8 Raṅkabôṭa-Aja²garadâs[â*]nâm sva-puṇy-âbhivṛddhayê bhagavat-pâd[ê*]bhyah dēv-[â*]grâhârô=tisriṣṭa[h*] [I*]
- 9 êbhiś=ch=âttra pratishṭhâpitaka-bhagavat-pâdânâm puttra-[pautra*]-prapauttra-tatputtr-âti(di)-kkramêṇa khaṇḍa-
- 10 phuṭṭa³-pratisamśk[â*]r[êṇa*] va(ba)li-charu-sattra-pravarttan-âdy-anuṣṭhânêna cha sva-puṇy-âbhivṛddhiḥ
- 11 karttavyâ [I*] Tê yûyam=êśhâm samuchita-su[I*]ka-bhâgabdhôga-kara-hirany-âdi-pratyây-ôpanayam⁴
- 12 karishyath=âjñâ-śravaṇa-vidhêyâś=cha bhavishyatha [I*] Yê ch=âsmad-varṁś-ôtpadyamânaka-râjânas=tair=iyam
- 13 datti[r*]=nna vilôpyâ anumôdan[i*]yâ samuchita-rô(râ)j-âbhâvya-kara-pratyâyâ na grâhyâ[h*]

Second Plate.

- 14 chôra-daṇḍa-varjyam I kâl-ânukâlâm cha pratipâlaniya [I*] Yaś=ch=aimâm dattim lôpayêt=sa pa[m*]cha-
- 15 bhir=mmahâpâtakair=upapâtakais=cha samyuktaḥ sy[âd*] [II*] Uktam cha Mahâbhâratê bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna
- 16 Vyâsêna [I*] Sva⁵-dattâm para-dattâm=vâ yatnâd=raksha Yudhisṭhira mahî[m*] mahimatâm śrêṣṭha dânaçh=chhrêyô=nupâla-
- 17 nam [II*] Prâyêṇa hi narêndrânâm vidyatê n=â-śubhâ gatiḥ pûyattê(ntê) tē tu satata[m*] prayachchhantô vasundha-
- 18 râ[m*] II Shashṭim varsha-sahamśrâṇi⁶ svarggê môdati bhûmi-daḥ I âchchhêtâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=[ê*]va narak[ê*] vasêt [II*]

¹ From the original plates.² Read *bôṭ-âja*.³ Read *sphuṭita*. — *Phuṭta* is a regular Prākṛit formation; but is not admissible in a Sanskrit passage.⁴ This *anusvâra* is so high above the *ya*, that it seems to have been omitted at first, and inserted subsequently, somewhat at random.

Metre. Ślôka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following four verses.

⁵ Read *sahasrâṇi*.

- 19 Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ | rya(ya)sya yasya
yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṃ [11*]
20 Sarvva-sasya-samṛiddhān=[t*]u yō harēta vasundharā[m*] | sa vishṭhāyām
kṛimi[r*]=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha majya(jja)tē [11*]
21 Samvatsara-śatē sapta-saptaty-u[ttā*]rē Chaittra-māsa-divasē dvā-
vimśatimē likhitam¹ bhōgika-Phālgū²datt-āmātya-
22 mātya³-naptrā bhōgika-Varāhadinna-puttra-sādhivigrahika-Gallunā | dūtak-
ōparika⁴-dikshita-griha-
23 pati-sthapatisamrat-Chharvadvattaḥ || Yattr=aghātāḥ Dhānyavāhika-
pratyuddēśē garttā pālī cha |
24 Durggamaṇḍala-pradēśē pālī [1*] Suvarṇṇakakshaka-pradēśē gōpatha-
śaraḥ ardhēna cha pālī [1*]
25 Āmuka-pradēśē garttā [1*] Dāramaṇḍala-pradēśrē(sē) pālī [1*] Vakra-
vaṇa-prāvēśya-maṇḍala-pradēśē pālī [1*]
26 grāmē yāvat-kūpam pravishṭā iti [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! From Uchchakaipa;—(There was) the *Mahārāja Ōghadēva*. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the *Mahārāja Kumāradēva*, begotten on the *Mahādēvī Kumāradēvī*. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the *Mahārāja Jayasvāmin*, begotten on the *Mahādēvī Jayasvāminī*. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the *Mahārāja Vyāghra*, begotten on the *Mahādēvī Rāmadēvī*.

(Line 4.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the *Mahārāja Jayanātha*,—begotten on the *Mahādēvī Ajjhitadēvī*,—being in good health, issues a command to the cultivators, beginning with the Brāhmanṣ, and to the artisans, at (the village of) *Dhavashandikā* :—

(L. 6.)—“ Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing my own religious merit, (and) for the benefit of the feet of the Divine One,⁵ this village is granted by me, as an *agrayhāra* of the god, to continue for the same time with the moon and the sun, to the *Divira*⁶ Sarvavādha, of the Śāśatanēya (*gōtra*) (?), and his son the *Bhāgavata* Gaṅga, and his sons Raṅkabōta and Ajagaradāsa. And the increase of their own religious merit should be effected by the succession of (their) sons, [sons' sons*], sons of sons' sons, sons of the latter, &c., by repairing whatever may become broken or torn, and by attending to the

¹ Supply *śāsanam*.

² Read *phalgu*.—The name occurs again with the long vowel *ā* in the first syllable, in line 30 of No. 28 below, and line 11 of No. 30 below. But the correct form, with the short vowel *a*, occurs in line 28 of No. 31 below, page 137.

³ Read *āmātya-naptrā*. The syllables *mātya* are repeated by mistake.

⁴ Read *dūtaka uparika*; see page 119 above, note 4.

⁵ i. e. “for the benefit of the Divine One.”—Here, and in line 9 below, the words “the feet” are only used in accordance with the customary method of respectful mention. No reference is intended to any shrine containing ‘foot-prints’ of Viṣṇu, which would be denoted by the use of *padā*, or *pāda*.

⁶ *Divira* is a technical official title, explained by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 10) as *divira* ‘a clerk, writer, or accountant,’ on the authority of a passage in the *Līlāprakāśa* of Keśava, which explains the details of written documents for the benefit of the *Diviras*.

maintenance of the *bau*, *charu*, *sattra*, and other (*such rites*), of the feet of the Divine One, established here by these persons.

(L. 11.)—"You yourselves shall render to these persons the offering of the tribute of the customary duties, royalties, taxes, gold, &c., and shall be obedient to (*their*) commands.

(L. 12.)—"And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (*but*) should be assented to; (*and*), with the exception of fines imposed on thieves, the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken; and (*this grant*) should be preserved from time to time.

(L. 14.)—"And whosoever may confiscate this grant,—he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins and the minor sins."

(L. 15.)—And it has been said in the *Mahābhārata* by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the *Vēdas*,—"O Yudhishtira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! He who confiscates land, rich in all (*kinds of*) grains, (*that has been granted*),—he becomes a worm in ordure, and sinks (*into hell*), together with his ancestors!"

(L. 21.)—In a century of years, increased by seventy-seven, on the twenty-second day of the month Chaitra, (*this charter*) has been written by the *Sāmdhivigrahika* Gallu, the grandson of the *Bhōgika*, the *Amātya* Phalgudatta,¹ (*and*) the son of the *Bhōgika* Varāhadinna.² The *Dūtaka* (*is*) the *Uparika*, *Dikshita*, householder, and chief of architects,³ Śarvadatta.

(L. 23.)—The boundaries in this matter (*are*),—in the direction of *Dhānya-vāhika*,⁴ a boundary-trench and a bridge,⁵—in the direction of *Durgamaṇḍala*, a

¹ See page 123 above, note 2.

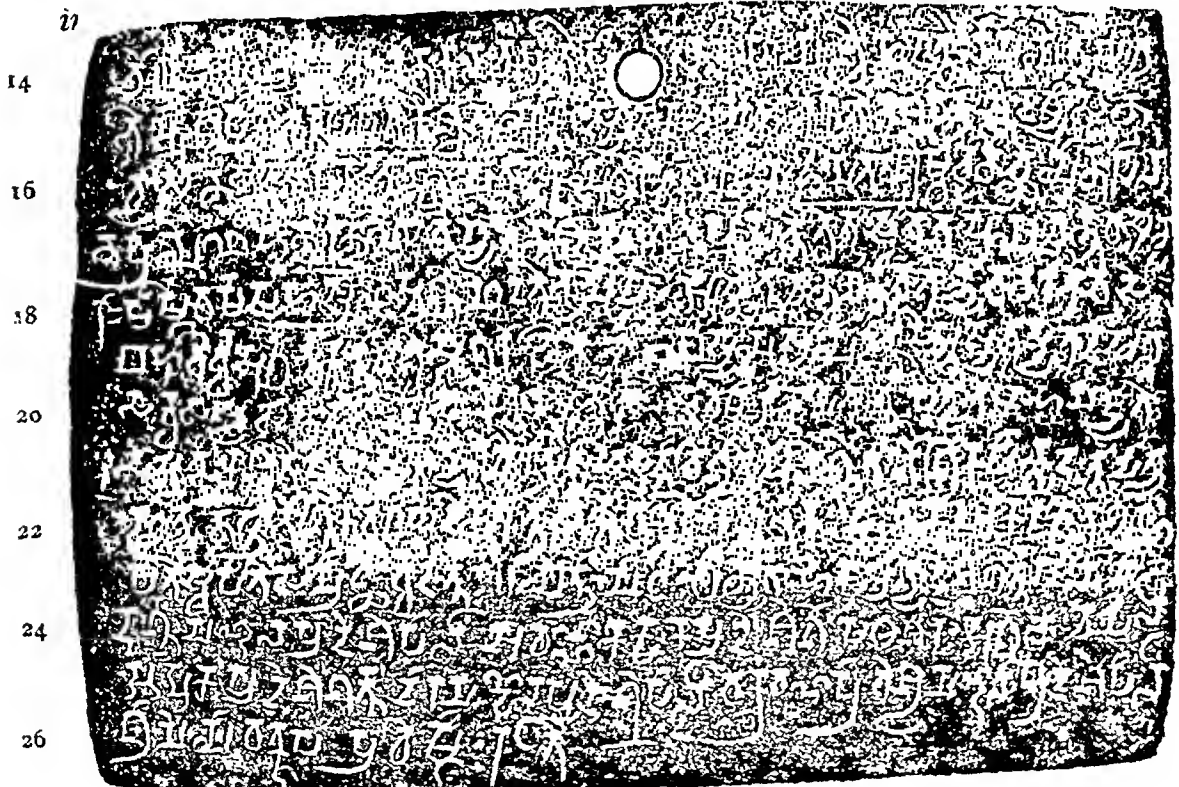
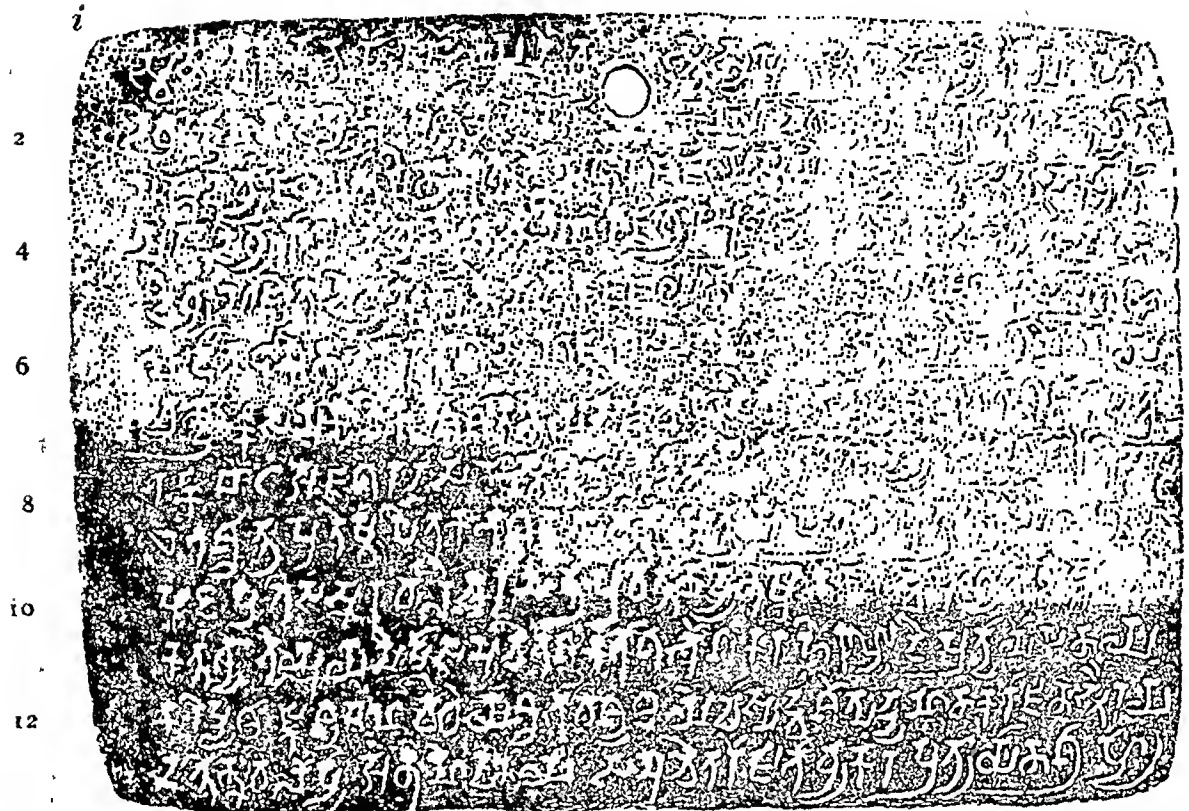
² *dinna* is rather a rare word. But it occurs again (1) as the second part of a proper name, in Indradinna, a Jain teacher (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 247, 251), and perhaps in Vikidinna, in line 25 of the Māliyā grant of Dharasēna II., No. 38 below (where, however, it may be a name by itself); (2) as a proper name by itself, in line 9 of the Nirmaṇḍ grant of the *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahārāja* Samudrasēna, No. 80 below. Plate xlv., and in the case of a Jain teacher (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 247, 252); and (3) as the first component of the name of a village in Dinnāgrāma (Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v.) Also, we have a village or town named Dinnaputra, either a mistake or a local variation for Dinnaputra, or more probably a mistake for Dinnāputra, in line 54 of one of the Dhārka grants of Śīlāditya V. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 345; and *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 15.)

³ *sthapati-samraj*; see page 120 above, note 5.

⁴ *Dhānyavāhika* must have been a very common village-name in those parts, as the maps give 'Danwai,' 'Dhanwahi' (three times), 'Dhunwahee,' and 'Dhunwai,' all within a distance of thirty-two miles from Uchaharā, on the south-east, south, and south-west.

⁵ *pālī*; or 'a raised bank, dike, or causeway.'—This, also, if it did not occur five times in this passage, and in five different directions, might be taken as a village-name; since the maps give 'Pali,' thirty-seven miles north-west, and again seventy miles south by east, from Uchaharā.

Khoh Plates of the Maharaja Jayanatha.—The Year 177.



bridge;—in the direction of **Suvarṇakakshaka**, (*partly*) the place-where the reeds grow by the cattle-path,¹ and partly a bridge :—in the direction of **Āmuka**, a boundary-trench;—in the direction of **Dâramaṇḍala**, a bridge;—(*and*) in the direction of the district at the entrance of **Vakravaṇa**, a bridge;—(*then the boundaries*) enter the village (*again*) at the well.

No. 28; PLATE XVIII.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SARVANATHA.

THE YEAR 193.

THIS inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of **Khôh**,² in the Nāgaudh State in the Baghêlkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of the Rājā of Nāgaudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

The plates, which, so far as the inscription now published is concerned, are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about $7\frac{3}{4}$ " by $6\frac{1}{2}$ ", and the second, $7\frac{1}{2}$ " by $6\frac{1}{4}$ ". The edges of them are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout. The plates are rather thick, and the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the backs of them at all. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is about $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick and $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. It had not been cut when the grant came under my notice; but one end of it had been forced out of the socket of the seal, so that it could be detached from the plates. It appears, however, to be the ring properly belonging to these plates. The seal, in which the ends of the ring are secured, is rectangular, about $1\frac{5}{8}$ " by $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". With the plates, it has been subjected to the action of fire, and has received considerably more injury than the plates. It can be seen, however, that it contains, in relief on a countersunk surface, at the top, Garuḍa, the bird-vehicle of Viṣṇu, with outstretched wings, just as on the copper-coins of Chandragupta II.; and below this, in two lines, the legend, very much damaged, *Mahārāja-Śa[r]va[nā]tha*.—The weight of the two plates is 2 lbs. 4 oz., and of the ring and seal, $2\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; total, 2 lbs. $6\frac{1}{2}$ oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kāṭīalā grant of the *Mahārāja* Jayanātha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117 ff., and Plate xvi. They include the rather rare *jḥ*, in *ajjhita*, line 5.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 22 to 28, the inscription is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice (1) the use of the Prākṛit word *phuṭṭa*, in line 15; and (2) in *anumōditaka*, line 13 f.; *uparilikhitaka*, line 14; *pratishṭhāpitaku*, line 14 f.; and

-*gôpatha-sara*, line 24; the meaning, however, is not quite certain.—*sara*, in one of its meanings, denotes the reed or grass called *Saccharum Sara*.

² See page 93 above, and note 3.

utpadyamānaka, line 18 f., the affix *ka*, which I have commented on at page 69 above.— In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhmanīya*, in *sah=pañchabhir*, line 21; (2) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *kārāṇś=cha*, line 8; *aṇśa*, in various forms, in lines 10 to 12; and *vanśa*, line 18; (3) the constant doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *anukkrāma*, line 13; *kkrama*, line 14; *puttra*, line 1; *sattra*, line 16; and *kshattriya*, line 31; (4) the doubling of *g*, under the same circumstances, in *viggrahika*, line 31; (5) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyāta*, lines 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6; (6) the occasional use of *b* for *v*, in *bā* (for *vā*), line 8; *bā* (for *vā*) line 23; and *sambatsara*, line 29; and (7) the use of *v* for *b*, in *vali*, line 16; and *valādhikṛita*, line 31.

The first plate of this grant is a **quasi-palimpsest**. On the outer side of it there are traces of sixteen lines of writing, containing an inscription of the same *Mahārāja Śarvanātha*, in the same characters as those of the extant inscription. They have been so carefully beaten in that no impression of them is possible; and only detached words can be read here and there. But I could distinguish the names of *Rāmadēvī*, in line 4; *Ajjhitadēvī*, in line 5; *Jayanātha*, in line 6; and *Śarvanātha* in line 7. And this inscription seems to have been cancelled because of the omission of the words *Tamasā-nadyā uttara-pārē*, between *mahārāja-Śarvanāthah kuśālī* and *brāhmaṇ-ādīn=kuṭumbinah*, in line 7.

The extant **inscription** is one of the *Mahārāja Śarvanātha*; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called **Uchchakalpa**. The date of the writing of the charter is given, in words, as the year one hundred and ninety-three (A. D. 512-13), and the tenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month *Chaitra* (March-April). It is partly *Vaishnava*, and partly of solar worship; the object of it being to record the grant, by the *Mahārāja Śarvanātha*, of the village of **Āśramaka** on the north bank of the river **Tamasā**, on the agreement between him and the grantees that it was to be applied to, amongst other things, the purposes of a shrine of *Vishṇu* under the title of *Bhagavat* or the Divine One, and of a shrine of a god the name of which, as written, must be a mistake for *Āditya*, the Sun.

I have not been able to identify the village of **Āśramaka**. But the river **Tamasā** is, of course, the modern '**Tamas**' and '**Tons**' of maps, &c., which rises in the *Mahiyar* State, on the south of *Nāgaudh*, and, running through the north part of *Rewah* (properly *Rīwām*, or sometimes *Rīmām*) flows into the *Ganges* about eighteen miles to the south-east of *Allahābād*. And the mention of it, under circumstances which shew that *Śarvanātha* had territorial ownership over at any rate a certain village on its northern bank, is of importance, as giving evidence that the *Mahārājas* of *Uchchakalpa* did belong to the part of the country in which their grants are found. The only other definite proof of this is, as noted above, page 111, the existence of the inscription mentioning both *Hastin* and *Śarvanātha* on the stone-pillar at *Bhumarā*.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

1 Ōm Svasty=**Uchchakalpât(n)**=mahārāj-Aughadêvas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-
ānuddhyātō mahādēvyā[m*]

¹ From the original plates.

- 2 Kumâradêvyâm=utpannô mahârāja-Kumâradêvas=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-
ânû-
- 3 dḍhyâtô mahâdêvyâm Jayasvâminyâm=utpannô mahârāja-Jayasvâmî tasya
4 puttras=tat-pâd-ânuddhyâtô mahâdêvyâm Râmadêvyâm=utpannô mahârāja-
Vyâghras=tasya
- 5 puttras=tat-pâd-ânuddhyâtô mahâdêvyâm=Ajjhitadêvyâm=utpannô mahârāja-
Jaya-
- 6 nâthas=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânuddhyâtô mahâdêvyâm Muruṇḍadêvyâm=
utpannô mahârāja-
- 7 Śarvanâthaḥ kusali Tamasâ-nadyâ uttara-pârê Âśramakê brahmaṇ-â-
8 din=kuṭumbinas=sarvva-kârûṇś=cha samâjñâpayati [1*] Veditam=bâ(vô)=stu
yath=aisha
- 9 grâmô may=â-chandr-ârka-samakâlikas=s-[ô*]draṅgas=s-ôparikaraḥ a-châṭa-
10 bhata-prâvēśyaś=chôra-daṇḍa-varjjitaḥ chatu[r*]bhîr=anśê¹ pratipâditaḥ [1*]
atô=
- 11 nśa-dvayam Vishṇunandinaḥ aparô=py=anśaḥ Svâminâga-puttra-vaṇija-
12 Śaktinâgasya aparô=py=anśaḥ Kumâranâga-Skandanâgayôḥ [1*] êtat-pu-
13 ttra-[pautra*]-prapauttra-tatputtr-âdy-anukkramêṇa² tāmra-śāsanēn=âti-
srishṭa[h*] [1*] êbhîr=ap[i*] may=[â*]-
- 14 numôditakam yath=ôparilikhitaka-kkramēṇ=aiva sva-puṇy-âbhivṛddhayê sva
prati-
- 15 shṭhâpitaka-bhagavat-pâdânām=âditsâ³-bhaṭṭâraka-pâdânâñ=cha khaṇḍa-phuṭṭa⁴
pratisam-
- 16 skâra-karaṇâya va(ba)li-charu-sattra-gandha-dhûpa-mâlya-dîpa-pravarttanâya ch=
[â*]tisrishṭaḥ⁵ [1*]

Second Plate.

- 17 Tai(tê) yûyam=êśhâm samuchita-bhâgabhōga-kara-hiraṇy-âdi-pratyây-ôpa
18 naya[m*] karishyath=âjñâ-śravaṇa-vidhêyâś=cha bhavishyatha [1*] Yê ch=
âsmad-vanś-ôtpadya-
- 19 mânaka-râjânas=tair=iyan=dattir=na vilôpy=ânumôdanîyâ yathô(thâ)-kâlâñ=cha
20 pratipâlanîyâ samuchita-râj-âbhâvya-kara-pratyâyâś=cha na grâhyâḥ [1*] Yaḥ
21 imân=dattin=lôpayêt=sah=pañchabhîr⁶=mahâpâtakair=upapâtakaiś=cha samyukta[h*]
22 syâd=Uktañ=cha Mahâbhâratê bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsēna Vyâsēna [1*]
Sva⁷-dattâm=para-dattâ-

¹ Read *anśatḥ*.² We have to supply *upabhōgyaḥ*, or some similar word, here.³ Read *âditya*. — *âditsâ* is a regular formation, in the sense of 'a desire to seize or take,' from the desiderative of *dâ*, 'give,' in composition with the prefix *â*. But it is not known as a proper name; and there can be no doubt that the engraver has written it by mistake for *âditya*, 'the sun.'⁴ Read *sphuṭita*. See page 122 above, note 3.⁵ This *shṭha* is inserted below the *ch*=[â*], from want of space at the end of the line.⁶ Read *ya imân=dattin lôpayêt=sa pañchabhîr*.⁷ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following four verses.

- 23 m=bâ(vâ) yatnâd=raksha Yudhishthîra mahim=mahîmatâñ=chhrêshthâ¹
dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanam [II*]
24 Prâyêna(ṇa) hi narêndrâṇâm vidyatê n=[â*]-śubhâ gatîḥ pûyantê
tê tu satatam pra-
25 yachchhantô vasundharâ[m*] [II*] Bahubhir=vasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=
Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya
26 yasya yadâ bhu(bhû)mis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam [II*] Shasṭim
varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê môda-
27 ti bhûmi-dah âchchhêtâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt=
Sarvva²-sasya-samṛi-
28 ddhân=tu yô harêta vasundharâm śva-vishṭhâyâm kṛimir=bhûtvâ pitṛibhis=
saha majjatê [II*]
29 Likhitam³ samba(mva)tsara-śatê tṛi(tri)-navaty-uttarê Chaittra-mâsa-divasê
daśamê
30 bhôgika-Phâlgua¹datt-âmâtya-naptrâ bhôgika.Varânadinna-puttrêṇa mahâ-
31 sândhiviggrahika-Manôrathêna [I*] Dûtak[ô*] rma(ma)hâva(ba)lâdhikṛita-
kshattriya-
32 Śivagu¹ptaḥ [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! Hail! From Uchchakalpa;—(There was) the *Mahârāja Ōghadêva*. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the *Mahârāja Kumâradêva*, begotten on the *Mahâdêvî Kumâradêvî*. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the *Mahârāja Jayasvâmin*, begotten on the *Mahâdêvî Jayasvâminî*. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the *Mahârāja Vyâghra*, begotten on the *Mahâdêvî Râmadêvî*. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the *Mahârāja Jayanâtha*, begotten on the *Mahâdêvî Ajjhitadêvî*.

(Line 6).—His son, who meditates on his feet, the *Mahârāja Śarvanâtha*,—begotten on the *Mahâdêvî Murundadêvî*,⁶—being in good health, issues a command to the cultivators, beginning with the Brâhmaṇs, and to all the artisans, at (the village of) *Aśramaka* on the north bank of the river *Tamasâ*:—

(L. 8).—“Be it known to you that this village is allotted by me, in four shares, to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun; with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*; (and with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops. Out of them, two shares belong to Vishṇunandin; and another share belongs to the merchant Śaktinâga, the son of Svâminâga; and another share belongs to Kumâranâga and Skandanâga. It is given by (this) copper-plate charter, [to be enjoyed*] by the succession of them and (their) sons, [sons' sons*], sons of sons' sons, sons of the latter, &c. Moreover, it is agreed by them (and) by me that it is given for the repairs, by the above-mentioned succession (of them and their descendants), in order to increase their own religious merit, of whatever may become broken or torn (in the shrines) on the feet⁷ of the

¹ Read *mahîmatâñ śrêshthâ*.

² Read *vasêt* [II*] *Sarvva*.

³ Supply *śâsanam*.

⁴ Read *phalgu*. See page 123 above, note 2.

⁵ This *gu* is very much blurred in the original, but is quite legible.

⁶ In No. 29, line 6, and No. 31, line 6, she is called *Murundasvâminî*.

⁷ See page 123 above, note 5

Khoh Plates of the Maharaja Sarvanatha. — The Year 193

i

2

4

6

8

10

12

14

16



ii

18

20

22

24

26

28

30

32

Divine One, established by them, and of the feet of the sacred Sun,¹ and for the maintenance of the *bali*, *charu*, *sattrā*, perfumes, incense, garlands, and lamps.

(L. 17.)—"You yourselves shall render to them the offering of the tribute of the customary royalties, taxes, gold, &c., and shall be obedient to (*their*) commands.

(L. 18.)—"And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (*but*) should be assented to, and should be preserved according to opportunity. (*And*) the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken.

(L. 20.)—"Whosoever may confiscate this grant,—he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins and the minor sins."

(L. 22.)—And it has been said in the Mahābhārata by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas,—“O Yudhishthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) better than making a grant! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates land, rich in all (*kinds of*) grains, (*that has been granted*),—he becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog, and sinks (*into hell*) together with (*his*) ancestors!”

(L. 29.)—(*This charter*) has been written, in a century of years, increased by ninety-three, on the tenth day of the month Chaitra, by the Mahāsāmdhivigrahika Manōratha, the grandson of the Bhōgika, the Amātya Phalgudatta,² (*and*) the son of the Bhōgika Varāhadinna. The Dātaka (*is*) the Mahābalādhikṛita, the Kshatriya Śivagupta.

No. 29; PLATE XIX A.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SARVANATHA.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 15, No. 8, where he published a translation of it,³—is on another copper-plate, the only one now forthcoming of an original set of two,⁴ that appears to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khôh,⁵ in the Nāgaudh State in the Baghelkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plate, for examination, from the possession of the Rājā of Nāgaudh, through the kindness of Major D. W. K. Barr.

¹ See page 123 above, note 5; and page 127, note 3.

² See page 123 above, note 2.

³ But he wrongly took, as the continuation of it, the second plate of the grant of the same Mahārāja Śarvanātha of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx.

⁴ See page 132 below, note 3.

⁵ See page 93 above,

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about $7\frac{1}{2}$ " by 6" The edges of it were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of very fair preservation almost throughout. The plate is rather thin; but the letters are shallower than usual, and shew through only indistinctly on the back of it. The engraving is good, but shews, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect it with the other that belonged to it. But the ring and its seal are not forthcoming.—The weight of the plate is $10\frac{1}{2}$ oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the *Kāṛitālāi* grant of the *Mahārāja* Jayanātha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117, and Plate xvi. They include the rather rare *jh*, in *ajjhita*, line 5.—The language is Sanskrit; and, the first plate only being extant, this portion of the inscription is in prose throughout. It has not been engrossed as carefully as was usual in inscriptions of this early date. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice (1) the use of the Prākṛit word *phuṭṭa* in line 12; and (2) in *uparilikhitaka*, line 10, and *utpādyamānaka*, line 15, the affix *ka*, that I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *kārūś=cha*, line 7, and *vanśa*, line 15; (2) the doubling of *k*, *g*, and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *anukērama*, line 10; *ggrāma*, line 8; and *puttra*, line 1, and *satira*, line 13; (3) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyāta*, lines 1 to 5; and (4) the use of *v* for *b*, in *sali*, line 13.

The inscription is one of the *Mahārāja Śarvanātha*; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called *Uchchakaipa*. The date is lost, in the second plate. The inscription is apparently Vaishṇava; the object of it being to record the grant, by the *Mahārāja Śarvanātha*, of half of the village of *Dhavaśaṇḍikā*, on the agreement between him and the grantees that it should be applied to, amongst other things, the purposes of a temple of the goddess *Pisṭapurikādēvi*.

This village of *Dhavaśaṇḍikā* seems to be the same one that was granted by the *Mahārāja Javanātha*, in the year 177, as recorded in No. 27 above, page 121, for the purposes of a temple of the god *Vishṇu*, under the name of *Bhagavat* or the *Divine One*. And the present assignment of half of it specially for the purposes of a temple of *Pisṭapurikādēvi*, furnishes one item of proof that this goddess was a form of *Lakshmi*, the wife of *Vishnu*.¹

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Om Svasty=*Uchchakaipāt(n)*=mahārāj-Aughadēvas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-
ānuddhyātō mahādēvyām
- 2 Kumāradēvyām=utpannō mahārāja-Kumāradēvas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-
anuddhyātō
- 3 mahādēvyā[m*] Jayasvāmīnyām=utpannō mahārāja-Jayasvāmī tasya
puttras=tat-pād-ānu-
- 4 ddhyātō mahādēvyā[m*] Rāmadēvy[ā*]m=utpann[ō*] mahārāja-Vyāghras-
tasya puttras=tat-p[ā*]d-ānuddhyātō

¹ See also page 113 above, note 2.

² From the original plate.

- 5 mah[ā*]dēvyām=Ajjhitadēvyām=[u*]tpannô mahārāja-Jayanâthas=tasya
puttras=tat-p[ā*]d-ānuddhyā-
- 6 tô mahādā(dē)vyā[m*]¹ Murû(ru)ṇḍasvāmīnyām=utpannô mahārāja-
Śarvanâthaḥ kuśali Vōṭa-
- 7 santika-Dhavashandik-ārdhā brāhmaṇ-ādīn=kuṭumbīnās=sarvva-kārūṇs=cha
samājñāpayati [1]
- 8 Vīditam vō=stu yath=aisha ggrām-ārdhō may=ā-chandr-ārka-sama-
kālikā(ka)s=s-[ō*]draṅgaḥ
- 9 s-ōparikarāḥ a-ch[ā*]ṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśya[h*] sarvva-karā-tyagaḥ² dr(s)-ōtpadya-
mānaka-pui(pra)tyāya-
- 10 samētaḥ Chhōḍugōmika³ ētat-puttra-[pautra*]-prapauttra-tatputtr-ādy-anu-
kkramēṇa⁴ tāmra-⁵
- 11 śāsanēn=ātisrīṣṭaḥ [1*] Anēn=āpi may=ānumōditam yath=ōpari-
likhitaka-
- 12 kkramēṇ=aiva bhagavatyāḥ Piṣṭapurik[ā*]⁶-dēvyāḥ khaṇḍa-phuṭṭa⁷-
pratisamskāra-
- 13 karaṇāya va(ba)li-charu-sattra-prādharttanāya⁸ ch=ātisrīṣṭas=Tô yūyam=
ēśhām
- 14 samuchita-bhāgabhogā-kara-hiraṇy-ādi-pratyāy-ōpanaya[m*] karishyath=ājñā-
śrava-
- 15 ṇa-vidhēyās=cha bhaviṣhyatha [1*] Yē ch=āsmad-vanś-ōtpadyamānaka-
rājānas=tair=īya[m*]
- 16 dattir=na vilōky(py)=ānumōdanīya

(The second plate of this grant is not forthcoming.)

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From Uchchakalpa;—(There was) the Mahārāja Ōghadēva. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Kumāradēva, begotten on the Mahādēvī Kumāradēvī. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayasvāmīn, begotten on the Mahādēvī Jayasvāmīnī. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Vyāghra, begotten on the Mahādēvī Rāmadēvī. His son, who meditated on his feet, was the Mahārāja Jayanâtha, begotten on the Mahādēvī Ajjhitadēvī.

¹This *anusvāra* is omitted also in line 6 of No. 31 below, Plate xx.; and thus, as Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives *Uruṇḍa* as a proper name of a demon and of a man, as well as *Muruṇḍa*, we might have read *mahādēvyām=U: uṇḍasvāmīnyām*. In line 6, however, of the newly-discovered grant, No. 28 above, page 127, the reading is very distinctly *mahādēvyām Muruṇḍadēvyām*.

²Read *sarvva-kara-tyāgaḥ*.

³Read *gōmīkāya*.

⁴We have to supply *upabhōgyaḥ*, or some similar word, here.

⁵Read *tāmra*.

⁶See line 11 of No. 31 below, page 137, and Plate xx., in which the long vowel *ā* was duly engraved, and is quite distinct.

⁷Read *spḥuṭṭa*. See page 122 above, note 3.

⁸Read *pravarttanāya*.

(Line 5.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the *Mahārāja Śarvanātha*,—begotten on the *Mahādēvī Muruṇḍasvāminī*,¹—being in good health, issues a command to the cultivators, beginning with the Brāhmaṇs, and to the artisans, in half of (the village of) *Dhavashandikā* in the *Vōṭa santika* —

(L. 8.)—"Be it known to you that this half village is, by (*this*) copper-plate charter, given to Chhōḍugōmika, [to be enjoyed*] by the succession of him and (*his*) sons, sons' sons, sons of the latter, &c.,—to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun; with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*; (*with the privilege that it is*) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops; with remission of all the taxes; (*and*) with such tribute as may accrae. And it is agreed by him (*and*) by me, that it is granted for the purpose of the repairs, by the above-mentioned succession (*of him and his descendants*), of whatever may become broken or torn, belonging to the divine goddess Pishṭapurikādēvī, and for the maintenance of the *bali*, *charu*, and *sattra*.

(L. 13.)—"You yourselves shall render to these persons the offering of the tribute of the customary royalties, taxes, gold, &c., and shall be obedient to (*their*) commands.

(L. 15.)—"And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (*but*) should be assented to."

(*The rest of this inscription, on the second plate, is not forthcoming.*)

No. 30; PLATE XIX B.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA SARVANATHA.

THE YEAR 197.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 14, No. 6, where he published a partial translation of it,² with a lithograph of the passage containing the date (*id.* Pl. iv. No. 7),—is on another copper-plate, the only one forthcoming of an original set of two,³ that appears to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of *Khôh*,⁴ in the Nāgaudh State in the Bāghēlkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plate, for examin-

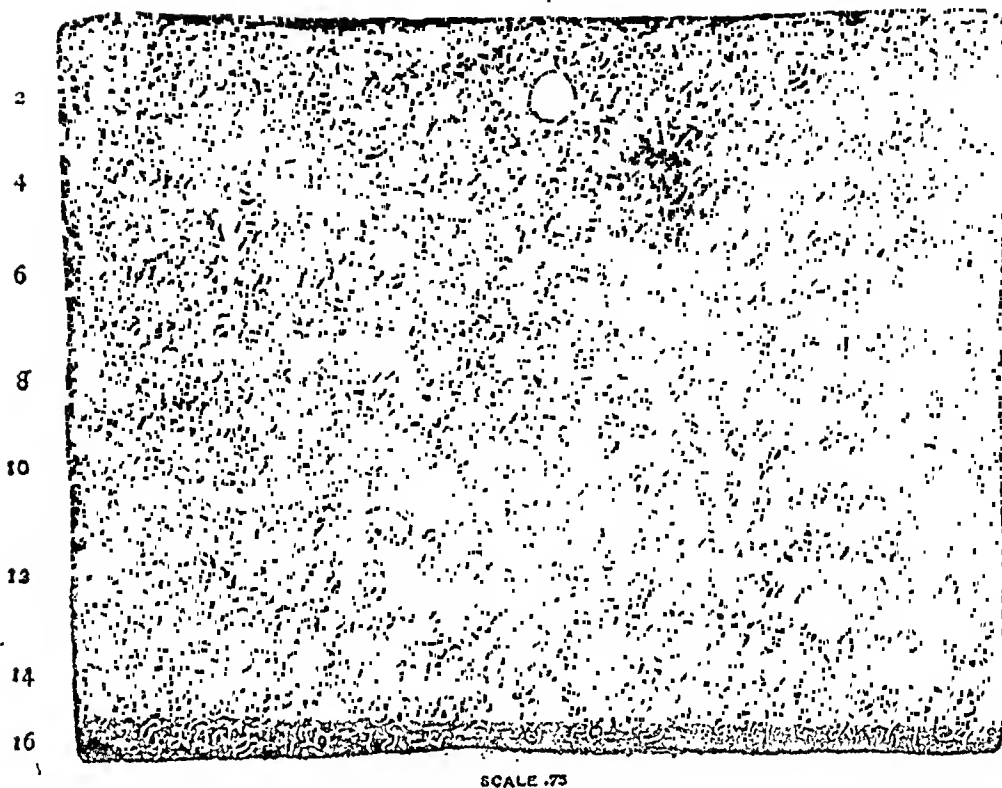
¹In No. 28 above, line 6, page 127, she is called Muruṇḍadēvī. In No. 31 below, line 6, page 136, the termination of her name is *svāminī* as here.

²But he wrongly treated it as the continuation of the first plate of the grant of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx.

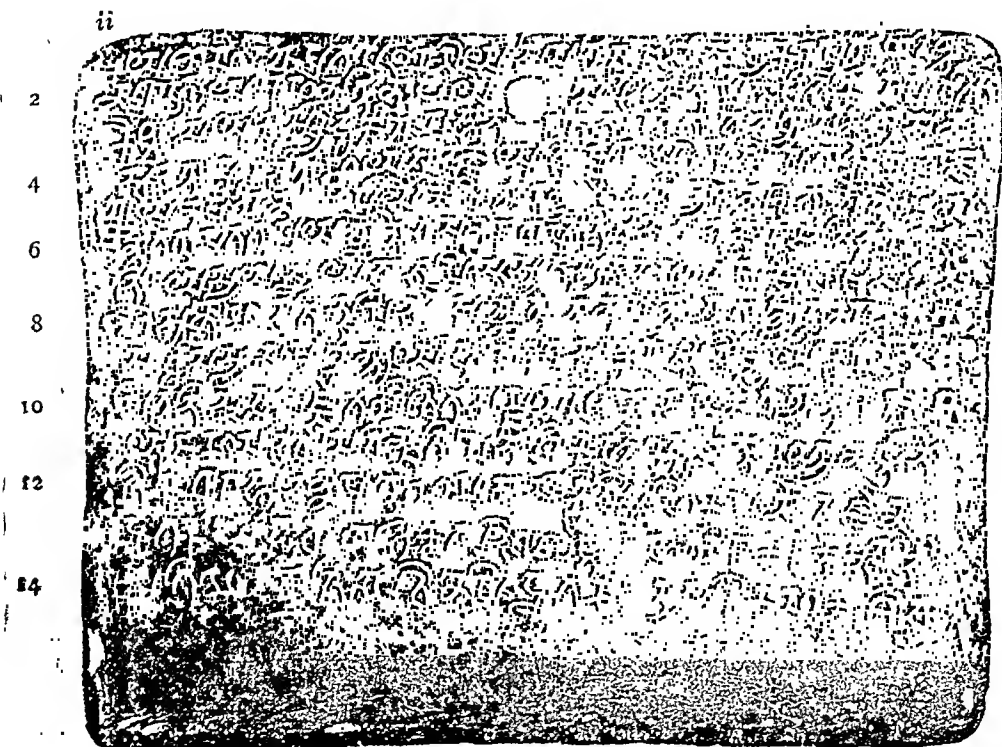
³The grant of the year 214, No. 31 below, Plate xx., furnishes another instance, similar to that of the grant, the date of which is lost, No. 29 above, page 129, in which the last line of the first plate is left half blank. And, so far as the context goes, this inscription might be taken as the continuation of No. 29. But the edges of this plate are rounded off more; the copper is of a totally different quality, thickness, and weight; and the characters, though of just the same period, differ very much in details of execution,—notably in the *visarga*, e.g. in *grāhyāḥ*, line 2, *guptah*, line 13, and *dūtakah*, line 14, as contrasted with *nāthah* in line 6, *s[ô*]drangah* in line 8, and *samētah* in line 10, of No. 29, Plate xixA. And there can, on the whole, be no doubt that in Plate xixA. and B. we have the first and second plates of two separate grants; not one entire grant.

⁴See page 93 above, and note 3.

A.—Khoh Plate of the Maharaja Sarvanatha.



B.—Khoh Plate of the Maharaja Sarvanatha.—The Year 197.



- 6 nt[é*] tē tu satatam prayachchhantō vasundharām [11*] Bahubhir=
vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-Adi-
7 bhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phala[m*] [11*]
Shasṭi-va[r*]sha-sahasrā-
8 ṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmi-daḥ āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva
narakē vasē-
9 [t*] [11*] Sarvva-sasya-sampriddhān=tu yō harēta vasundharām śva-
vishṭhāyām kṛimir=bhūtvā
10 pitribhis=saha majjatē [11*] Likhitam¹ sambā(mva)tsara-śatē sapta-navaty-
uttarē Aśva-
11 yuja-māsa-divasē vinśatimē² bhōgika-Phālgu³datt-āmātya-naptrā bhō-
12 gika-Varāhadinna-puttrēṇa mahāsāndhivigrahika-Manōrathēna [1*]
13 Dūtakah mahāva(ba)lādhikṛita-Śivaguptaḥ [1*] Halir-ākara-kumbha-daṇḍa-
14 pratimē(mō)chan-ātīlēkhinē=pi dūtakah uparika-Mākṛi(tri)śiva[h*] [11*]

TRANSLATION.

(The opening part of this inscription, on the first plate,
is not forthcoming.)

"And, according to opportunity, it should be preserved. And the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken.

(Line 2.)—"Whosoever may confiscate this grant,—he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins and the minor sins."

(L. 3.)—And it has been said in the Mahābhārata, by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas,—“O Yudhisṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) is more meritorious than making a grant! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates land, rich in all (*kinds of*) grains, (*that has been granted*),—he becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog, and sinks (*into hell*) together with (*his*) ancestors!"

(L. 10.)—(*This charter*) has been written, in a century of years, increased by ninety-seven, on the twentieth day of the month Aśvayuja, by the Mahāsāndhivigrahika Manōratha, the grandson of the Bhōgika, the Amātya Phalgudatta,⁴ (*and*) the son of the Bhōgika Varāhadinna. The Dūtaka (*is*) the Mahābalādhikṛita Śivagupta. Moreover, the Dūtaka to an additional writer⁵ for the remission of the fines on⁶ and water-pots, (*is*) the Uparika Mātṛisiva.

¹ Supply *śāsanam*.

² We should perhaps correct this into *vinśatitamē*, as the base *vinśatima* seems to be properly used only when in composition with another numeral, e.g. *dvā-vinśatima*, in No. 27 above, line 21 page 123. But *vinśatima*, by itself, occurs again in line 18 of the Goa grant of Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 365*.)

³ Read *phalgu*; see page 123 above, note 2.

⁴ See page 123 above, note 2.

⁵ See page 100 above, note 3.

⁶ The meaning of *halir-ākara* is not apparent.

No. 31; PLATE XX.

KHOH COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE
MAHARAJA SARVANATHA.

THE YEAR 214.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1879, in the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 14 and 16, Nos 6 and 8, where he published a translation of it,¹ with a lithograph of the passage containing the date (*id.* Pl. iv. No. 8),—is on another set of copper-plates that appear to have been found somewhere in the valley near the village of Khôh,² in the N'gaudh State in the Baghelkhand division of Central India. I obtained the original plates, for examination, from the possession of General Cunningham.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ " by 6", and the second 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ " by 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". The edges of them are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and, though the plates are here and there worn quite through by rust, the inscription is in a state of very good preservation almost throughout. The plates are rather thin; and the letters shew through on the backs of them so clearly that in many places they can be read there. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—In the upper part of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. But the ring, with the seal attached to it, is not now forthcoming; having been abstracted by slitting the plates from the ring-holes to the edges.—The weight of the two plates is 1 lb. 2 oz.—The average size of the letters is about 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the same type with those of the Kāritāḍi grant of the Mahārāja Javanātha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117, and Plate xvi. They include the rather rare *jh* in *ajjhita*, line 5.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 20 to 27, the inscription is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice, in *utpannaka*, line 9; *utpadyamānaka*, lines 9 and 16; and *kāritaka*, line 11, the affix *ka*, which I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhmāniya*, in *saḥ=pañchabhir*, line 18; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś* and *h*, in *vaṇṣa*, line 16, and *saṇhitā*, line 19; and (3) the doubling of *g* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *viggrahika*, line 29, and *puttra*, lines 1 to 5; but not in *putra-pautra*, line 12.

The inscription is one of the Mahārāja Śarvanātha; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called Uchchakaḷpa. The date of the writing of the charter is given, in words, as the year two hundred and fourteen (A.D. 533-34), and the sixth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Pausha (December-January). It is apparently a Vaishṇava inscription; the object of it being to record the sanction of the

¹ But he wrongly attached No. 30 above, with the date of 197, to the first plate of this grant, and took the second plate of this grant as the continuation of No. 29 above.

² See page 93 above, and note 3.

Mahārāja Śarvanātha to the transfer, among private grantees, of two villages named **Vyāghrapallika** and **Kācharapallika** in the **Maṇināga pēṭha**, for the purposes of a temple of the goddess Pisṭapurikādēvi at the town of **Mānapura**.

This town of **Mānapura** is possibly the modern **Mānpur**,¹ near the river Śōṇ, about forty-seven miles in a south-easterly direction from Uchaharā, and thirty-two miles south-east of Kāritālāi. And, if this identification is accepted, we have here another item of evidence tending to connect the *Mahārājas* of Uchchakalpa with the part of the country in which their grants are found. But it is obviously not of as much force as the two points to which I have previously drawn attention; *viz.* the existence of the inscription of Hastin and Śarvanātha on the pillar at Bhumarā, No. 24 above, page 110; and the mention of the river Tamasa, in Śarvanātha's grant of the year 193, No. 28 above, page 125, in such a way as to shew that he had actual territorial ownership over at any rate a certain village on the northern bank of that river. As regards the present passage, it is not so conclusive, because a *Mahārāja* might very well make a grant of land within his territory to a temple outside it. At the same time, that temple would not be far distant from his own domains.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm Svasty=**Uchchakalp[ā*]n**=mahārāj-**Aughadēvas**=tasya puttras=tat-pād-
ānudhyātō mahādēvyā[m*]
- 2 **Kumāradēvyām**=utpannō mahārāja-**Kumāradēvas**=tasya putt[r*]as=tat-pād-
ānudhyātō
- 3 mahādēvyā[m*] **Jayasvāmīnyām**=utpannō mahārāja-**Jayasvāmī** tasya
puttras=tat-pād-ā-
- 4 nudhyātō mahādēvyām **Rāmadēvyām**=utpannō mahārāja-**Vyāghras**=tasya
putt[r*]as=tat-pād-ānudhyā-
- 5 tō mahādēvyām=**Ajjhitadēvyām**=utpan[n*]ō mahārāja-**Jayanāthas**=tasya
puttras=tat-pād-ānu-
- 6 dhyātō mahādēvyā[m*]³ **Murundāsvāmīnyām**=utpannō mahārāja-
Śarvanāthaḥ kuśalī **Maṇi-**
- 7 **nāga-pēṭhē** **Vyāghrapallika-Kācharapallika-grāmayō[r*]**=brāhmaṇ-ādīt(n)=
prativāsinah⁴
- 8 samājñāpayati [i*] **Vidita[m*]** vō=stu yath=aisha(ṭau) grāmau mayā
s-ōdraṅgau s-ōparikarau
- 9 a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśyō(śyau) rāj-ābhāvya-sarva-kara-pratyāy-ê(ô)tpannak-ôtpadya-
mānaka-samô(mê)-
- 10 tau ā-chandr-ārka-samakālikau chōr-2-ta(da)ṇḍa-varjjitau Pulinda⁵bhaṭasya
pras[ā*]dikritau

¹ The 'Manpoor, Manpora, and Mānpur,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89. Lat. 23° 46' N.; Long. 81° 11' E.

² From the original plates.

³ See page 131 above, note 1.

⁴ This *visarga* is imperfect, only the upper part of it having been engraved.

⁵ The stroke at the bottom of this *nda*, which gives it somewhat of the appearance of *ndra*, seems to be due to a slip of the engraver's tool.

- 11 tēn=āpi Mānapurē kārītaka-dēvakul[ĕ*] bhagavatyāḥ Paśṭha'purikā-
dēvyāḥ pūjā-ni-
12 mittam khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-pratisaṃskāraṇāya cha Kumārasvāminē putra-
pautr-ānvay-ōpa-
13 bhōjyō(jyau) pratipāditau [I*] may=āpi bhūmichchhidrā(dra)-nyāyēna tāmra-
śāsan[ĕ*]n=ānumōditan [I*]
14 Tē yūyam=ēv=ōpalabhy=ājñā-śravana-vidhēyā bhūtvā samuchīta-bhāgabhogā-
kara-hiraṇyā-
15 vāt-āy-[ā*]di-pratyāyān=upanēśhyathā [I*]

Second Plate.

- 16 Y[ĕ*] ch=āsmad-vañś-ōtpadyamānaka-rājānas=tair=iyam dattī[r*]=nna vilōpyā
yathā-kālā[m*] sa[m*]varddha-
17 nīy=ānumōdaniyā paripālaniyā cha [*] rāj-ābhāvya-kara-pratyāyā[h*]
sarvvē na grāhyā[h*] [I*]
18 Yaś=ch=aitām dattim lōpayēt=sah=pañchabhir²=mahāpātakair=upapātakaiś=cha
samyuktō bhūyā-
19 d=Uktañ=cha Mahābhārātē Satasāhasry[ā*]m saṃhūtāyām param-arshiṇā
Parāśara-sutēna
20 vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna [I*] Pūrvva³-dattām dvijātibhyō yatnād=raksha
Yudhishtīra mahī[m*] mahi-
21 vatā⁴ śrēṣṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam [II*] Prāyēṇa hi narēndrāṇām
vidyatē n=[ā*]-subhā
22 gatīḥ pūyattē(ntē) tē tta(tu) satatam prayachchhantō vasu[ndharām*] [II*]
[Bahubhir=vvasu*]dhā bhuktā rājābhis=Sagar-ādibhi[h*]
23 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [II*] Shashṭi-
varsha-sahasraṇi
24 svarggē mōdati bhūmi-daḥ akshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē
vaset [II*] Sva-da-
25 ttām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundharā[m*] śva-vishṭhāyām
krimir=bhūtvā pitribhis=saha
26 majjati [II*] A-pānīyēshv=aranyēshu sushka-kōṭa[ra*]-vāsinah kṛishṇ-āhayō
hi jā-
27 yantē pūrvva-dāyam haranti yē [II*] Likhitam⁵ sa[m*]vatsara-śata-
īvayē chaturddaś-ōttarē
28 Pausha-māsa-divasē shapṭhē(shṭhē) Phalgudatt-āmatya-pranapt[r*]ā Varāha-
din[n*]a-napt[r*]ā
29 Manōratha-sutēna sādhiviggrahika-Nāthēna [I*] Dūtakō Dhṛiti-
svāmikaḥ [II*]

Read *pishṭa*.² Read *sa pañchabhir*.³ Metre, Ślōka (Anushṭubh); and in the following five verses.⁴ Read *mahimatām*.⁵ Supply *śāsanam*

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From **Uchchakalpa**; — (*There was*) the **Mahārāja Ōghadêva**. His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the **Mahārāja Kumâradêva**, begotten on the **Mahâdêvî Kumâradêvî**. His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the **Mahārāja Jayasvâmin**, begotten on the **Mahâdêvî Jayasvâminî**. His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the **Mahārāja Vyâghra**, begotten on the **Mahâdêvî Râmadêvî**. His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the **Mahārāja Jayanâtha**, begotten on the **Mahâdêvî Ajjhitadêvî**.

(Line 6).—His son, who meditates on his feet, the **Mahārāja Śarvanâtha**,—begotten on the **Mahâdêvî Muruṇḍasvâminî**,¹—being in good health, issues a command to the residents, beginning with the Brâhman̄s, at the villages of **Vyâghrapallika** and **Kâcharapallika** in the **Maṇinâga pēṭha**:—

(L. 8).—“Be it known to you that these two villages were bestowed, as a mark of favour, upon Pulindabhaṭa,—with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*; (*with the privilege that they were not to be*) entered by the irregular or the regular troops; with whatever had (*by custom*) accrued or might accrue in connection with the tribute of all the taxes which should not belong to the king; to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun; (*but*) with the exception of (*the right to*) fines imposed on thieves. And now they are granted by him to Kumârasvâmin, to be enjoyed by the succession of (*his*) sons and sons’ sons, for the purpose of the worship of the divine goddess Pisṭapurikadêvî at the temple which he has caused to be built at (the town of) **Mânapura**, and for the purpose of repairing whatever may become broken or torn. And, by (*this*) copper-plate charter, they have been assented to by me, according to the rule of *bhūmichchhidra*.²

(L. 14).—“You yourselves, understanding (*this*), (*and*) being obedient to (*their*) commands, shall render the tribute of the customary royalties, taxes, gold, *āvāta*,³ revenue,⁴ &c

(L. 16).—“And those kings who shall be born in Our lineage,—by them this grant should not be confiscated, (*but*) according to opportunity should be increased (*and*) assented to and preserved. And none of the tribute of the taxes which should not belong to the king, should be taken.

(L. 18).—“And whosoever may confiscate this grant, he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins and the minor sins.

¹ In No. 28 above, line 6, page 127, she is called Muruṇḍadêvî. In No. 29 above, line 6, page 131, the termination of her name is *svâminî*, as here.

² *bhūmichchhidra*, *lit.* ‘a fissure (furrow) of the soil,’ is a technical fiscal expression of constant occurrence in inscriptions. Dr. Bühler has recently discovered the meaning of it, in Yādavaprakāśa’s *Vaijayantī*, in the *Vaiśyādhyāya*, verse 18, where it is explained by *kṛishya-yōgyā bhūh*, ‘land fit to be ploughed or cultivated.’

³ *āvāta* is a technical fiscal term, the meaning of which is not apparent. It is derived either from *vā*, ‘to blow, or *vat*, ‘to become dried or withered,’ in composition with the prefix *ā*.—The more usual expression is simply *vāta*; e.g. *sa-vāta-bhūta-dhānya-hirany-ādēya* in line 26 of the Māliya grant of Dharasēna II., No. 38 below, Plate xxiv.

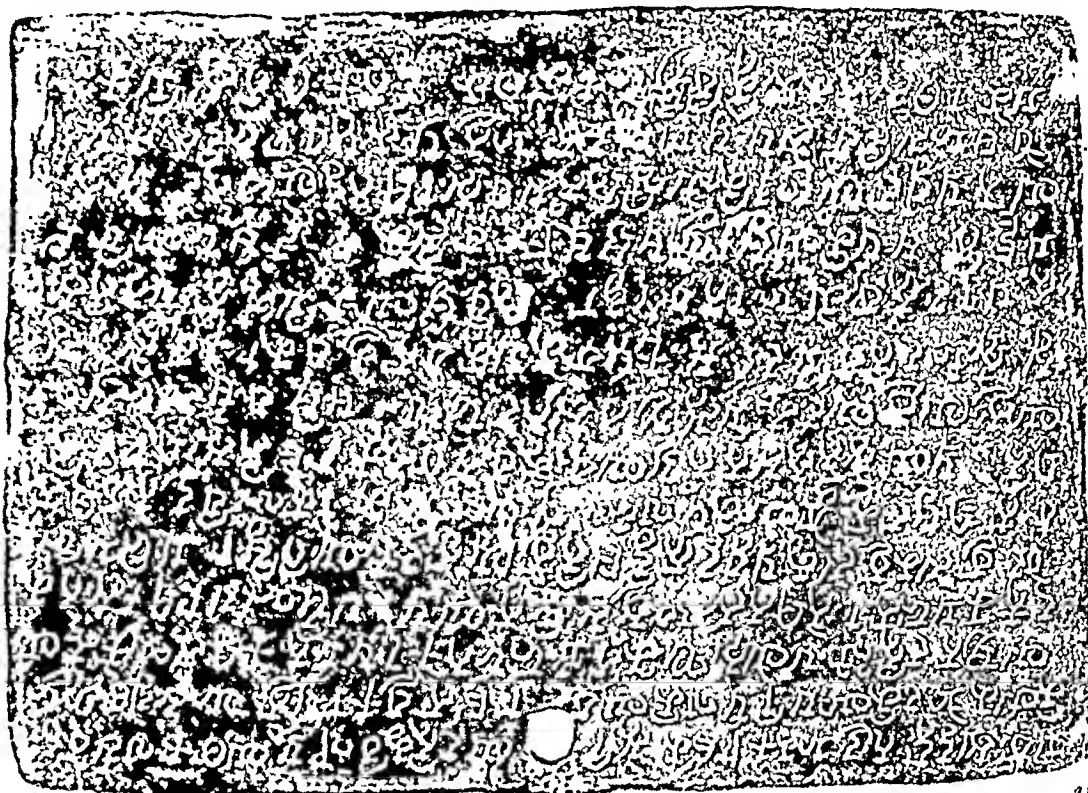
⁴ *āya*, *lit.* ‘that which comes in; income,’ is now a technical fiscal term for ‘the customary dues of the hereditary village-officers and servants.’ It is, however, not quite certain that it had this special meaning in the early inscriptions.

Khoh Plate of the Maharaja Sarvanatha. — The Year 214.

SCALE 75

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.



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2

(L. 19.)—And it has been said in the *Mahābhārata*, in the *Śatasāhasrī-Samhitā*, by Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas, the supreme sage, the son of Parāśara,—“O Yudhishthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*). (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant! As a rule, indeed, no inauspicious condition is experienced by kings; but they are purified for ever, when they bestow land! The earth has been enjoyed by [many*] kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another,—he becomes a worm in the ordure of a dog, and sinks (*into hell*) together with his ancestors! Those who confiscate a previous grant, are born (*again*) as black serpents, inhabiting the dried-up hollows of trees, in desert places destitute of water!”

(L. 27.)—(*This charter*) has been written in two centuries of years, increased by fourteen, on the sixth day of the month Pausha, by the *Sāmdhivigrahika* Nātha, the great-grandson of the *Amātya* Phalgudatta; the grandson of Varāhadinna; (*and*) the son of Manōratha. The *Dātaka* (*is*) Dhṛitisvāmika.

No. 32; PLATE XXIA. ✓

MEHARauli POSTHUMOUS IRON PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRA.

THIS inscription was first brought to notice in 1834, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc* Vol. III. p. 494. where Mr. James Prinsep published a lithograph of it (*id.* Plate xxx.), reduced from a facsimile made in 1831 by Lieutenant William Elliot, 27th Regiment N. I. This lithograph was not accompanied by any details of the contents of the inscription; and it does not represent a single letter of the original correctly, and is quite unintelligible from beginning to end.—In 1838, in the same Journal, Vol. VII. p. 629 ff., Mr. James Prinsep published a much improved lithograph (*id.* Plate xxxiii.), reduced from an ink-impression made in the same year by Captain T. S. Burt, of the Engineers; and, with it, his own reading of the text and a translation of it.¹—And finally, in 1875, in the *Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 63 ff., Dr. Bhau Daji published a revised version of the text and translation, including the correct reading of the king's name as Chandra, with a lithograph which appears to have been reduced from a copy on cloth made by Dr. Bnagwanlal Indrajī.²

Mēharaulī, or Mēmharaulī,³—an evident corruption of Mihirapurī,—is a village

¹ The translation is reprinted in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 320 1.

² This paper was published in 1875; but it was read before the Society four years earlier, on the 13th April 1871.

³ The 'Maharoli, Manroli, and Muhroulee,' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49. Lat. 28° 31' N.; Long. 77° 14' E.—The pillar has always been known as the "Dehli Pillar;" and I think the name of the village in which it really stands, so important because of its obvious derivation, *via*. Mihirapurī, 'the city of the sun, or of the Mihiras,' was not put on record, in connection with the inscription, until I noticed it (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 362.)

nine miles almost due south of Dehli, the chief town of the Dehli District in the Pañjāb. The inscription is on the west side of a tapering iron column, sixteen inches in diameter at the base and twelve at the top, and twenty-three feet eight inches high, standing near the well-known Kutb Minār in the ancient fort of Rāy Pithōrā within the limits of this village.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 2' 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high, is in a state of excellent preservation throughout, owing, of course, to the nature of the substance on which it is engraved. The bottom line of the inscription is about 7' 2" above the stone platform round the lower part of the column. The engraving is good; but, in the process of it, the metal closed up over some of the strokes, which gives a few of the letters a rather imperfect appearance in the lithograph; this is especially noticeable in the *sy* of the opening word *yasyō*, and in the *r* of *urasā* in the same line.—The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{5}{16}$ " to $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, allowing for the 'stiffness resulting from engraving in so hard a substance as the iron of this column, they approximate in many respects very closely to those of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, Plate i. But, as a distinguishing feature, we have to notice the very marked *mātrās*, or horizontal top-strokes of the letters, which we have already observed in the Bilsāḍ pillar inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 10 above, page 43, and Plate v. — The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *s*, in *prāṇsu*, line 6; (2) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *sattru*, line 1; and (3) the very unusual omission of the second *t*, which is formative and not due to the preceding *r*, in *mārtyā* for *mārṭtyā*, and *kīrtyā* for *kīrttyā*, line 3.

The **inscription** is a posthumous eulogy of the conquests of a powerful king named **Chandra**, as to whose lineage no information is given. It is not dated.¹ It is a Vaishṇava inscription; and the object of it is to record the erection of the pillar, which is called a *dhvaja*, or 'standard,'² of the god Viṣṇu, on a hill called Vishṇupada, i.e. " (the hill that is marked with) footprints of Viṣṇu."

As regards this hill named **Vishṇupada**, and the question whether it should be identified with that part of the **Dehli Ridge** on which the column stands,—the actual position of the column is in a slight depression, with rising ground on both sides; a position

¹ Mr. Prinsep allotted this inscription to the third or fourth century A.D.; and Dr. Bhau Daji, to a period later than the time of the Guptas. Mr. Fergusson (*Indian Architecture*, p. 508), drawing special attention to the Persian form of the capital, expressed a conviction that the inscription is of one of the Chandraguptas of the Early Gupta dynasty, and consequently belongs to A.D. 363 or 400.—My own impression at first, on independent grounds, was to allot it to Chandragupta I., the first *Mahārājādhirāja* of the family, of whose time we have as yet no inscriptions; and I should not be surprised to find at any time that it is proved to belong to him. The only objection that I can see, is that it contains no reference to the Indo-Scythians, by overthrowing whom the Early Guptas must have established themselves. But, having regard to the name of the village at which the pillar is, it is also possible that the inscription is one of the younger brother of Mihirakula, whose name is not mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.

² Compare *dhvaja-stambha*, 'flag-staff,' as applied to the Êraṇ column in line 9 of No. 19 above. There is another iron column, at Dhār, the ancient Dhārā, now the chief town of the Dhār State in Central India. But there is no ancient inscription on it; unless it is completely hidden under, and destroyed by, a Persian inscription that was engraved on it when the Musalmāns conquered that part of the country.

which hardly answers to the description of its being on a *giri* or 'hill.' And this, coupled with the tradition that the column was erected, in the early part of the eighth century A.D., by Anaṅgapāla, the founder of the Tōmara dynasty,¹ lays it quite open to argument whether this is the real original position of the column, or whether, like the Aśoka columns at Dehli, and possibly the Aśoka (and Gupta) column at Allahābād, it was brought to where it now stands from some other place. But the fact that the underground supports of the column include several small pieces of metal "like bits of bar-iron,"² is in favour of its being now in its original position; as they would probably have been overlooked, and left behind, in the process of a transfer.

TEXT.³

- 1 Yasy⁴=ôdvarttayataḥ pratipam=urasā śattrūn=samēty=āgatān=Vāṅgēshv=āhava-vārttinō=bhīlikhitā khaḍgēna kīrttir=bhujē
- 2 tīrtvā sapta mukhāni yēna samarē Sindhôr=jjitā Vāhlikā⁵ yasy=ādyāpy=adhivāsyatē jalanidhir=vvīryy-ānilair=ddakṣiṇaḥ [11*]
- 3 Khinnasy=ēva viśrijya gām narapatēr=ggām=āśritasy=ētarām mūrt[t*]yā karmma-jit-āvanim gatavataḥ kīrt[t*]yā sthitasya kshitau
- 4 Śāntasy=ēva mahā-vanē hutabhujō yasya pratāpō mahān=n=ādyāpy=utsrijati praṇāśita-ripōr=yyatnasya śēshaḥ kshitim [11*]
- 5 Prāptēnā sva-bhuj-ārjjitañ=cha suchirañ=ch=aikādhirājyaṁ kshitau Chandr-āhvēna samagra-chandra-sadriśim vaktra-śriyaṁ bibhṛatā
- 6 tēn=āyaṁ praṇidhāya bhūmipatinā dhāvēna⁶ Viśṇō(shṇau) matim prānsur=Vviśṇupadē girau bhagavatō Viśṇōr=dhvajaḥ sthāpitaḥ [11*]

TRANSLATION.

He, on whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword, when, in battle in the Vāṅga countries, he kneaded (*and turned*) back with (*his*) breast the enemies who, uniting together, came against (*him*);—he, by whom, having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the (river) Sindhu, the Vāhlikas⁷ were conquered;—he, by the breezes of whose prowess the southern ocean is even still perfumed;—

(Line 3.)—He, the remnant of the great zeal of whose energy, which utterly destroyed (*his*) enemies, like (*the remnant of the great glowing heat*) of a burned-out fire in a great forest, even now leaves not the earth; though he, the king, as if wearied, has quitted this earth, and has gone to the other world, moving in (*bodily*) form to the land (*of paradise*) won by (*the merit of his*) actions, (*but*) remaining on (*this*) earth by (*the memory of his*) fame;—

¹ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 171.

² *id.* Vol. IV. p. 28, and Plate v.

³ From the original pillar.

⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, throughout.

⁵ Prinsep also read *vāhlikā*; but Bhau Daji, varying in also the first syllable, read *bālīkā*.—In the first *akshara*, the *v* is imperfect on the right side, through the closing up of the metal. In the second *akshara*, the *h* is turned in the opposite direction to that in which it is turned in *dhava*, line 1 and *mahāvanē* and *mahān*, line 4. But, that the *akshara* is *hli*, not *lhi*, is certain; because *l* can only be formed to the left; whereas, at this period, *h* was formed sometimes to the left and sometimes to the right; and, in the present inscription, it is turned to the right, as here, again in *hutabhujō*, line 4, and *dhvēna*, line 5.

⁶ See page 142 below, note 2.

⁷ See note 5 above.

(L. 5).—By him, the king,—who attained sole supreme sovereignty¹ in the world, acquired by his own arm and (*anyōya*) for a very long time; (*and*) who, having the name of Chandra, carried a beauty of countenance like (*the beauty of*) the full-moon,—having in faith² fixed his mind upon (the god) Viṣṇu, this lofty standard of the divine Viṣṇu was set up on the hill (*collet*) Viṣṇupada.

No. 33; PLATE XXI B.

MANDASOR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF YASODHARMAN.

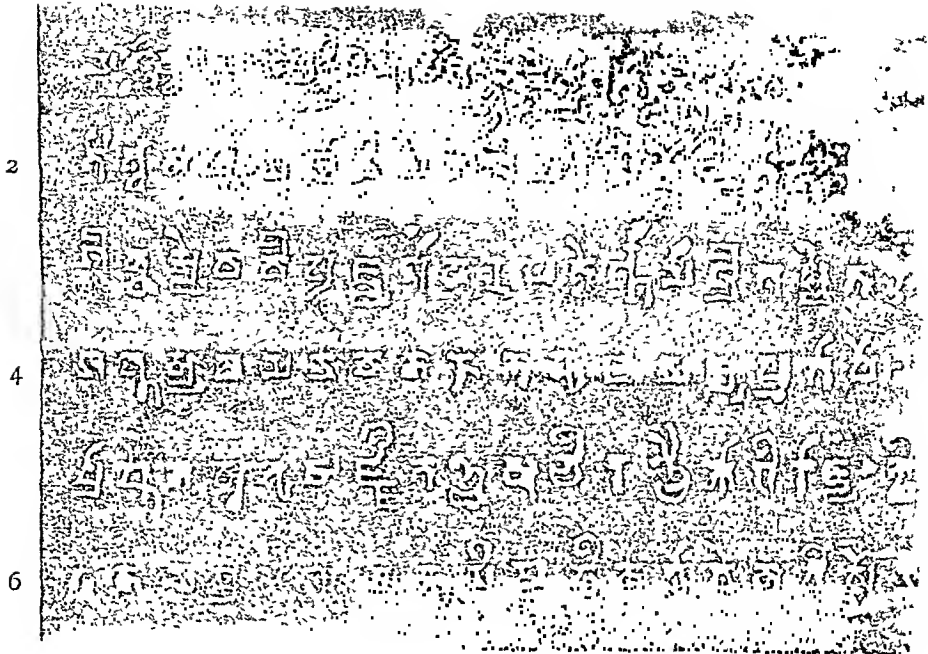
THIS inscription, which I published, for the first time, in 1886, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 253 E., is another record from Mandasor,³ or more properly Dasōr, the chief town of the Mandasor District of Scindia's Dominions in the Western Mālwa division of Central India. With the inscription of Kamāragupta and Bandhuvārman, No. 18 above, page 79, and Plate XI, it was discovered in 1884, in the search made under my direction, in consequence of my having seen the hand-copy of the next inscription, No. 34, that had been sent by Mr. Arthur Sullivan to General Cunningham in 1879; the present inscription had escaped Mr. Sullivan's notice. Like the next inscription, it is on one of a pair of magnificent monolith columns,⁴ apparently of very close-grained and good sandstone, lying in a field immediately on the south side of a small collection of huts, known by the name of Sōdapi or Sāndapi, but not shewn in the maps as a separate village, between two and three miles to the south-east of Mandasor.

¹ *śāśvatsirājya*; *śā*, 'the condition of being the sole.' *śāśvatsirāja*, *śāśvatsirāja*, *śāśvatsirāja*, 'supreme king,' is a technical hereditary title, probably denoting the same rank as *Mahārāja*. It occurs, for instance, in line 5 of the Brāhmi inscription of the *śāśvatsirāja* Viṣaya (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 10). Its derivative, *śāśvatsirāja*, however, is here used in a general and non-technical sense, in accordance with its original etymological meaning.

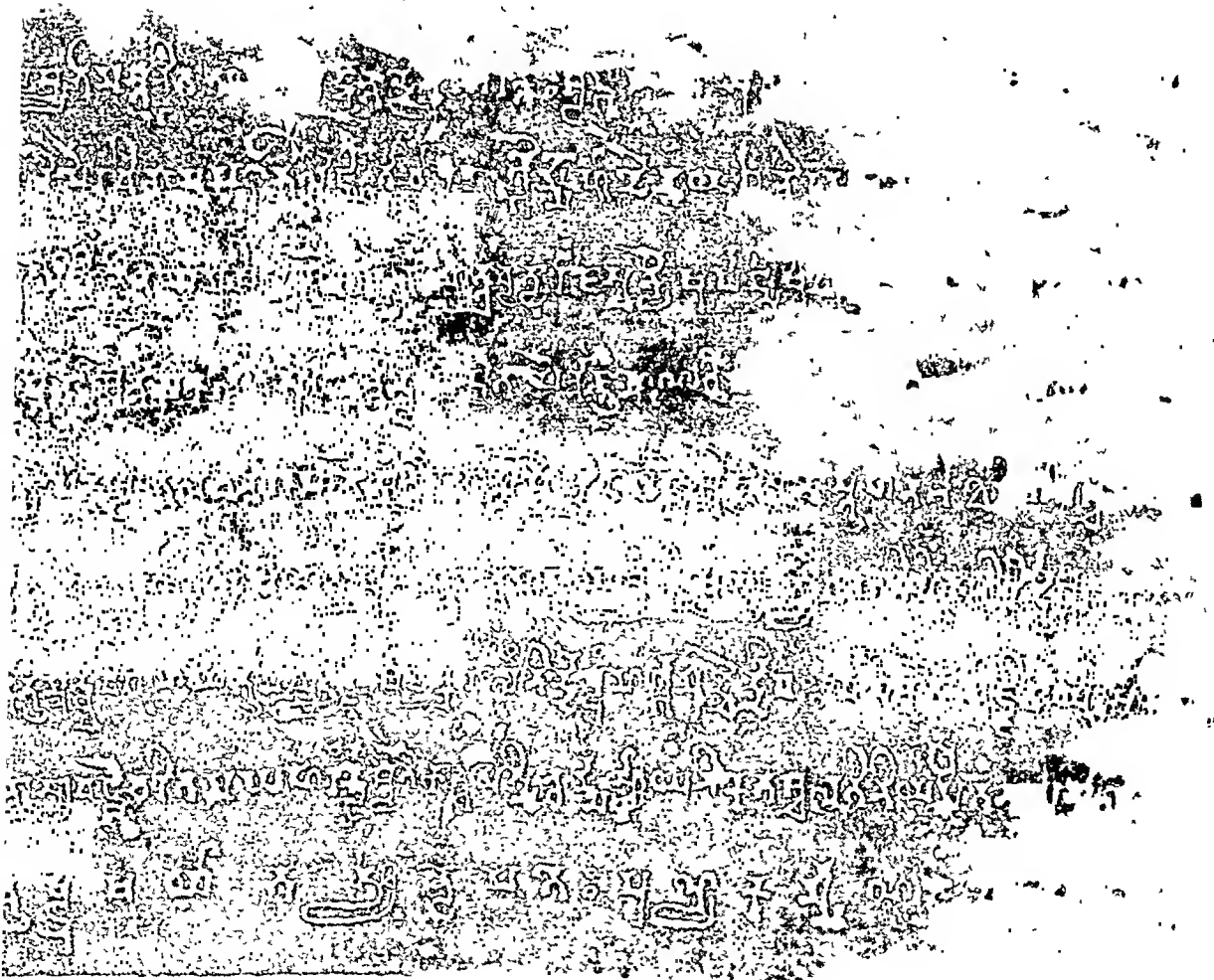
² In line 6, *dhāva*, as read by Prinsep, is what is really engraved; not *dhāvāna*, as read by Blau Dall. But as *dhāva*, 'cleansing, washing, making bright, polishing,' appears to be used only in composition, the word seems to be a mistake for *dhāvāna*, which is equivalent to the *dhāvāna* of, for instance, line 5 of No. 6 above, page 35; and this is borne out by the position of the word in the text.—The engraving of the rest of the inscription, however, is so very correct, that it is just possible that future researches may even yet show that *Dhāva* is a proper name here, as it was interpreted by Prinsep. In that case, *Dhāva*, as another name of a king called Chandra, might be compared with *Kācha*, which I have intimated (page 27 above, note 2) may be a familiar and less formal name of Samudragupta.—In line 5 I have arranged my translation according to the order of the words in the text. But assuming that the composer's arrangement of them was due to metrical exigencies, we might translate—"and) who, carrying a beauty of countenance like (the beauty of) the full-moon, had (in consequence) the name of Chandra;" and thus obtain a hint that the king's original name was not Chandra.

³ See page 79 above, and note 1.

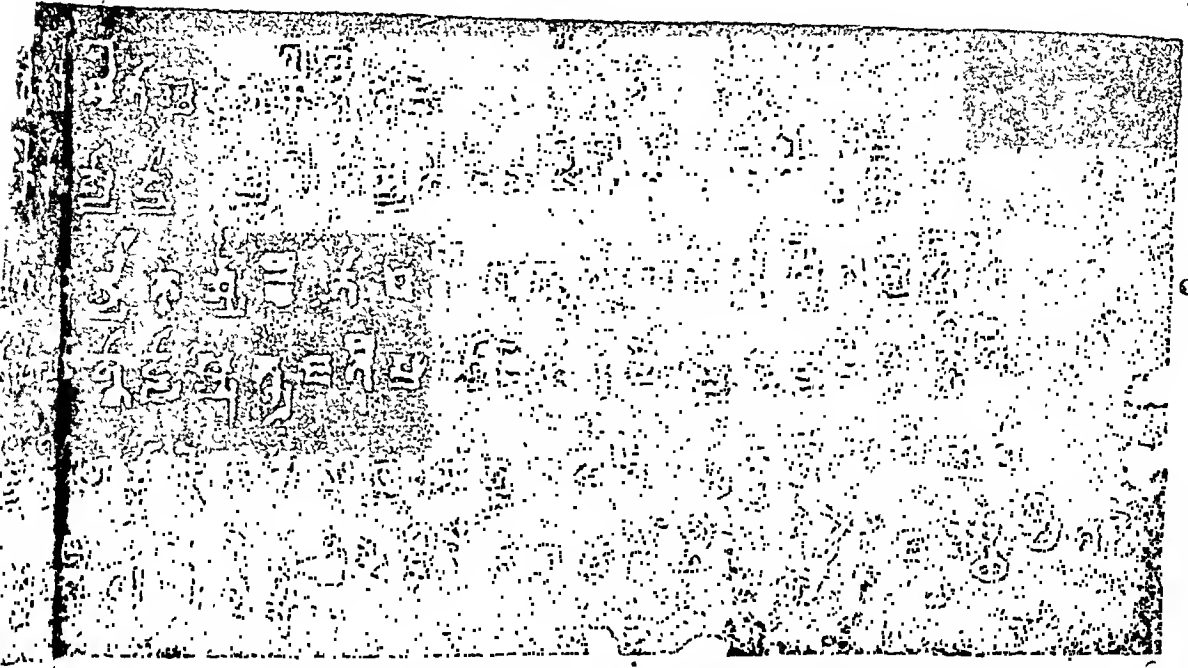
⁴ About fifty yards away to the west of these two inscribed columns, in the next field, I turned up the lower part of another large sandstone column. The base is rectangular, about 3' 6" high by 3' 2" square. The shaft, of which only a length of about 2' of remains attached to the base, is circular about 3' 2" in diameter; and, instead of being plain like the two inscribed columns, it is carved all over with cross-lines into diamond-shaped knobs. I had the field excavated all round this column, but could find no traces of the rest of the shaft or of the other parts of it. From its different pattern, it can have no connection with the two inscribed columns.



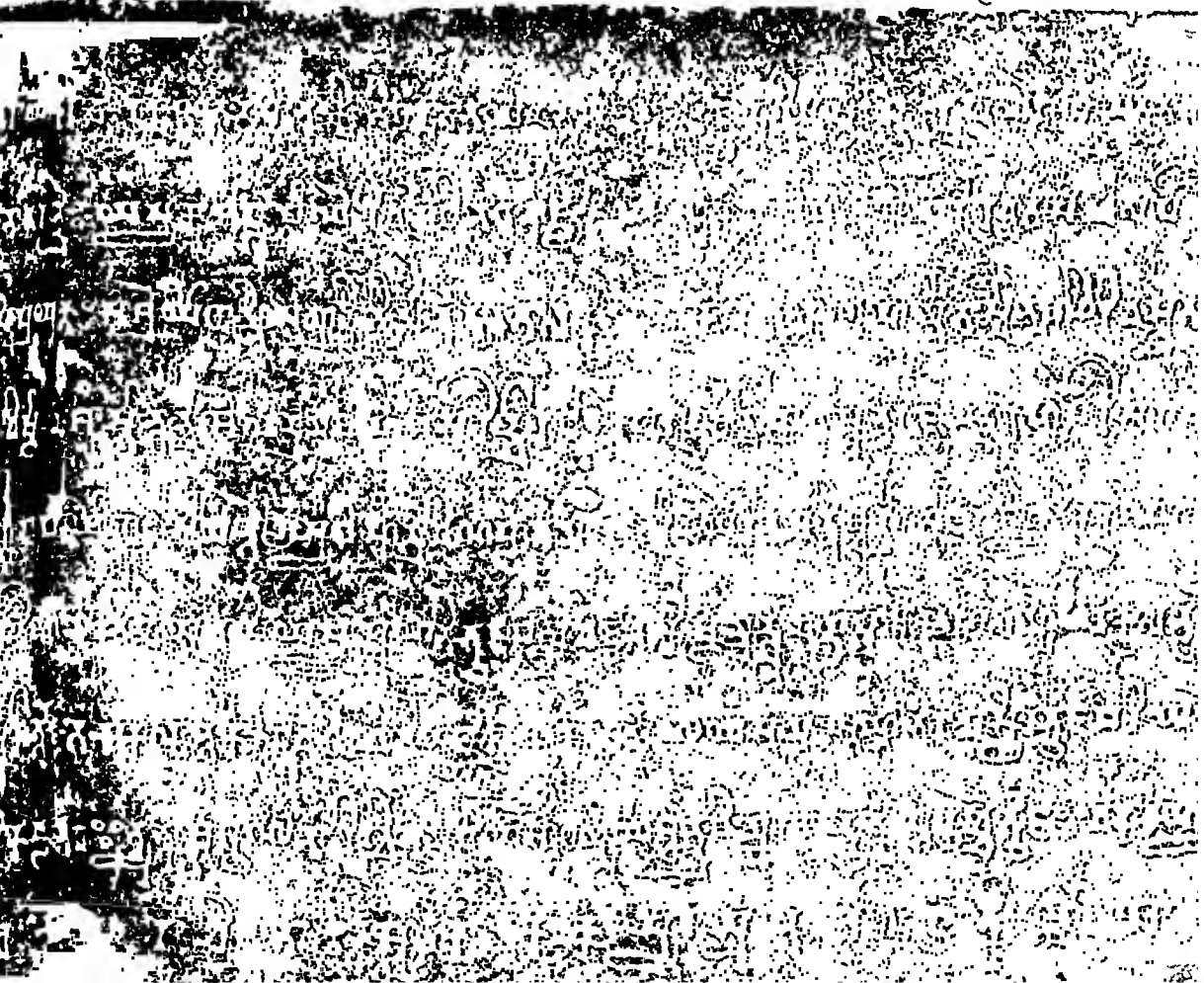
B.—Mandasor Pillar



Paumous Pillar Inscription of Chandra.



Pillar inscription of Yasodharman.



The column with the present inscription lies, partially buried, north and south, with the top to the north. The base of it is rectangular, about 3' 4" square by 4' 5" high; and, as there is no socket at the bottom to indicate that it was fitted into any masonry foundation, this part must have been buried when the column stood upright. From this base there rises a sixteen-sided shaft, each face of which is about 8½" broad where it starts from the base; part of the shaft, about 17' 0" in length, is still connected with the base, making the length of this fragment about 21' 5"; and the present inscription, occupying five of the sixteen faces, is on this fragment, the bottom line being about 2' 2" above the top of the base. Immediately in continuation of this, there lies the remainder of the shaft, about 17' 10" long; at the upper end of this, the faces are each about 7" broad, shewing that the column tapers slightly from bottom to top. The upper end of this fragment is flat, with a round socket projecting from it; which shews these two fragments make up the entire shaft, the total length of which was thus about 39' 3", or 34' 10" above the base. This column appears to have broken naturally in falling, and not to have been deliberately divided, as the other was, in the manner described below. The next part of this column, the lower part of the capital, lies about forty yards away to the north, close up to the hedge of the hamlet, and is a fluted bell, about 2' 6" high and 3' 2" in diameter, almost identical in design with the corresponding part of a small pillar from an old Gupta temple at Sāñchi, drawn by General Cunningham in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. Plate xxii. No. 1. In the bottom of it there is a socket-hole, about 11" in diameter, answering in size to the socket on the top of the shaft; and on the top there is a projecting socket. About twenty-five yards south of this, and fifteen yards north of the column, I found a flat stone buried in the ground, just level with the surface; and, on excavating it, it proved to be the next portion, the square upper part of the capital. It measures about 2' 8" high by 3' 10" square; the vertical corner edges are trimmed off. I could not get at the bottom of it; but there must be there a socket-hole, answering to the projecting socket on the top of the bell-shaped part that came below it. I only exposed one side of it; but this was sufficient to shew that it is a lion-capital, exactly like the capital of the other column, noticed more fully below. On the top surface of it, there is in the centre a circular socket-hole about 11½" in diameter and 4" deep, with eight other rectangular socket-holes round it, one in the centre of each side, and one opposite each corner. The total length of this column, up to the top of the lion-capital, is about 44' 5"; or forty feet above the ground, if it stood with the entire base buried. The square lion-capital must have been surmounted by a statue or statues, of the same kind as that which stands on the summit of the column at Éraṇ¹ which has on it Budha-gupta's inscription, No. 19 above, page 88; but I cannot feel sure of having found it. I found, indeed, in the same field, towards the west side, in three pieces, a very well executed sandstone bas-relief slab, 9' 0" high, with a rectangular pedestal 3' 2" broad by 1' 8" deep and 8" high, of a male figure, standing, somewhat larger than life-size, wearing a *kirīṭa* or high head-dress, with necklace and armlets, and draped from the waist downwards, with a small figure standing by the right leg. And close by this there were, in three pieces, the *kirīṭa* and the head and shoulders of another figure of the same size. evidently a duplicate of the above. Unless, however, there were some intervening parts, it

¹ See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 81, and Plate xxvi.

have been altogether lost, these slabs cannot belong to the columns, since their pedestals have no sockets to fit into the socket-holes on the tops of the lion-capitals.¹

The other column, with the fragmentary duplicate copy of this inscription, No. 34 below, Plate xxiC., stood, as is shewn by the present position of its base, about twenty yards north of the column that I have just described. When overthrown, it fell east and west, with the top towards the west. The base is rectangular, about 3' 3" square by 3' 11" high. Differing from the first column, the base here is followed by a concave circular part, about 1' 0" high. From this there rises a sixteen-sided shaft, each face of which is about 8" broad where it starts from the base. But the portion of the shaft that remains attached to the base is only about 1' 1" long; and a row of chisel-marks all round the column here, shews that it was deliberately broken by the insertion of wedges. The next piece of the column,—or rather a remnant of it, as it is broken vertically, and part of it has been lost,—lies about three yards to the north of the base, and parallel with it, but in an inverted position, with the upper end to the east. This piece is about 9' 0" long; and the remnant of the duplicate inscription is here, on two of the faces; the bottom line of it being about 2' 9½" above the square base. The next piece of the shaft is missing altogether, and is supposed to be entirely buried somewhere in this field. The remainder of the shaft, about 6' 9" in length, lies, almost entirely buried, a few yards to the west of the portion including the base and the commencement of the shaft. Each face here is about 7" broad at the top; shewing that this column also tapers slightly from bottom to top. The top of this fragment is flat, with a round socket projecting from it; which shews that we have here the end of the shaft. Immediately west of this fragment, there lies the fluted bell part of the capital, about 3' 0" high and 3' 3" in diameter, similar in design to the same part of the capital of the other pillar. In the bottom of it there is a socket-hole, about 11" in diameter, answering in size to the socket on the top of the shaft; and on the top there is a projecting socket. Just to the west of this there lies, upside down and partially buried, the next portion of the capital, the square upper part, measuring about 3' 0" high and 3' 10" square; the vertical corner edges are trimmed off. The bottom, and one entire side and parts of two others, are exposed; and enough is visible to shew that each side consists of a bas-relief sculpture of two lions, each sitting on its haunches and facing to the corner, where it merges into the corresponding corner lion on the next side;² with the head of a conventional *simha* or mythological lion in the centre, over the backs of the lions. In the bottom of this stone there is a socket-hole, about 10½" in diameter, answering to the projecting socket on the top of the bell-shaped part that came just below it. And I dug under one of the corners of the top enough to find there a rectangular socket-hole, which justifies us in assuming that the top has one circular and eight rectangular socket-holes, just as in the top of the lion-capital of the first column. As in the case of the first column, I cannot feel sure of having found the statue or statues which must have stood on the top of it.

The two inscribed columns were evidently intended as a pair, though the full measure of the second cannot be taken. From the distance between them; from the difference in the detailed measures; and from the analogous instance of the Êraṇ column, as shewing

¹ There are some similar bas-relief slabs set up in a group under some palm-trees in another field, about fifty yards away to the east from where the inscribed columns lie; but these, again, do not appear to belong to the columns.

² Compare the lions on the upper part of the square portion of the capital of the Êraṇ column.

the way in which they must have been finished off at the top,—they can hardly have been connected by a beam, after the fashion of a *tōraṇa* or arched gateway; and there are no traces of any temple to which they can have belonged. They are evidently an actual instance of two *raṇastambhas* or “columns of victory in war,” such as the Kāuthēm¹ grant of Vikramāditya V., dated Śāka-Saṃvat 930 (A.D. 1008-9) expired, speaks of as having been set up by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Karkara or Kakka III., and as having then been cut asunder in battle by the Western Chālukya king Taila II.

To return to the inscription on the first column,—the **writing**, which covers a space of about 3' 2½" broad by 1' 2½" high, has suffered a good deal from the weather; and, owing to the difficulty of obtaining lights and shades, partly in consequence of the letters being rather shallow, and partly because of the natural light colour of the stone, it is rather difficult to read on the original column; but, in the ink-impression and the lithograph, it can easily be read with certainty throughout.—The size of the letters varies from ¼" to ⅜". Differing from the Mandasôr inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 18 above, page 79, Plate xi.; the **characters** here belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are a development, in some respects, of the type of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, Plate i., and, in others, of that of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4 above, Plate iiiB. They include the rather rare lingual *dh*, in *upagāḍha*, line 4. In *vīrya*, line 4, and *sāmantair=yasya*, line 5, the *r* is formed on the line of writing, with only a single *y* below it; in combination with other consonants, e.g. in *sumérór=vvighaṭita*, line 1, and *dharmmasya*, line 8, the *r* is formed above the top line of writing, and the consonant is doubled, in the usual way.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and, except for the two words at the end, recording the engraver's name, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhmanīya* in *śikharinaḥ=paśchimād*, line 5; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *s*, in *aṇṣu*, line 5, and *vaṇṣa*, line 8; and before *s*, in *tējāṇsi*, line 1, and *pāṇsu*, line 3; (3) the doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *ākkrānti*, line 4; *chakkra*, line 7; *māṭtra* and *yāṭtra*, line 3; *anyāṭtra*, line 6; and *nāyitō=ttra*, line 7; but not in *kriyāntē*, line 5, and *śatru*, line 1; and (4) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *addhyāsini*, line 4.

The **inscription** is one of a king named **Yaśōdharman**,² whose dominions are described as including the whole of the northern part of India, from the river **Lauhitya**, or the **Brahmaputra**, to the **Western Ocean**, and from the **Himālayas** to the mountain

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 18.

² Having regard to the frequency with which, in the period of this inscription, *varman* occurs as the termination of proper names, and to the rarity of *dharman*,—there might be some temptation to suggest that Yaśōdharman should be corrected into Yaśōvarman. But the *dh* is very distinct in line 7 here, and in the corresponding place in line 7 of the remnant of the original duplicate copy of this inscription, No. 34 below, Plate xxiC.; and again in line 8 below; and again in the same name in line 4 of the inscription of Yaśōdharman and Vishṇuvardhana, No. 35 below, Plate xxii.—The form *dharman* is not of frequent occurrence. But we do meet with it in other proper names; e.g. Kṛitadharman, Kshattradharman, Kshēmadharman, Jayadharman, and Sudharman. And it also occurs in ordinary composition; e.g. in *Manv-ādi-praṇīta-vidhi-vidhāna-dharmmā*, in line 5 of the Māliya grant of the *Mahārāja* Dharasēna II. of the year 252, No. 38 below, Plate xxiv.; and in *tējōbhīr=āditya-samāna-dharmmā*, in line 29 of the Kāuthēm grant of Vikramāditya V. of Śāka-Saṃvat 930 expired (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 22).

Mahendra.¹ We have an important allusion in the statement that he possessed countries which not even the **Guptas** and the **Hûnas** could subdue; and a still more important record, in connection with the general history of the period, to the effect that homage was done to him by even the famous king **Mihirakula**. It is not dated. But **Yaśôdharman's** date is now known from the Mandasôr inscription of Mâlava-Śamvât 589 (A.D. 532-33) expired, No. 35 below, which mentions him and Vishṇuvardhana; and the present inscription, having been engraved by the same person, Gôvinda, must fall within a few years on either side of that date. Also, the use of the present tense almost throughout, coupled with the record that **Yaśôdharman** himself erected the column, shews that the inscription is one of his own time, not posthumous. The opening verse contains a Śaiva invocation; which is in accordance with the boast, in line 6, that Yaśôdharman never bowed his head to any save the god Śiva. But the record itself is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to narrate the erection of the column, for the purpose of reciting the king's glory and power.

TEXT.²

- 1 Vêpantê³ yasya bhîma-stanita-bhaya-samudbhrânta-daityâ digantâḥ śṛṅg-
âghâtaiḥ Sumêrôr-vvighaṭita-drishadah kandarâ yaḥ karôti |
ukshâṇam tam dadhânaḥ kshitidharatanayâ-datta-pañch-âṅgul-
âṅkam drâghishṭhaḥ Śûlapânêḥ kshapayatu bhavatâṁ śatru-têjâṁsi
kêtuḥ ||
- 2 Avirbhût-âvalêpair=avinaya - paṭubhir = llaṅghit-âchâra - mârggair = mmôhâd = aidam-
yugînair=apa-subha-ratibhiḥ pîḍyamânâ narêndraiḥ | yasya kshamâ
Śârṅgapânêr=iva kaṭhina-dhanur-jyâ-kiṇ-âṅka-prakôshṭham bâhum loka-
ôpakâra-vrata-saphala-parispanda-dhîram prapannâ ||
- 3 Nindy-âchârêshu yô=smin=vinaya-mushi yugê kalpanâ-mâttra-vrit[t*]yâ
râjasv=anyêshu pân̄sushv=iva kusuma-balir=nn=âbabhâsê prayuktaḥ | sa
śrêyô-dhâmni samrâḍ=iti Manu-Bharat-Âlarkka-Mândhâtṛi-kalpê kalyânê
hêmni bhâsvân=maṇir=iva sutarâṁ bhrâjatê yatra śabdaḥ ||
- 4 Yê bhuktâ Gupta-nâthair=nna sakala-vasudh-âkkrânti-drishṭa-pratâpair=nn=
âjñâ Hûṇ-âdhipânâm kshitipati-mukut-âddhyâsinî yân=pravishṭâ |
dêśâṁs=tân=dhanva-śaila-druma-śa(ga)hana-sarid-vîrabâh-ûpagûḍhân=vîry - âva-
skanna-râjñah sva-griha-parisar-âvajñayâ yô bhunakti ||
- 5 Â Lauhity-ôpakaṇṭhât=tala-vana-gahan-ôpatyakâd=Â Mahêndrâd=Â Gaṅg-
âślisṭha-sânôs=tuhinaśikharinaḥ=paśchimâd=Â payôdhêḥ | sâmantair=
yasya bâhu-dravîna-hṛita-madaiḥ pâdayôr=ânamadbhiś=chûḍâratn-âṅsu-râji-
vyatikara-śabalâ bhûmi-bhâgâḥ kriyantê ||
- 6 Sthânôr=anyattra yêna prañati-kṛipañatâṁ prâpitâṁ n=ôttamâṅgam yasy=
âślisṭhō bhujâbhyâm vahati himagirir=durgga-śabd-âbhimânam |

¹ It is doubtful whether this denotes here the famous Mahêndragiri or Mahêndrâchala in the Gañjâm District, among the Eastern Ghauts; or another mountain of the same name, not so well known, which appears to be mentioned also in line 2 of an earlier Nâsik inscription of the nineteenth year of Siri-Puṣumâyi (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. No. 14, pp. 108, 109), and in the *Bṛihat-Samhitâ*, xiv. vv. 11-16 (Kern's Translation, *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. V. p. 83), and must be located somewhere in the Western Ghauts.

² From the ink-impression.

³ Metre, Sragdhara; and in the next seven verses

- nichais=tên=âpi yasya prañati-bhuja-bal-âvarjjana-klišṭa-mūrdhna
 chūḍā-pushp-ôpahārair=**Mmihirakula**-nripēṇ=ārchchitam pāda-yugmaṁ ||
- 7 [Gā]m=ēv=ōnmātum=ūrdhvaṁ vigaṇayitum=iva jyōtishāṁ chakkravālam
 nirddeśtūṁ mārggam=uchchair-ddiva iva sukṛit-ôpārjitatāyāḥ sva-
 kīrttēḥ | tēn=ā-kalpānta-kāl-âvadhira=avanibhujā **śrī-Yasôdharmmaṇ**=
 āyaṁ stambhaḥ stambh-âbhirāma-sthira-bhuja-parighēṇ=ôchchhritim
 nāyitô=ttra ||
- 8 Ś[Ī]aghyē janm=āsyā vaṇṣe charitam=agha-haram dṛīsyatē kāntam=
 asmin=dharmmasya=āyaṁ nikētaś=chalati niyamitam n=āmuna lōka-
 vṛittam [I*] ity=utkarshaṁ guṇānām likhitum=iva **Yasôdharmmaṇaś**=
 chandra-bimbē rāgād=utkshipta uchchair-bhuja iva ruchimān=yah
 prithivyā vibhāti ||
- 9 Iti¹ tusṭūshayā tasya nripatēḥ puṇya-karmmaṇaḥ | Vāsulēn=ôparachitāḥ
 ślōkaḥ Kakkasya sūnuna || Utkīrṇa² Gōvindena ||

TRANSLATION.

May that very long banner of (the god) Śūlapāṇi destroy the glory of your enemies ;— (that banner) which bears (*a representation of*) the bull (Nandi), marked by the five fingers (*dipped in some dye and then*) placed on him by (Pārvati) the daughter of the mountain (Himālaya), who causes the distant regions, in which the demons are driven wild with fear by (*his*) terrible bellowings, to shake ; (*and*) who makes the glens of (the mountain) Sumēru to have their rocks split open by the blows of his horns !

(Line 2.)—He, to whose arm, as if (*to the arm*) of (the god) Śārngapāṇi,—the fore-arm of which is marked with callous parts caused by the hard string of (*his*) bow, (*and*) which is steadfast in the successful carrying out of vows for the benefit of mankind,—the earth betook itself (*for succour*), when it was afflicted by kings of the present age, who manifested pride ; who were cruel through want of proper training ; who, from delusion, transgressed the path of good conduct ; (*and*) who were destitute of virtuous delights :—

(L. 3.)—He who, in this age which is the ravisher of good behaviour, through the action simply of (*his good*) intentions shone gloriously, not associating with other kings who adopted a reprehensible course of conduct,—just as an offering of flowers (*is beautiful when it is not laid down*) in the dust ;—he in whom, possessed of a wealth of virtue, (*and so*) falling but little short of Manu and Bharata and Alarka and Māndhātṛi, the title of “ universal sovereign ”³ shines more (*than in any other*), like a resplendent jewel (*set*) in good gold :—

(L. 4.)—He who, spurning (*the confinement of*) the boundaries of his own house, enjoys those countries,—thickly covered over with deserts and mountains and trees and thickets and rivers and strong-armed heroes, (*and*) having (*their*) kings assaulted by (*his*)

¹ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).

² Supply *prāstatiḥ*.

³ *saṁrāj* ; ‘a sovereign who rules over kings and has performed the *rājasūya*-sacrifice.’—For a description of the *rājasūya*, which is a great sacrifice or religious ceremony performed, at the coronation of a supreme sovereign or universal monarch, by the king himself and his tributary princes, see the *Rājasūya-Parva* in the *Sabha-Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* ; Protap Chandra Roy's Translation, page 95 ff.

pro prowess,—which were not enjoyed (*even*) by the lords of the **Guptas**, whose prowess was displayed by invading the whole (*remainder of the*) earth, (*and*) which the command of the chiefs of the **Hūnas**, that established itself on the tiaras of (*many*) kings, failed to penetrate :—

(L. 5.)—He before whose feet chieftains,¹ having (*their*) arrogance removed by the strength of (*his*) arm, bow down, from the neighbourhood of the (river) **Lauhitya** up to (the mountain) **Mahendra**,² the lands at the foot of which are impenetrable through the groves of palmyra-trees, (*and*) from (**Himālaya**) the mountain of snow, the table-lands of which are embraced by the (river) **Gaṅgā**, up to the **Western Ocean**,—by which (*all*) the divisions of the earth are made of various hues through the intermingling of the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of (*their*) heads :³—

(L. 6.)—He by whom (*his*) head has never been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save (the god) **Sthāṇu**;—he, through the embraces of whose arms (**Himālaya**) the mountain of snow carries no longer⁴ the pride of the title of being a place that is difficult of access;—he to whose two feet respect was paid, with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of (*his*) head, by even that (*famous*) king **Mihirakula**, whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of (*his*) arm in (*the act of compelling*) obeisance :—

(L. 7.)—By him, the king, the glorious **Yaśôdharman**,⁵ the firm beams of whose arms are as charming as pillars, this column, which shall endure to the time of the destruction of the world, has been erected here,—as if to measure out the earth; as if to enumerate on high the multitude of the heavenly lights; (*and*) as if to point out the path of his own fame to the skies above, acquired by good actions;—(this column) which shines refulgent, as if it were a lofty arm of the earth, raised up in joy to write upon the surface of the moon the excellence of the virtues of **Yaśôdharman**, to the effect that—“ His birth (*is*) in a lineage that is worthy to be eulogised; there is seen in him a charming behaviour that is destructive of sin; he is the abode of religion; (*and*) the (*good*) customs of mankind continue current, unimpeded (*in any way*) by him.”

(L. 9.)—From a desire thus to praise this king, of meritorious actions, (*these*) verses have been composed by **Vāsula**, the son of **Kakka**. (*This eulogy*) has been engraved by **Gôvinda**.

¹ *Sāmanta*, *lit.* ‘bordering, neighbouring; a neighbour, a feudatory prince, the chief of a tributary district,’ is a technical official title, denoting a rank next below that of the *Mahāsāmanta*, which title occurs, for instance, in several places in the Nirmaṇḍ grant of the *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahārāja* Samudrasêṇa, No. 80 below, Plate xlv.—*Sāmanta* is of constant occurrence, in other inscriptions, in its technical sense; but it is here used only in a general way, and is translated accordingly.

² See page 146 above, note 1.

³ *chūḍā* is a single lock or tuft of hair left on the crown of the head after the ceremony of tonsure, which is performed in early childhood.

⁴ To complete the sense, we must apparently supply, in connection with *vahati*, the negative particle *na* from the first *pāda* of the verse.

⁵ See page 145 above, note 2.

No. 34; PLATE XXIC.

MANDASOR DUPLICATE STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION
OF YASODHARMAN.

THIS inscription, which I published, for the first time, in 1886, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 257 f., is the remnant, mentioned above, of the original duplicate copy of the inscription of Yaśôdharman on the second inscribed column, described at page 144 above, at Mandasôr,¹ or more properly Dasôr, the chief town of the Mandasôr District of Scindia's Dominions, in the Western Mâlwa division of Central India. It was discovered by Mr. Arthur Sullivan, who forwarded his hand-copy of it to General Cunningham in 1879. And it was this that led to the search which was made under my direction in 1884, and which resulted in the discovery of the entire copy of this inscription No. 33 above, page 142, and Plate xxiB., and of the inscription of Kumâragupta and Bandhuvarman of the Mâlava years 493 and 529, No. 18 above, page 79, and Plate xi.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 1" broad by 1' 2" high, is in some respects in a state of rather better preservation than the entire copy; but nearly three-quarters of the full inscription is lost here, through the column having cracked vertically and part of it being now not forthcoming.—The size of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters belong, as before, to the northern class of alphabets, and were engraved by the same person, Gôvinda, who engraved the entire copy, No. 33 above; and this record appears to have been in all essential details an exact reproduction of the copy that has been preserved entire. We have the lingual *dh* in *upagûdha*, line 4. And the two methods of forming *r* in combination with a following consonant, are very well illustrated by *vîrya*, line 4, and *ôpahârair=mmihirakula*, line 6.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1), as before, the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *añśu*, line 5; and before *s*, in *téjāñsi*, line 1; and (2) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *yattra*; line 3, and *nâyîtô-ttra*, line 7; and also in *śattru*, line 1, where it is not doubled in the entire copy.

This fragmentary inscription preserves the names of Yaśôdharman and Mihirakula. But the passage mentioning the Guptas and the Hûnas has been lost: and also that which gives the boundaries of Yaśôdharman's dominions.

TEXT.*

- | | | | | |
|---|--|---------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | [da]tta ¹ -pañch-āṅgul-āṅkaṁ | drāghishṭhaḥ. | Śūlapāṇēḥ | kshapayatu |
| | bhavatām śattru-téjāñsi | kētuḥ \|\| |  |  |
| 2 | jy[ā]-kiṇ-āṅka-prakōshṭhaṁ | bāhuṁ | lōk-ôpakāra-vrata-saphala- | |
| | parispanda-dhīraṁ | prapannā \|\| |  |  |
| 3 | [Ā]larkka-Māndhātṛi-kalpē | kalyāṇē | hēmni | bhāsvān=maṇir=iva |
| | sutarām bhrājatē | yattra | śabdaḥ \|\| |  |
| 4 | [vi]ra-bāh-ôpagûdhān=vîry-āvaskanna-rājñāḥ | | sva-griha-parisar-āvajñayā | |
| | yô bhunakti \|\| |  |  |  |

¹ See page 79 above, and note 1.

* From the ink-impression.

² Metre, Sragdharā; and in the next seven verses.

- 5 pâdayôr=ânamadbhiś=chûḍâratn-âṅsu-râji-vyâतिकara-śabalâ bhûmi-bhâgâḥ
kriyantê ||
- 6 [âvar]jjana-klišṭa-mûrddhnâ chûḍâ-pushp-ôpahârair=**Mmihirakula-**
nripêṇ=ârchchitam pâda-yugmaṁ ||
- 7 [śrî]-**Yaśôdharmmaṇ**=âyaṁ stambhaḥ stambh-âbhirâma-sthira-bhuja-
parighêṇ=ôchchhritim nâyitô=ttra ||
- 8 [**Yaśôdha**]rmaṇaś=chandra-bimbê râgâd=utkshipta uchchair-bhuja
iva ruchimân=yaḥ prithivyâ vibhâti ||
- 9 [Ka]kkasya¹ sūnunâ || Utkîrṇā² Gôvindēna ||

TRANSLATION.

[It is unnecessary to offer a translation of this fragment, as the contents of it are fully explained by the translation of the entire copy, at page 147 above. It is sufficient to note that we have the name of **Yaśôdharman**,³ complete in line 7, and partially preserved in line 8; the name of **Mihirakula**, very clearly legible, in line 6; and, in line 9, the name of Gôvinda, the engraver of the record.]

No. 35; PLATE XXII.

MANDASOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF YASODHARMAN AND VISHNUVARDHANA.

THE MALAVA YEAR 589.

THIS inscription, which I published, for the first time, in 1886, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 222 ff., is from a stone-tablet, which, when shewn to me in 1885, was in the possession of Sir Michael Filose, K.C.S.I., at Ujjain, but which had come originally from an old well, somewhere in the lands of Mandasôr,⁴ or more properly **Dasôr**, the chief town of the Mandasôr District of Scindia's Dominions in the Western Mâlwa division of Central India, where it was found, in the course of repairs, built up with the inscribed surface inside. I could obtain no accurate information on the point; but possibly this is a large and ancient well, which immediately attracts attention, just inside the eastern entrance of the Fort.

The stone is a smooth and beautifully engraved tablet, apparently of slate-stone, measuring about 1' 11" broad by 1' 6½" high and 2½" thick. There are no sculptures on it, connected with the inscription. But, on the back, which is divided into two compartments by what seems to be either a spear with a curved handle, or a shepherd's crook, there are engraved in outline, very roughly,—at the upper corners, the sun on the proper right, and the moon on the proper left; and, lower down, on each side, a man on horse-back, facing towards the central dividing sculpture; the horseman on the proper right side carries in his left hand either a *chauri* or fly-flap made from the bushy tail of the Bos Grunniens, or a *śankha* or conch-shell; the other horseman carries something in his right hand, but I could not distinguish the object. These sculptures were engraved, of course, when the tablet was fixed in the position in which it was discovered, with the inscribed

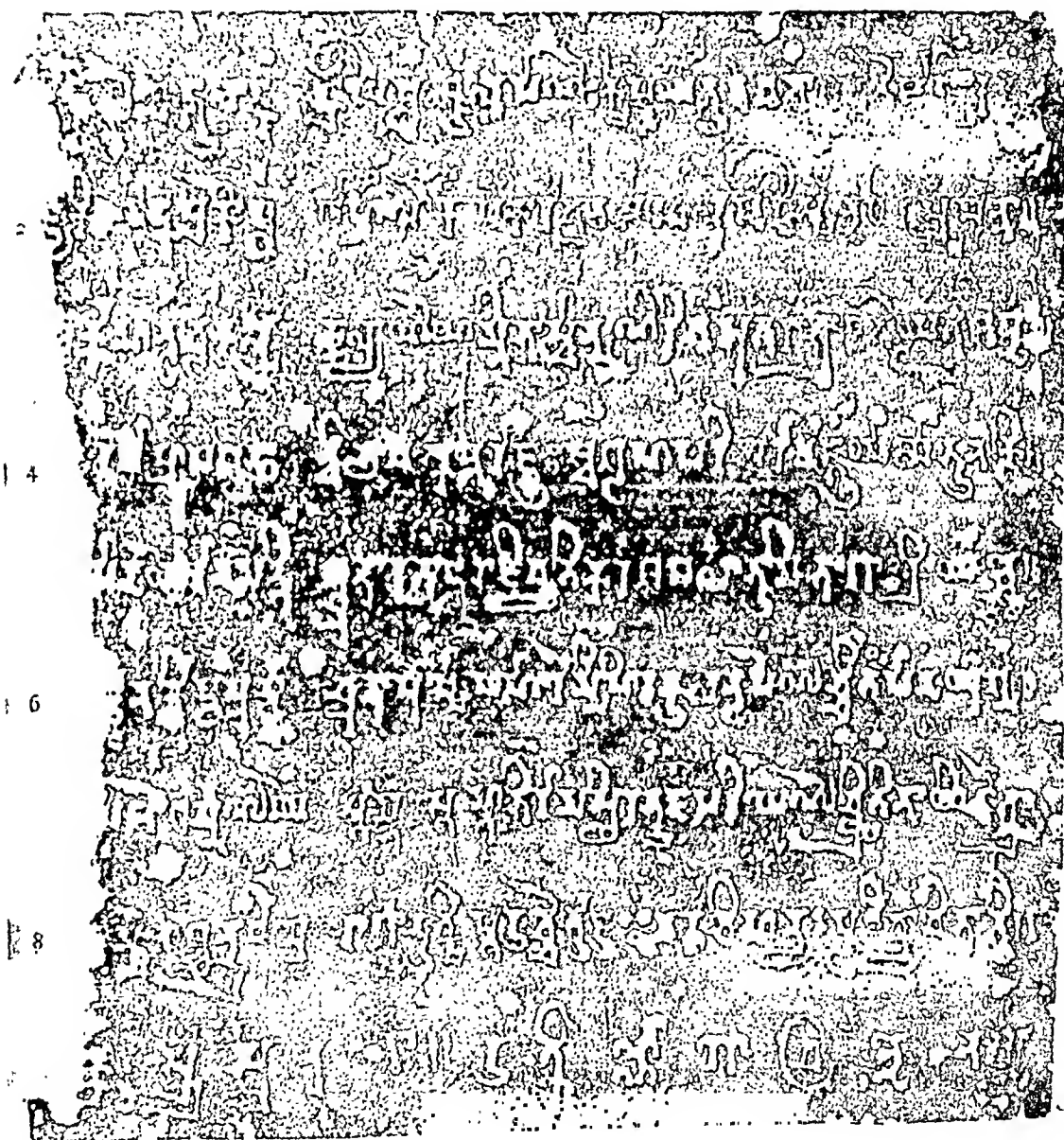
¹ Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh).

² See page 145 above, note 2

³ Supply *prastitiḥ*.

⁴ See page 79 above, and note 1.

C—Mandasor Duplicate Pillar Inscription of Yasodharman



surface inwards; and it is owing to this position, that the inscription has remained in so perfect a state of preservation.—The writing covers the entire surface of the stone, with a margin of from 1" to 1½"; and is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout, though there are just a few letters from which it was impossible to clear out the hard incrustation of lime, with which the writing was blocked up from beginning to end, sufficiently for them to come out quite perfectly in the ink-impression, and so in the lithograph. At the ends of lines 1, 2, and 3, a few letters have been lost by the edges of the stone being chipped here; and at some other places a few letters have been damaged in the same way. But the only place where the missing letters cannot be supplied, is at the commencement of line 16.—The average size of the letters is about ¼". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type, being in fact engraved by the same hand, with those of the Mandasôr duplicate pillar inscriptions of Yaśôdharman, No. 33 above, page 142; and Plate xxii., and No. 34, page 149, and Plate xxiC. They include the very rare initial *au*, in *aulikara*, line 5; and the lingual *dh*, in *udûdha* and *gâdha*, line 7; *rûdha*, line 11; and *ûdha*, line 18.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word *siddham*, and the two words at the end recording the name of the engraver, the entire inscription is in verse.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *ś*, in *vañśa*, lines 6 and 9; *añśu*, line 9; *añśa*, line 11; and *abhranśin*, line 12; (2) the use of the dental nasal, before *s*, in *bhūyānsi*, line 2, and *yaśānsi*, line 4; though we have the more usual *anusvâra* in *manāmsi*, line 22; (3) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *śattru*, line 4; *kalattra*, line 11; and *pāriyâttra*, line 16; and (4), the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y* and *v*, in *addhyāsita*, line 16-17, and *addhrani*, line 18, though not in other places.

The inscription refers itself, in the first instance, to the time of Yaśôdharman,¹ here called a tribal ruler,² whose name is already on record from his duplicate pillar inscriptions at Mandasôr, No. 33 above, page 142, and No. 34, page 149. It then mentions a king³ named Vishṇuvardhana, who, though he had the titles of *Rājādhirāja* and *Paramêśvara*, would appear to have acknowledged a certain amount of supremacy on the part of Yaśôdharman. Vishṇuvardhana's family is mentioned as the lineage that had the *aulikara*-crest.⁴ The inscription is dated, in words, when the year five-hundred and

¹ See page 145 above, note 2.

² *janēndra*; *lit.* 'a lord of a people or tribe.'

³ *narādhipati*; *lit.* 'a chief ruler of men.'

⁴ *aulikara-lāñchhana*.—I have not been able to obtain any explanation of the word *aulikara*; but it seems to denote either 'the hot-rayed (sun),' or 'the cool-rayed (moon).'—As regards *lāñchhana*, 'a mark, sign, token, spot,' which I render by 'crest,' it is the technical term for the principal emblem impressed by kings on the copper-seals attached to their charters, and is quite distinct from the emblem on their *dhvaj*s or banners. Thus, the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and Belgaum had the *suvarṇa-garuda-dhvaja* or 'banner of a golden Garuḍa,' but the *sindhura-lāñchhana* or 'elephant-crest' (e.g. line 43 of the Têrdâl inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1045, &c.; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 18, and p. 24, note 24). So also the Kādambas of Banawāsi, and also those of Goa, had the *śākhācharēndra-dhvaja* or *vānara-mahādhvaja*, 'the banner of a monkey, or of (Hanumat) the king of monkeys,' but the *simha-lāñchhana*, or 'lion-crest,' which latter appears on the seals of their grants and on their coins (e.g. line 28-29 of the Kargudari inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1030, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 252; and line 9 of the Golihalli inscription, *Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 296; see also, for the seals of their grants, *id.* p. 230, No. 8, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 288; and, for their coins, *Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. xxiv.) The Chalukyas, in all their branches, had the *varāha-lāñchhana*

eighty-nine had expired from the tribal constitution of the **Mālavas**, and, therefore, when the year five hundred and ninety (A.D. 533-34) was current ; but no further details of the date are given. The opening invocations are addressed to the god Śiva. But the record itself is non-sectarian ; the object of it being only to record the construction of a large well by a person named **Daksha**, the younger brother of Dharmadōsha, who was a minister of Vishṇuvardhana, in memory of their deceased uncle Abhayadatta, who had formerly held the same office for the tract of country bounded by the **Vindhyas** and the **Pāriyâtra** mountain, and the **(Western) Ocean**.

The genealogy of this family of ministers is given ; and it includes a somewhat noticeable name in that of **Bhânuguptâ**, the wife of Daksha's grandfather, Ravikîrtti. Her date would be just about one generation before that of the king **Bhânugupta**, for whom we have the date of Gupta-Saṃvat 191 (A.D. 510-11) from the Èraṇ posthumous pillar inscription of Gôparâja, No. 20 above, page 91, and Plate xiiB. ; and the coincidence of name and time is such, that it is almost impossible not to imagine some family connection between him and her. Bhânugupta, of course, must have been a Kshatriya ; and Bhânugupta's husband, Ravikîrtti, was evidently a Brâhmaṇ. But the ancient Hindu law authorised the marrying of Kshatriya wives by Brâhmaṇs. And we have an epigraphical instance of this practice in the Ghaṭōtkacha cave inscription of Hastibhōja, a minister of the Vākāṭaka *Mahārāja* Dēvasēna ; it tells us that Hastibhōja's ancestor, the Brâhmaṇ Sōma, "in accordance with the precepts of revelation and of tradition" married a Kshatriya wife, through whom Hastibhōja was descended, in addition to some other wives of the Brâhmaṇ caste, whose sons, and their descendants, applied themselves to the study of the Vēdas.¹

TEXT.²

- 1 Siddham [11*] Sa³ jayati jagatām patih Pinākī smita-rava-gītishu
yasya danta-kāntih | dyutir=iva taditām niśi sphurantī tirayati
cha sphuṭayaty=adaś=cha viśvam || Svayambhūr⁴=bhūtānām sthiti-
laya-[samu]-
- 2 tpatti-vidhishu prayuktō yēn=ājñām vahati bhuvanānām vidhritayē |
pitritvaṃ ch=ānītō jagati garimāṇam gamayatā sa Śambhur=bhūyānsi
pratidiśatu bhadraṇi bhava[tām] || Phaṇa⁵-maṇi-guru-bhār-[ākk]r[ā].
- 3 nti-dūr-āvanamram sthagayati rucham=indôr=mmanḍalam yasya mûrdhnān [1*]
sa śirasi vinibadhnan=randhrinīm=asthi-mālām srijatu bhava-srijō vah
klēśa-bhaṅgam bhujāṅgaḥ || Shashtyā⁶ sahasraiḥ Sagar-ātmajānām
khāta[h]

¹ 'boar-crest,' which appears on the seals of all their charters, and on their coins ; and the special connection of the *lāñchhana* with the *śāsana* or 'charter,' is shewn by a passage in lines 73 ff. of the Korumelli grant of Rājārāja II., "on whose charter the mighty form, that of the first boar, of (the god) Vishṇu, which lifted up the entire circle of the earth on the tip of (its right-hand) tusk, became in a pleasing way the crest" (*id.* Vol. XIV. p. 85)

² *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 140 and note.

³ From the original stone.

⁴ Metre, Pushpitāgrā.

⁵ Metre, Śikhariṇī.

⁶ Metre, Mālinī.

⁷ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.

- 4 kha-tulyām rucham=ādadhānaḥ I asy=ōdapan-ādhipatēs=chirāya yaśānsi pāyāt=payasām vidhātā II Atha¹ jayati janēndrah śrī-Yasōdharmma-nāmā pramada-vanam=iv=āntaḥ śattru-sainyam vigāhya vraṇa-
- 5 kisalaya-bhaṅgair=yyō=ṅga-bhūṣhām vidhattē taruṇa-taru-latā-vad=vīra-kīrttīr=vvināmya II Ājau² jīti vijayatē jagatīm=punaś=cha śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-narādhipatiḥ sa ēva I prakhyāta aulikara-lāñchhana ātma-
- 6 vañśō yēn=ōdit-ōdita-padam gamitō garīyaḥ II Prāchō nṛipān=su-bṛihataś=cha bahūn=udīchaḥ sāmā yudhā cha vaśa-gān=pravidhāya yena [I*] nām=āparam jagati kāntam=adō durāpam rājādhirāja-paramē-
- 7 śvara ity=udūḍham II Snigdha³-śyām-āmbud-ābhaiḥ sthagita-dinakritō yajvanām=ājya-dhūmair=ambhō-mēghyam Maghōn=āvadhishu vidadhātā gādha-sampanna-sasyāḥ I saṁharshād=vānininām kara-rabhasa-hṛit-ō-
- 8 dyāna-chūt-āṅkur-āgrā rājanvantō ramantē bhujā-vijita-bhuvā bhūrayō yēna dēśāḥ II Yasy⁴=ōtkētubhir=unmada-dvipa-kara-vyāviddha-lōdhra-drumair=uddhūtēna van-ādhvani dhvani-nadad-Vindhyādri-randhrair=bbalaiḥ balē-
- 9 ya-chchhavi-dhūmarēṇa rajasā mand-āṅśu samlakshyatē paryāvṛitta-śikhaṇḍi-chandraka iva dhyāmam ravēr=mmaṇḍalam II Tasya⁵ prabhōr=vvañśa-kṛitām aṛipāṇām pād-āśrayād=viśruta-puṇya-kīrttiḥ I bhṛityaḥ sva-naibhṛitya-jit-ā-
- 10 ri-shaṭka āsīd=vasiyān=kila Shashṭhidattaḥ II Himavata⁶ iva Gāṅgas=tunga-namrah pravāhaḥ śaśabhṛita iva Rēvā-vāri-rāṣiḥ prathīyān [I*] param=abhigamanīyaḥ śuddhimān=anvavāyō yata udita-gari-
- 11 mnas=tāyatē Naigamānām II Tasy⁷=ānukūlah kulajāt=kalattrāt=sutaḥ prasūtō yaśasām prasūtiḥ I Harēr=iv=āṅsam vaśinām var-ārham Varāhadāsam yam=udāharanti II Sukṛiti⁸-vishayi-tuṅgam rūḍha-mūlam
- 12 dharāyām sthitim=apagata-bhaṅgām sthēyasīm=ādadhānam [I*] guru-śikharam=iv=ādrēs=tat-kulam sv-ātma-bhūtyā ravir=iva Ravikīrttiḥ su-prakāśam vyadhata II Bibhratā⁹ śubhram=a-bhrañśi smārttam vartm=ōchitam satām [I*] na visambvā(va)-
- 13 ditā yēna Kalāv=api kulīnatā II Dhuta-dhī-dīdhiti-dhvāntān=havirbhujā iv=ādharān [I*] Bhānuguptā tataḥ sādhi tanayāms=trīn=ajījanat II Bhagavaddōsha ity=āsīt=prathamah kāryya-vartmasu I āla-
- 14 mbanam bāndhavānām=Andhakānām=iv=Ōddhavaḥ II Bahu¹⁰-naya-vidhi-Vēdhā gahvarē=py=artha-mārggē Vidura iva vidūram prēkshayā prēkshamāṇaḥ I vachana-rachana-bandhē saṁskṛita-prākṛitē yaḥ kavibhir=udi-
- 15 ca-rāgam giyatē gīr-abhiñṇaḥ II Praṇidhi-dṛig-anugantrā yasya bauddhēna ch=ākshṇā na niśi tanu daviyō v=āsty=a-drishtam dharittryām [I*] padam=udayi dadhānō=nantaram tasya ch=ābhūt=sa bhayam=Abhayadattō nāma

¹ Metre, Mālinī.² Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next verse.³ Metre, Sragdharā.⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita⁵ Metre, Indravajrā.⁶ Metre, Mālinī.⁷ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.⁸ Metre, Mālinī.⁹ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the next two verses.¹⁰ Metre, Mālinī; and in the next verse.

- 16 chi[nva?]n=prajānām || **Vindhyasy**¹=āvandhya-karmmā śikhara-taṭa-patat-
pāṇḍu-Rēv-āmbu-rāśēr=ggōlāngūlaiḥ sa-hēlam pluti-namita-tarōḥ
Pāriyātrasya ch=ādrēḥ | ā **sindhôr**=antarālam nija-śuchi-sachiv-
āddhyā-
- 17 sit-ānēka-dēśām rājasthāniya-vṛit[^{*}]yā suragurur=iva yō varṇṇinām
bhūtayē=pāt || **Vihita**²-sakala-varṇṇ-āsaṅkaram śānta-ḍimbam **Kṛita** iva
kṛitam=ētaḍ=yēna rājyam nirādhi | sa dhuram=ayam=idānīm
- 18 Dōshakumbhasya sūnur=guru vahati tad-ūḍhām dharmmatō Dharmmadō
shaḥ || **Sva-sukham**=an-ativāchchha(ñchha)n=durggamē=ddhvany=a-saṅgām
dhuram=ati-guru-bhārām yō dadhad=bhartur=arthē | vahati nṛpati-vēsham
kēvalam lakshma-māttram
- 19 valinain=iva vilambam kambalam bāhulēyah || **Upahita-hita-rakshā**-maṇḍanō
jāti-ratnair=bhujā iva prithul-āmsas=tasya **Dakshaḥ** kaniyān [^{*}]
mahad=idam=udapānam khātayām-āsa bibhra-
- 20 ch=chhruti-hṛidaya-nitānt-ānandi nirddōsha-nāma || **Sukh**³-āśrēya-chchhāyam
parināti-hita-svādu-phala-dam gajēndrēṇ=ārugnam drumam=iva **Kṛitāntēna**
balinā | pitṛivayam prōddiśya priyam=Abhayadattam pri-
- 21 thu-dhiyā prathīyas=tēn=ēdam kuśalam=iha karmm=ōparachitam || **Pañchasu**⁴
śatēshu śaradām yātēshv=ēkān-na-navati-sahitēshu | **Mâlava-gaṇa-sthiti**-
vaśāt=kāla-jñānāya likhitēshu || Ya-
- 22 smin⁵=kālē kala-mṛidu-girām kōkilānām pralāpā bhindant=iva Smara-
śara-nibhāḥ prōshitānām manāmsi | bhṛīṅ-ālinām dhvanir=anu-vanam
bhāra-mandraś=cha yasminn=ādhitā-jyam dhanur=iva nadach=chhrūyatē
pushpa-
- 23 kētōḥ || **Priyatama**⁶-kupitānām rāmayaṁ=baddha-rāgam kisalayam=iva
mugdham mānasam maninīnām [^{*}] upanayati nabhasvān=māna-bhaṅgāya
yasmin=kusuma-samaya-māsē tatra nirmāpitō=yam ||
- 24 **Yavat**⁷=tuṅgair=udanvān=kiraṇa-samudayam saṅga-kāntam taraṅgair=ālingann=
indu-bimbam gurubhir=iva bhujaiḥ saṁvidhattē suhṛittām [^{*}] bibhrat=
saudh-ānta-lēkhā-valaya-parigatim muṇḍa-mālām=iv=āyam sat-kūpas=
tāvad=ā-
- 25 stām=amṛita-sama-rasa-svachchha-vishyandit-āmbuḥ || **Dhīmām**(n)⁸ **Dakshō**
dakshināḥ satya-sandhō hrīmāmch=chhūrō vṛiddha-sēvi kṛitajñāḥ |
baddh-ōtsāhaḥ svāmi-kāryyēshv=a-khēdi nirddōshō=yam pātu dharmmam
chirāya || **Utkīrṇā**⁹ **Gōvindēna** ||

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! Victorious is he, (the god). Pinākin, the lord of (all) the worlds,—in whose songs, hummed with smiles, the splendour of (his) teeth, like the lustre of lightning sparkling in the night, envelops and brings into full view all this

¹ Metre, Sragdharā.

² Metre, Śikhariṇī.

³ Metre, Mandākrāntā.

⁴ Metre, Sragdharā.

⁵ Supply *praiśastih*.

⁶ Metre, Mālīnī; and in the next two verses.

⁷ Metre, Āryā.

⁸ Metre, Mālīnī.

⁹ Metre, Śālinī.

Mandasor Inscription of Yasodharman and Vishnuvardhana.—The Malava Year 589.

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The inscription is a fragment of a larger text, likely a royal decree or a record of a military campaign. It is written in an ancient script, possibly Brahmi or a related form, and is arranged in horizontal lines. The text is heavily eroded and partially obscured by a large, irregular hole in the center of the fragment. The visible portions of the text are arranged in a grid-like fashion, with lines of text separated by small gaps. The fragment is labeled with numbers 2 through 18, indicating the line numbers of the text. The text is written in a dark ink on a light-colored background, and the overall appearance is that of an ancient manuscript or inscription.

universe! May he, (the god) Śambhu, confer many auspicious gifts upon you,—employed by whom in the rites of (*effecting the*) continuance and the destruction and the production of (*all*) things that exist, (the god) Svayambhū, is obedient to (*his*) commands, for the sake of the maintenance of (*all*) the worlds; and by whom, leading (*him*) to dignity in the world, he has been brought to the condition of being the father (*of the universe*)! May the serpent of the creator of existence¹ accomplish the allayment of your distress,—(that serpent) the multitude of whose foreheads, bowed down afar by the pressure of the heavy weight of the jewels in (*their*) hoods, obscures the radiance of the moon (*on his master's forehead*); (*and*) who (*with the folds of his body*) binds securely on (*his master's*) head the chaplet of bones which is full of holes (*for stringing them*)! May the creator of waters,² which was dug out by the sixty thousand sons of Sagara, (*and*) which possesses a lustre equal to (*that of*) the sky, preserve for a long time the glories of this best of wells!

(Line 4.)—Now, victorious is that tribal ruler,³ having the name of the glorious Yaśôdharman,⁴ who, having plunged into the army of (*his*) enemies, as if into a grove of thornapple-trees, (*and*) having bent down the reputations of heroes like the tender creepers of trees, effects the adornment of (*his*) body with the fragments of young sprouts which are the wounds (*inflicted on him*).

(L. 5.)—And, again, victorious over the earth is this same⁵ king of men,⁶ the glorious Vishnuvardhana, the conqueror in war; by whom his own famous lineage, which has the *aulikara*-crest,⁷ has been brought to a state of dignity that is ever higher and

¹ *bhava-srij*.—Originally, Brahman was the creator; Vishnu, the preserver; and Śiva, the destroyer. But of course the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas invested their own special gods with all three attributes. As regards Śiva, we may also refer to line 51 of the Alinā grant of Śilāditya VII. of the year 447, No. 39 below, Plate xxv., where, under the name of Paramēśvara, he is again clearly referred to as the creator. While, as regards Vishnu, in the *Vishnu-Purāṇa*, book I, chap. ii. (Hall's edition of Wilson's Translation, Vol. I, p. 41), he is described as himself becoming Brahman, and so engaging in the creation of the universe.—That *bhava-srij* here denotes Śiva, is shown by the general purport of the preceding two verses, and especially by the mention of the chaplet of bones in this verse. He is always represented with a necklace of skulls, a serpent hanging round his neck, and the crescent moon on his forehead.

² The ocean. The allusion in this verse is to the legend that the bed of the ocean was excavated by the sons of Sagara in their search for their father's *aśvaniēdha*-horse, which was stolen from their custody by the sage Kapila, and was only found by them when they had dug down through the earth into the lower regions. Kapila, in his anger, reduced them to ashes; but subsequently restored the horse on the intercession of Anśumat, the grandson of Sagara. The obsequies, however, of the sons of Sagara remained unperformed, and their transfer to heaven was barred, until Bhagīratha, the grandson of Anśumat, brought the river Ganges down from heaven, and led it over the earth to the chasm made by the sons of Sagara. Flowing down through this, it washed their bones and ashes; by which they were raised to heaven. And, as such of its waters as remained in the chasm constituted the ocean, the latter was called *sāgara* in commemoration of Sagara and his descendants.

³ *janēndra*; see page 151 above, note 2.

⁴ See page 145 above, note 2.

⁵ This expression looks at first sight as if Yaśôdharman and Vishnuvardhana were one and the same person. But the general structure of this verse, as well as the use of the two distinct titles *janēndra* and *narādhipati* and of the expression *ātma-vanśô*, shews that this is not the case. "This same" simply means "this reigning king," in whose time and territory the inscription is written.

⁶ *narādhipati*; see page 151 above, note 3.

⁷ *aulikara-lāñchhana*; see page 151 above, note 4.

higher. By him, having brought into subjection, with peaceful overtures and by war, the very mighty kings of the east and many (*kings*) of the north, this second name of "supreme king of kings¹ and supreme lord,"² pleasing in the world (*but*) difficult of attainment, is carried on high. Through him, having conquered the earth with (*his own*) arm, many countries,—in which the sun is obscured by the smoke, resembling dense dark-blue clouds, of the oblations of the sacrifices; (*and*) which abound with thick and thriving crops through (the god) Maghavan pouring cloudfuls of rain upon (*their*) boundaries; (*and*) in which the ends of the fresh sprouts of the mango-trees in the parks are eagerly plucked in joy by the hands of wanton women,—enjoy the happiness of being possessed of a good king. Through the dust, grey like the hide of an ass,—stirred up by his armies, which have (*their*) banners lifted on high; (*and*) which have the *lôdhra*-trees³ tossed about in all directions by the tusks of (*their*) infuriated elephants; (*and*) which have the crevices of the **Vindhya** mountains made resonant with the noise of (*their*) journeying through the forests,—the orb of the sun appears dark (*and*) dull-rayed, as if it were an eye in a peacock's tail reversed.⁴

(L. 9.)—The servant of the kings who founded the family of that lord, was Shashthidatta,—the fame of whose religious merit was known far and wide through the protection of (*their*) feet; who by his resoluteness conquered the six enemies (*of religion*);⁵ (*and*) who was indeed very excellent. As the torrent, flowing high and low, of (the river) Gaṅgâ (*spreads abroad*) from (the mountain) Himavat, (*and*) the extensive mass of the waters of (the river) Rêvâ from the moon,—(*so*) from him, whose dignity was manifested, there spreads a pure race of Naigamas, most worthy to be sought in fellowship.

(L. 11.)—Of him, from a wife of good family, there was born a son, resembling him (*in good qualities*), the source of fame,—whom, (*being named*) Varâhadâsa, (*and*) being full of self-control (*and*) of great worth, people speak of as if he were an (*incarnate*) portion of (the god) Hari.

(L. 11.)—As if it were the sun (*illuminating*) the mighty summit of a mountain, Ravikîrtti with the wealth of his character illumined that family, which was made eminent by men who combined good actions with worldly occupations; which had its foundations well established in the earth; (*and*) which maintained a very firm position of endurance that was free from (*any risk of*) being broken;—(Ravikîrtti), by whom, sustaining the pure (*and*) undeviating path of traditional law that is acceptable to good people, nobility of birth was not made a thing of false assertion (*even*) in the Kali age. From him, (*his*) chaste wife Bhânuguptâ gave birth to three sons, who dispelled the darkness (*of ignorance*) with the rays of (*their*) intellects,—as if (*she had produced three*) sacrifices from a fire.

(L. 13.)—The first was Bhagavaddôsha, the prop of his relatives in the paths of religious actions, just as Uddhava (*was*) of the Andhakas,—who was a very Vêdhas in displaying much prudence in the hard-to-be-traversed path of the meaning (*of words*); who, like Vidura,⁶ always looked far ahead with deliberation; (*and*) who is with great

¹ *Rājādhirāja*; see page 35 above, note 7.

² *Paramēśvara*; see page 10 above, note 3.

³ *lôdhra*, also *rôdhra*; the tree *Symplocos Racemosa*.

⁴ i.e. "looked at from the wrong side of the feathers."

⁵ The *ari-shatka* or *ari-shad-varṅga*, 'the aggregate of six hostile things,' viz. desire, wrath, covetousness, bewilderment, pride, and envy, which impede the practice of religion.

⁶ An epic hero, the younger brother of Dhṛitarâshṭra and Pāṇdu, described as the wisest of all prudent and sagacious people.

pleasure sung of by poets, in Sanskrit and Prākṛit construction of the arrangement of sentences, as being well versed in speech.

(L. 15).—And after him there came that (*well-known*) Abhayadatta, maintaining a high position on the earth, (*and*) collecting (*in order to dispel it*) the fear of (*his*) subjects (?);—by whose eye of intellect, which served him like the eyes of a spy, no trifle, however remote, remained undetected, (*even*) at night ;—(Abhayadatta), of fruitful actions, who like (Bṛihaspati) the preceptor of the gods, to the advantage of those who belonged to the (*four recognised*) castes, with the functions of a *Rājasthānīya*¹ protected the region, containing many countries presided over by his own upright counsellors, which lies between the **Vindhya** (mountains), from the slopes of the summits of which there flows the pale mass of the waters of (the river) **Rêvâ**, and the mountain **Pâriyâtra**, on which the trees are bent down in (*their*) frolicsome leaps by the long-tailed monkeys, (*and stretches*) up to the (*western*) **Ocean**.

(L. 17).—Now he, Dharmadôsha, the son of Dôshakumbha,—by whom this kingdom has been made, as if (*it were still*) in the Kṛita-age, free from any intermixture of all the castes, (*and peaceable through*) having hostilities allayed, (*and*) undisturbed by care,—in accordance with justice proudly supports the burden (*of government*) that had (*previously*) been borne by him ;²—(Dharmadôsha), who,—not being too eager about his own comfort, (*and*) bearing, for the sake of his lord, in the difficult path (*of administration*), the burden (*of government*), very heavily weighted and not shared by another,—wears royal apparel only as mark of distinction (*and not for his own pleasure*), just as a bull³ carries a wrinkled pendulous dew-lap.

(L. 19).—His younger brother, **Daksha**,—invested with the decoration of the protection of friends, as if he were (*his*) broad-shouldered (*right*) arm (*decorated*) with choice jewels ; (*and*) bearing the name of “the faultless one,” which causes great joy to the ear and heart,—caused to be excavated this great well. This great (*and*) skilful work was achieved here by him, who is of great intellect, for the sake of his paternal uncle, the beloved Abhayadatta, who was cut off (*before his time*) by the mighty (god) Kṛitānta, just as if he were a tree, the shade of which is pleasant to resort to (*and*) which yields fruits that are salutary and sweet through ripeness, (*wantonly*) destroyed by a lordly elephant.

¹ *Rājasthānīya*, lit. ‘one who belongs to a *Rājasthāna* or king’s abode;’ or perhaps ‘one who occupies the position of a *Rāja*,’ is a technical official title, the exact grade of which remains to be determined. The explanation of the word in Kshēmendra’s *Lōkaprakāśa*, iv., as given by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 207) is *prajā-pālan-ārtham=udvahati rakshayati cha sa rājasthānīyaḥ*, “he who carries out the object of protecting subjects, and shelters them, is called a *Rājasthānīya*, i.e. ‘a viceroy.’” But, though ‘viceroy’ is a fair enough rendering of the word on etymological grounds, it seems to be in reality too exalted a title to be a suitable equivalent. In line 21 of the Māliyā grant of the *Mahārāja* Dharasēna II. of the year 252, No. 38 below, Plate xxiv., and in line 9 of the Dêḍ-*Baraṇārka* inscription of Jīvitagupta II., No. 46 below, Plate xxixB. (where Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji proposed to render it by ‘political agent, or regent’), the *Rājasthānīya* is mentioned rather low down in the list of officials ; so also in line 33 of the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 306), and in the passage in connection with which it was explained by Dr. Bühler.

² i.e. Abhayadatta.—Dôshakumbha, the father of Dharmadôsha, must be the younger brother of Abhayadatta, and the third and youngest of the sons of Ravikīrti and Bhānuguptā.

³ *śḍhulēya*; this meaning is not given in Monier Williams’ Sanskrit Dictionary ; and I owe it, and the explanation of one or two other passages in this inscription, to Pandit Durga Prasad, of Jaypur.

(L. 21.)—Five hundred autumns, together with ninety less by one, having elapsed from (*the establishment of*) the supremacy¹ of the tribal constitution of the **Mâlavas**, (*and*) being written down in order to determine the (*present*) time ;—in the season² in which the songs, resembling the arrows of (the god) Smara, of the cuckoos, whose utterances are low and tender, cleave open, as it were, the minds of those who are far away from home ; and in which the humming of the flights of bees, sounding low on account of the burden (*that they carry*), is heard through the woods, like the resounding bow of (the god Kâmadêva) who has the banner of flowers, when its string is caused to vibrate ;—in the season in which there is the month of the coming on of flowers, when the wind, soothing the affectionate (*but*) perverted thoughts of disdainful women who are angry with their lovers, as if they were charming fresh sprouts arrayed in colours, devotes itself to breaking down (*their*) pride,—in that season this (*well*) was caused to be constructed.

(L. 24.)—As long as the ocean, embracing with (*its*) lofty waves, as if with long arms, the orb of the moon, which has its full assemblage of rays (*and is more*) lovely (*than ever*) from contact (*with the waters*), maintains friendship (*with it*),—so long let this excellent well endure, possessing a surrounding enclosure of lines at the edge of the masonry-work, as if it were a garland worn round a shaven head, (*and*) discharging pure waters the flavour of which is equal to nectar !

(L. 25.)—May this intelligent **Daksha** for a long time protect this act of piety,—(*he who is*) skilful, true to (*his*) promises, modest, brave, attentive to old people, grateful, full of energy, unwearied in the business-matters of (*his*) lord, (*and*) faultless. ! (*This eulogy*) has been engraved by Gôvinda.

No. 36; PLATE XXIII.

ERAN STONE BOAR INSCRIPTION OF TORAMANA.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1838 by Captain T. S. Burt, of the Engineers, and was first brought to notice in the same year, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 631 ff., where Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it,³ accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxx.), reduced from an ink-impression made by Captain Burt.—And in 1861, in the same Journal, Vol. XXX. p. 20 ff., Dr. FitzEdward Hall published his revised reading of the text, from the original pillar, and a translation of it.

This is another inscription from **Ēran**⁴ in the Khurâi Sub-Division of the Sâgar District in the Central Provinces. It is on the chest of a colossal red-sandstone statue of a Boar, about eleven feet high, representing the god Vishṇu in his incarnation as such, that stands, facing east, in the portico of a ruined temple at the south end of the well-known group of temples about half a mile to the west of the village.⁵

The Boar is covered all over with elaborate sculptures, chiefly of Ṛishis or saints

¹ *vaśāt* ; but it is very difficult to find a really satisfactory meaning for this word in this passage.

² *i.e.* the spring.

³ The translation is reprinted in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol I. p. 249 f.

⁴ See page 18 above, and note 1.

⁵ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. page 82 ff., and Plates xxv. and xxvi.

clinging to its mane and bristles.¹ It has the earth, represented as a woman, hanging on, in accordance with the legend, to its right-hand tusk; and over its shoulders there is a small four-sided shrine, with a sitting figure in each face of it. There are several very serious cracks in the Boar; one of which, right through the centre of it from front to back, shews in the lithograph published herewith. The surface on which the inscription is, is slightly concave.—The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 9" broad by 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high, has in one or two places suffered a good deal from the weather; but, except where a few letters have been entirely destroyed through the stone breaking away at the edges of the crack mentioned above, it can be read with certainty throughout. The bottom line is about 6' 0" above the level of the ground.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are very similar in type to those of the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, No. 19 above, Plate xiiA. The two methods of forming the letter *r*, in combination with a following consonant, are illustrated, on the one hand, by *pariyanta*, line 5. and, on the other, by *ghûrṇṇita*, line 1, *pûrvvâyām*, line 3, and *artha*, line 7.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse as far as the end of the date in line 3, and the rest in prose.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of *k*, *t*, and *dh*, in conjunction with a following *r*; e.g. in *kkriyēṇa*, line 6; *maittrāyaṇīya*, line 3; *pauttrasya*, line 4; (but not in *bhrātrā*, line 6); and *mahīddhrah*, line 1.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Tōramāṇa. It is dated, in words, in the first year of his reign, without any reference to an era; and on the tenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Phālguna (February-March). It is a Vaishṇava inscription. And the object of it is to record the building of the temple, in which the Boar stands, by Dhanyavishṇu, the younger brother of the deceased Mahārāja Mātrivishṇu.

The mention of Mātrivishṇu in this inscription as deceased, is of importance, as shewing that Tōramāṇa comes, so far as his possession of Eastern Mālwa is concerned, shortly after Budhagupta, in whose time Mātrivishṇu, then alive, in conjunction with Dhanyavishṇu set up the column that bears Budhagupta's inscription of the year 165, No. 19 above, page 88.

TEXT.²

1. Ōṇ [11*] Jayati³ dharany-uddharaṇē ghana-ghōṇ-āghāta-ghûrṇṇita-mahīddhrah
dêvô varāha-mûrttis=trailôkya-mahā-griha-stambhaḥ [11*] Varshē⁴ prathamē
prithivīm
2. prithu-kīrttau prithu-dyutau mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Tōramāṇē praśāsati 1(11)
Phālguna-divasē⁵ daśamē 1 ity=ēvaṁ rājyavarsha-māsa-dinaih [1*] ētasyām
3. pûrvvâyām 1 sva-lakṣhaṇair=yukta-pûrvvâyām⁶ 1(11) Sva-karmm-ābhiratasya
kratu-yâjinô=dhīta-svādhyâyasya vipr-arshêr=Mmaittrāyaṇīya-vṛishabhasy=
Ēndravishṇôḥ prapauttrasya 1

¹ I noticed a similar boar, almost entirely buried, by the roadside, about half way between Sāñchi and Udayagiri; but I had no means of raising it to ascertain whether there is any inscription on it.

² From the original stone.

³ Metre, Āryā.

⁴ This sentence is in prose, though it commences like a verse in the Āryā metre.

⁵ Metre, Āryā.

⁶ Supply *tithau*

- 4 pitur=guṇ-ānukāriṇō Varuṇaviṣṇōḥ pauttrasya pitaram=anu-jātasya
 sva-vaniṣa-vṛiddhi-hētōr=Harivishṇōḥ puttrasy=ātyanta-bhagavad-bhaktasya
 Vidhātur=ichchhaya¹
- 5 svayanivaray=ēva rāja-lakshmy=ādhighatasya chatuḥ-samudra-paryanta-prathita-
 yaśasaḥ akṣhīṇa-māna-dhanasy=ānēka-śatru-samara-jishṇōḥ mahār[ā*]ja-
 Mātṛivishṇōḥ
- 6 svar-ggatasya bhrātr=ānujēna I tad-anuvīdhāyina tat-prasāda-parigrihitēna²
 Dhanyaviṣṇunā tēn=aiva [sa]h=āvidhaktā-puṇya-kkriyēṇa mātāpitṛōḥ
- 7 puṇy-āpyāyan-ārtham=ēsha bhagavatō varāha-mūrttēr=jagat-parāyaṇasya
 Nārāyaṇasya śilā³-prās[ādaḥ] sva-viśay[ē]=sminn=Airikinē kāritaḥ I(II)
- 8 Svasty=astu gō-brāhmaṇa-purōgābhyah sarva-prajābhyah Iiti II

TRANSLATION.

Om! Victorious is the god (Viṣṇu), who has the form of a Boar,⁴—who, in the act of lifting up the earth (*cut of the waters*), caused the mountains to tremble with the blows of (*his*) hard snout; (*and*) who is the pillar (*for the support*) of the great house which is the three worlds!⁵

(Line 1.)—In the first year; while the *Mahārāja Mahārāja*, the glorious Tōramāṇa, of great fame (*and*) of great lustre, is governing the earth;—

(L. 2.)—On the tenth day of (the month) Phālguna;—on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the regnal year and month and day, (*and*) invested as above with its own characteristics;—

(L. 3.)—By Dhanyaviṣṇu,—the younger brother, obedient to him (*and*) accepted with favour by him, of the *Mahārāja Mātṛivishṇu*, who has gone to heaven; who was excessively devoted to the Divine One: who, by the will of (the god) Vidhātri, was approached (*in marriage-cerice*) by the goddess of sovereignty, as if by a maiden choosing (*him*) of her own accord (*to be her husband*); whose fame extended up to the borders of the four oceans; who was possessed of unimpaired honour and wealth; (*and*) who was victorious in battle against many enemies:—who was the son of the son's son of Indravishṇu, who was attentive to his duties, who celebrated sacrifices; who practised private study (*of the scriptures*); who was a Brāhmaṇa saint; (*and*) who was the most excellent (*of the followers*) of the Maitrāyaṇiya (*Śikhi*);—who was the son's son of Varuṇaviṣṇu, who imitated the virtuous qualities of (*his*) father:—(*and*) who was the son of Harivishṇu, who was the counterpart of (*his*) father in meritorious qualities,⁶ (*and*) was the cause of the advancement of his race;—

¹ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

² This word is followed by a cross-mark, which indicates that *tēn=aiva* [sa]h=āvidhaktā-puṇya-kkriyēṇa should have stood here, before *ānujēna*.

³ Prinsep read *śilā-prās*=*śilā*; and Hall, *śilā-prās*=*śilā*. They were led into this by the engraver having run the right stroke of the *l* in *śilā* too high up, probably through his tool slipping.

⁴ The allusion is to his incarnation as a boar, when he plunged into the great ocean and rescued the earth, which had been carried off and hidden there by the demon Hiraprakṣa.

⁵ Compare the similar invocation of Śiva in Śaiva inscriptions, as "the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city which is the three worlds;" e.g. in line 1 f. of the Aihole inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1091 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 97)

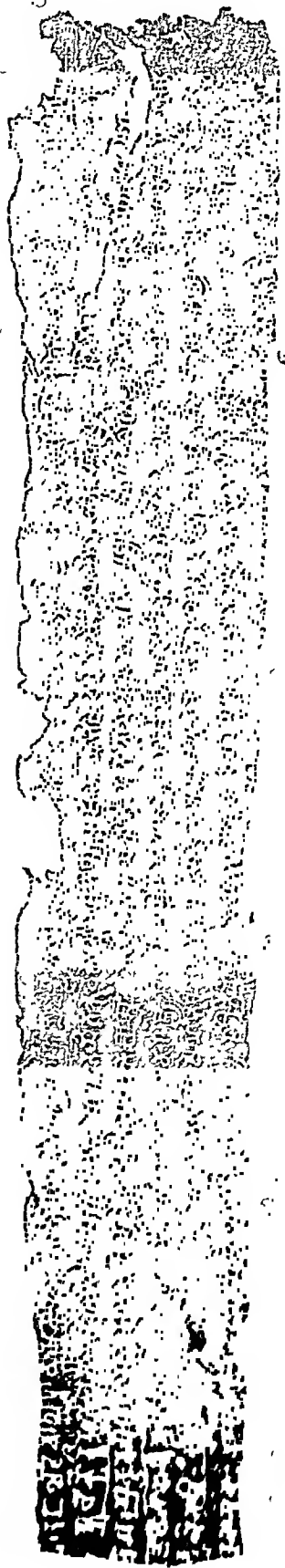
⁶ *pitarān*=*sva-śilā*; see page 90 above, note 3.

A.—Eran Boar Inscription of Toramān.



SCALE .30

B.—Gwalior Inscription of Mihirakula.



(L. 6.)—(By this **Dhanyavishṇu**), accomplishing, in unison with (*the previously expressed wishes of*) him,¹ a joint deed of religious merit, for the sake of increasing the religious merit of (*his*) parents, this stone temple of the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa, who has the form of a Boar (*and*) who is entirely devoted to (*the welfare of*) the universe, has been caused to be made in this his own *vishaya* of Airikīṇa.

(L. 8.)—Let prosperity attend all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Brāhman̄s!

No. 37; PLATE XXIII B.

GWALIOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF MIHIRAKULA.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice in 1861, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 267 ff., where Dr. Rajendralala Mitra published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from an ink-impression taken by General Cunningham, of which, in the following year,—as an accompaniment to Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's paper on "Vestiges of the kings of Gwālior," in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 391 ff.,—a reduced lithograph was published (*id.* Plate i. No. 1).

The inscription is on a broken red-sandstone slab, now measuring about 2' 8½" broad by 5½" high, that was found built into the wall in the porch of a temple of the sun in the fortress at Gwālior² (properly Gwālhēr), the capital of the dominions of Scindia in Central India; it is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta. When the stone was first found, two or three letters had already been broken away and lost at the beginning of each line; and, since then, it has suffered a still more serious injury, in part of line 7, and the whole of lines 8 and 9, being cut away and destroyed in trimming the stone and fixing it, I suppose, in some other building, after the time when it was first found and before its rescue and transfer to the Museum.

The **writing**, which covers the entire face of the stone, except for a margin of about an inch at the top and on the right side, is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout.—The average **size** of the letters is about ⅜". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, though differing a little in actual execution, are of the same type with those of the preceding inscription of Tōramāṇa. The two methods of forming *ṛ*, in combination with a following consonant, are illustrated, on the one hand, by *śauryaḍ*, line 3, and, on the other, by *chākṛō=ṛtti-harttā*, line 2, and *abhivarddhamaṇa*, line 4.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, all that calls for special notice is the use of the *upadhmāniya* once, in *aṁsubhiḥ=paṁkajāṇḍam*, line 2.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of **Mihirakula**. It is dated, in words, in the fifteenth year of his reign, without any reference to an era; and in the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November), but without any specification of the day of the fortnight or month. It is an inscription of solar worship. And the object of it is to

¹ *i.e.* the deceased Mātrivishṇu.

² The 'Gwalior' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 51. Lat. 26° 13' N.; Long. 78° 12' E.—For the ancient names of the place, see the next note.

adorned by the feet of the nymphs of heaven; and as long as (the god) Viṣṇu bears the radiant (goddess) Śrī upon (*his*) breast which is like a dark-blue cloud;—so long (*this*) chief of [stone]-temples shall stand upon the delightful summit of the hill!

No. 38; PLATE XXIV.

MALIYA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA DHARASENA II.

THE YEAR 252.

THIS inscription,¹ which was originally brought to notice by me in 1884, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 160 ff., is from some copper-plates that were found at Māliyā,² the chief town of the Māliyā Mahāl or Sub-Division of the Junāgaḍh State in the Kāthiāwāḍ Peninsula in the Bombay Presidency. The original plates are, I understand, in the possession of the Junāgaḍh Darbār. I obtained them, for examination, through the kindness of the Diwān, Mr. Haridas Viharidas.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, each measuring about $11\frac{3}{4}$ " by $7\frac{3}{4}$ ". The edges of them were raised into rims, to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of almost perfect preservation throughout. The plates are of fair thickness; but the letters are deep, and shew through very distinctly on the backs of them. The engraving is well executed; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—The plates are connected by two rings, passing through holes in the lower part of the first plate, and the upper part of the second. Both of the rings had already been cut, when the grant came under my notice. One of them is a plain copper ring, roughly circular in shape, about $\frac{5}{16}$ " thick and $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The other is of the same thickness, but of an irregular oval shape, as is customary with the rings of the Valabhi seals. The ends of it are secured in a seal, the front of which is roughly oval, about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " by $2\frac{1}{8}$ ", and which has, in relief on a countersunk surface, at the top, a bull, recumbent to the proper right, the usual emblem on the Valabhi seals; and below it, separated by two horizontal lines, the legend *Śrī-Bhāṣārka*, for *Śrī-Bhāṣārka*, i.e. "the illustrious Bhāṣārka."—The weight of the two plates is 3 lbs. 1 oz., and of the two rings and the seal, $12\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; total, 3 lbs. $13\frac{1}{2}$ oz.—The size of the letters varies from $\frac{3}{8}$ " to $\frac{5}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; but they include, e.g. in *śrī*, line 3, *śrī*, line 10, and *śrī*, line 24, a separate form of the lingual *ś*, as distinct from the dental *ś*, borrowed from the northern alphabet. They furnish a very good specimen of

¹ The inscriptions of this family that have already been discovered, are too numerous to be all included in the present volume: and they will, it is hoped, be some day disposed of by themselves in a separate collection. Meanwhile, the family is concerned so closely in the history of the period with which the present volume deals, that my book would be incomplete without a specimen or two of the Valabhi grants, as an accompaniment to the necessary historical chapter. I therefore give two of the inscriptions of this family; the present one, to illustrate the standard form according to which most of the earlier charters were drafted; and the next, partly as an illustration of the form of the later charters, and partly because it is the latest inscription of the family at present known of, and introduces the well-known and important name of Dharmabhatta or Dharmabhatta, as a title of Śīlāditya VII.

² The 'Māliya and Malliya' of maps, &c.: about twenty-three miles south by west of Junāgaḍh. It is also called 'Māliya-Malliya' to distinguish it from another Māliya, called 'Māliya-Malliya,' in the north of Kāthiāwāḍ.

what may be called the Saurāshṭra or Kāthiāwāḍ alphabet of the sixth century A.D. They include, in line 36, forms of the numerical symbols for 2, 5, 10, 50, and 200.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 33 to 35, the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the *upadhmanīya*, once, in *pādāvarttāḥ=pañchadaśa*, line 23; and (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before ś, once, in *aśṭāviṃśati*, line 25.

The inscription is one of the *Mahārāja Dharasēna II.*, of the family of the Kings of Valabhī; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city of Valabhī, the modern Walā,¹ the chief town of the Walā State in the Gōhilwāḍ Prānt or Division of Kāthiāwāḍ. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year two hundred and fifty-two (A.D. 571-72); and the fifteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Vaiśākha (April-May). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by the *Mahārāja Dharasēna II.*, to a Brāhmaṇ, for the maintenance of the five great sacrificial rites, of some lands at the villages of Antaratrā, Dombhigrāma, and Vajragrāma.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm Svasti Valabhītaḥ prasabha-praṇat-āmitrāṇām Maitrakāṇām-atula-bala-sa[m*]panna-maṇḍalābhōga-saṃsakta-saṃprahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpaḥ
- 2 pratāp-ōpanatā-dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārjhit-ānurāg-ānurakta-maulabhṛita-mitra-śrēṇi-bal-āvāpta-rājya-śrīḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-sēnāpati-
- 3 Bhatārkkah [II*] Tasya sutas=tat-pāda-rajō-ruṇ-āvanata-pavitrikṛita-śirāḥ śirō-vanata-śatru-chūdāmaṇi-prabhā-vichchhurita-pāda-nakha-paṅkti-didhītir=ddi-
- 4 n-ānātha-kṛipaṇa-jan-ōpajivyamāna-vibhavaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-sēnāpati-Dharasēnas=Tasy=ānujas=tat-pāda-praṇāma-praśastatara-vimala-
- 5 maṇir³=Mmanv-ādi-praṇīta-vidhi-vidhāna-dharmma Dharmmarāja iva vihita-vinaya - vyavasthā - paddhatir = akhila - bhuvana - maṇḍal - ābhōg - aika - svāminā parama-svāminā
- 6 svayam=upahita-rājya-ābhishēkah mahā-viśrāṇan-āvapūta-rājya-śrīḥ parama-māhēśvarō mahārāja-Drōṇasimhaḥ simha iva [II*] Tasy=ānujaḥ sva-bhuja-
- 7 bala-parākramēṇa para-gaja-ghaṭ-ānikāṇām=ēka-vijayī śaraṇ-aishīṇām śaraṇam=avavōbdhā⁴ śāstr-ārtha-tatvānām kalpatarur=iva suhṛit-pra-
- 8 ṇayinām yathābhilashita-kāma-phal-ōpabhōga-daḥ paramabhāgavataḥ śrī-mahārāja-Dhruvasēnas=Tasy=ānujas=tach-charaṇāravinda-praṇati-pra-
- 9 vidhaut-āśēsha-kalmashaḥ suviśuddha-bhya(sva)-charit-ōdaka-prakshālita-sakala-Kali-kalaṅkaḥ prasabha-nirjhit-ārāti-paksha-prathita-mahima
- 10 paramādityabhaktaḥ śrī-mahārāja-Dharapattas=Tasy=ātmajas=tat-pāda-saparyy-āvāpta-puṇy-ōdaya[h*] śaiśavāt=prabhṛiti khadga-dvitiya-bāhur=ē-

¹ The 'Vala, Wala, Walēm, and Wulleh,' of maps, &c.; eighteen miles west by north from Bhāwnagar. Lat. 21° 52' N.; Long. 71° 57' E.

² From the original plates.

³ The Jhar grant of the same *Mahārāja* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 187 f.), drawn up from the same standard draft, gives here the fuller and better reading of *praśastatara-vimala-mauli-maṇir*.

⁴ Read *quabōddhā*.

- 11 va samada-para-gaja-ghaṭ-āsphōṭana-prakāśita-sat[t*]va-nikashah tat¹-prabhāva-
pranāt-ārāti-chūdāratna-prabhā-saṁsakta-sakhya(vya)-pā-
12 da-nakha-raśmi-saṁhati[h*] sakala-smṛiti-praṇīta-mārgga-samyak-paripālana-prajā-
hṛidaya-rañjanād=anvartha-rāja-śabdō rūpa-kānti-sthairyya-
13 gāmbhīryya-buddhi-saṁpadbhiḥ Smara-śaśāṅk-ārdri(dri)rāj-ōdadhi-tridaśaguru-
Dhanē[śā*]n=atiśayānā(nō)=bhaya-pradāna²-paratayā tṛiṇa-va-
14 vad=apāst-[ā*]śēsha-sva-kāryya-phalaḥ pādachār=īva sakala-bhuvanamaṇḍal-
ābhōga-pramōdaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-mahārā-
15 ja-Guhasēnaḥ [ii*] Tasya sutas=tat-pāda-nakha-mayūkha-saṁtāna-nirvṛitta-
Jāhnavī-jal-ō(au)gha-vikshālīt-āśēsha-kalmashaḥ praṇayi-śata-
16 sahasr-ōpajīvyā-bhōga-saṁpat rūpa-lōbhād=iv=āśrī(śrī)tas=sa-rasam=ābhigāmikair=
guṇai[h*] sahaja-śakti-śikṣhā-viśēsha-vismā-
17 pit-ākhila-dhanurdharaḥ prathama-narapati-samatisṛiṣṭānām=anupālayitā
dharmmya(rmma)-dāyānam=apākarttā
18 praj-ōpaghāta-kāriṇām=upaplavānām darśayitā śrī-sarasvatyōr=ēk-ādhivāsasya
saṁhat-ārāti-

Second Plate.

- 19 paksha-lakshmī-parikshōbha³-daksha-vikramaḥ kram-ōpasamprāpta-vimala-
pārthiva-śrīḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ mahārāja-
20 śrī(śrī)-Dharasēnaḥ kuśalī sarvān=ēv=āyuktaka-viniyuktaka-drāṅgika-
mahattara-chāṭa-bhaṭa-dhruvādhikaraṇika-dāṇḍapāśika-
21 rājasthānīya-kumārāmāty-ādīn=anyāmś=cha yathā-sambadhyamānakān samā-
jñāpayaty=Astu vaḥ saṁviditam yathā mayā mātā-
22 pitrōh⁴ puṇy-āpyāyanāy=ātmanaś=ch=aiḥik-āmushmika-yathābhilashita-phal-āvāptayē
Antaratrayām Śivaka-padrakē Vīrasēna-
23 dantika-pratyaya-pādāvarṭta-śataṁ ētasmād=aparataḥ pādāvarṭtāḥ=pañchadaśa
tathā apara-sīmni Skambhasēna-pratyaya-pādāvarṭta-śataṁ vimś-ādhikam⁵
24 pūrvva-sīmni pādāvarṭtā daśa Dombhigrāmē pūrvva-sīmni Varddhaki-
pratyaya-pādāvarṭtā navati[h*] Vajragrāmē=para-sīmni grāma-śikṣhara-
pādāvarṭta-śataṁ
25 Vi(?)ki(?)⁶dinna-mahattara-pratyayā asṭāviṁśati-pādāvarṭta-parisarā vāpī I
Bhumbhusa-padrakē kuṭumvi(mbi)-Bōṭaka-pratyayā(ya)-pādāvarṭta-śataṁ
26 vāpī cha I ētat=s-ōdraṅgam s-ōparikaram sa-vāta-bhūta-dhānyā-hiraṇy-
ādēyam s-ōtpadyamāna-visṭī(shṭi)kam samasta-rājakiyānām=a-
27 hasta-prakshēpaṇīyam bhūmichchhidra-nyāyēna Unnataniṁvāsī(si)-Vāja-
sanēyi(yi)Kaṇva-Vatsasagōtra-brāhmaṇa-Rudrabhūtayē bali-charu-vaiśva-

¹ This *t* was at first omitted, and was then inserted rather above its proper position.

² The Jhar grant, mentioned above, gives here the better reading of *atiśayānāḥ śaraṇāgat-abhaaya-pradāna*; so also in No. 39 below, Plate xxv. line 5.

³ The Jhar grant gives here the better reading of *paribhōga*; so also in No. 39 below, line 10.

⁴ This *visarga* was forced rather low down by the size of the *sthā* above it.

⁵ These ten *aksharas* are engraved over something else that had been previously engraved.

⁶ The vowels of these two *aksharas* are quite distinct; but the consonants are very doubtful. There seems to be some fault in the copper here, which prevented the engraver from forming these two *aksharas* properly, and induced him then to leave a blank space before *vāpī*, at the beginning of the next line.

- 28 dēv-āgnihōtr-āti¹hi-pañchamanāyājñikānām kriyānām samutsarppaṇ-ārttham=
ā-cnandr-ārkk-ārṇava-sarit-kshiti-sthiti-samakālinām putra-pau-
- 29 tr-ānvaya-bhōgyam udaka-sarggēṇa nisrīṣṭam [1*] Yātō=sy=ōchitayā
brahmadēya-sthityā bhūmijataḥ kṛishataḥ karshayataḥ pradīśato vā
- 30 na kaiśchit=pratishēdhē varttitavyam [1*] [Ā*]gāmi-bhadra-nṛipatibhiś=ch=
āsmad-vamśa-jair=a-nityāny=aiśvaryyāny=a-sthiram mānushyam sāmānyam
cha bhūmi-
- 31 dāna-phalam=avagachchhadbhīr=ayam=asmad-dāyō=numantavyaḥ paripālayitavyaś=
cha [1*] Yaś=ch=ainam=āchchhimdyād=āchchhidyamānam v=ānu-
- 32 mōdēta sa pāñchabhīr=mmahāpātakai[h*] II¹ s-ōpapātakai[h*] II² sa[m*]-
yuktas=syād=ity=Uktam cha bhagavatā vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna II(1)
- 33 Shashṭim³ varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē tishṭhati bhūmi-dah āchchhētā
ch=ānumantā cha I⁴ tāny=ēva narakē vasēt II Pūrvva-dattam
- 34 dvijātibhyō yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira II(1) mahī[m*] mahimatām
śrēṣṭha II⁵ dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam II Bahubhīr=vvasudhā bhuktā
- 35 rājabhīś=Sagar-ādibhiḥ II(1) yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ tasya tasya tadā
phalam=itih⁶ I(II) Likhitam⁷ s[ā*]ndhivigrahika-Skandabhaṭēna II
- 36 Sva-hastō mama mahārāja-śrī-Dharasēnasya II Dū⁸ Chirbbira[h*] II Sam
200 50 2 Vaiśākha ba 10 5 [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From (the city of) Valabhi:⁹—(There was) the illustrious *Sēnāpati*¹⁰ Bhaṭārka, a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara,—who was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought with the large armies, possessed of unequalled strength, of the Maitrakas, who had by force bowed down (their) enemies;¹¹ (and) who

¹ and ² In each case, the engraver seems to have formed the mark of punctuation by mistake for a *visarga*.

³ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following two verses

⁴ and ⁵ In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁶ Read *itī*.

⁷ Supply *śāsanam*.

⁸ i.e. *dūtakaḥ*.

⁹ The proper context is "the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Dharasēna, being in good health, issues a command," &c., in line 19 ff. The intervening genealogy is by way of a parenthesis.

¹⁰ *Sēnāpati*, *lit.* 'lord or chief of the army; a general,' is a technical military title.—The next grade above this was that of the *Mahāsēnāpati*, whose title occurs, for instance, in line 1 of the Bijayagaḍh inscription of the Yaudhēyas, No. 58 below, Plate xxxviB.

¹¹ The correct interpretation of this important passage was first conclusively pointed out by Professor Kielhorn, in re-editing the Walā grant of Śīlāditya I. of the year 286 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 328 f.). Dr. Bhau Daji, however, evidently had an idea as to the proper meaning; since he wrote (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. p. 244 f.)—"A sentence in the copper-plate, which has hitherto not been translated correctly, shows that they" (the rulers of Valabhi) "triumphed over a sun-worshipping people (Maitrakas)." Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's translation (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 14) was—" (Bhaṭārka), who obtained greatness by a hundred wounds received in the midst of a circle of friends of matchless might, who with main force had subjugated their enemies." Dr. Bühler's (*id.* Vol. IV. p. 106) was—"Bhaṭārka, who obtained an empire through the matchless power of his friends that humbled his enemies by main force;—who gained glory in a hundred battles fought at close quarters." Mr. V. N. Mandlik, following Dr. Bhau Daji, translated (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 346)—" (Bhaṭārka), who had achieved success in hundreds of battles occurring in the

acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (*his*) hereditary servants and friends, who had been brought under subjection by (*his*) splendour, and had been acquired by gifts and honourable treatment and straightforwardness, and were attached (*to him*) by affection.

(Line 3.)—His son, whose head was purified by being bowed down in the red dust of his feet, (*was*) the illustrious *Sēnāpati Dharasēna* (I.), a most devout worshipper of (the god) *Maheśvara*,—the rays of the lines of the nails of whose feet diffused themselves among the lustre of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of (*his*) enemies when they bowed down with (*their*) heads (*before him*); (*and*) whose wealth was the sustenance of the poor, the helpless, and the feeble.

(L. 4.)—His younger brother, whose spotless jewel [in the lock of hair on the top of (*his*) head*] was made more lustrous (*than before*) by the performance of obeisance to (*his*) feet, (*was*) the *Mahārāja Drōṇasīmha*, like unto a lion, a most devout worshipper of (the god) *Maheśvara*,—who had as (*his*) law the rules and ordinances instituted by Manu and other (*sages*); who, like (Yudhishṭhira) the king of justice, adhered to the path of the maintenance of good behaviour; whose installation in the royalty by besprinkling was performed by the paramount master in person, the sole lord of the circumference of the territory of the whole earth; (*and*) the glory of whose royalty was purified by (*his*) great liberality.

(L. 6.)—His younger brother (*was*) the illustrious *Mahārāja Dhruvasēna* (I.), a most devout worshipper of the Divine One,—who was victorious, by himself alone, through the prowess of his own arm, over the troops of the array of the elephants of (*his*) enemies; who was the asylum of those who sought for protection; who was the teacher of the real meaning of the sacred writings; (*and*) who, like the *kalpa*-tree,¹ granted the enjoyment of fruits which were the desires, in accordance with (*their*) wishes, of (*his*) friends and favourites.

(L. 8.)—His younger brother, whose sins were all washed away by doing obeisance to the waterlilies that were his feet, (*was*) the illustrious *Mahārāja Dharapatta*, a most devout worshipper of the Sun,—by the water of whose very pure actions all the stains of the Kali age were washed away; (*and*) who forcibly conquered the renowned greatness of the ranks of (*his*) enemies.

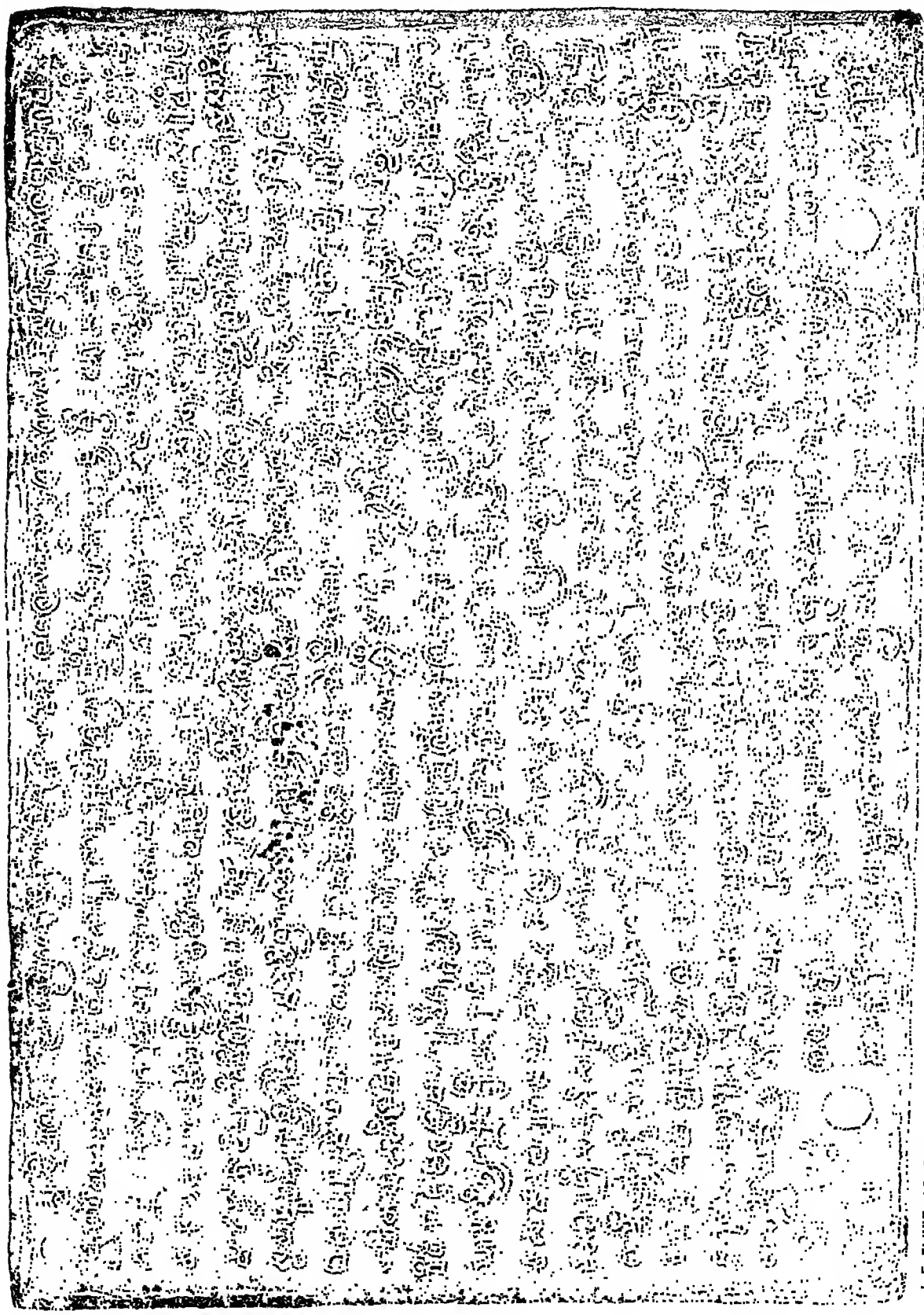
(L. 10.)—His son, who acquired an increase of religious merit by doing service to his feet, was the illustrious *Mahārāja Guhasēna*, a most devout worshipper of (the god) *Maheśvara*,—whose sword was verily a second arm (*to him*) from childhood;² the test of whose strength was manifested by clapping (*his*) hands on the temples of the rutting elephants of (*his*) foes; who had the collection of the rays of the nails of (*his*) left foot interspersed with the lustre of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of (*his*) enemies who were made to bow down by his prowess; whose title of 'king' was obvious and suit-

wide extent of territories of Maitrakas, who were endowed with incomparable courage, and who had forcibly reduced their enemies to submission." My own original translation (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 303) was—" (In the lineage) of the Maitrakas, who by force compelled their enemies to bow down before them, there was Bhatārka, who was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought within the circuit of the territories that he had obtained by means of his unequalled strength."

¹ *kalpa*-tree; one of the trees in Indra's paradise, which granted all desires.

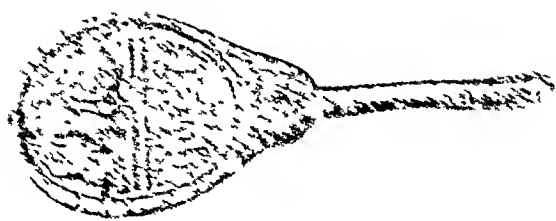
² Or, perhaps, "who even from childhood carried a sword with his second arm;" *i.e.* "who could wield a sword with both arms at the same time."

Maliya Grant of the Ma'ajaja Dharasena II.—The Year 252.



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a manuscript. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. The script is dense and flowing, with many ligatures and flourishes. The ink is dark, and the paper appears aged and slightly discolored. The text is written in a style characteristic of the 16th or 17th century.



able, because he pleased the hearts of (*his*) subjects by properly preserving the path prescribed by all the traditional laws; who in beauty, lustre, stability, profundity, wisdom, and wealth, surpassed (*respectively*) (the god) Smara, the moon, (Himālaya) the king of mountains, the ocean, (Bṛhaspati) the preceptor of the gods, and (the god) Dhanēśa; who, through being intent upon giving freedom from fear [to those who came for protection*], was indifferent to all the (*other*) results of his actions, as if they were (*of as little value as*) straw; (*and*) who was, as it were, the personified¹ happiness of the circumference of the whole earth.

(L. 15.)—His son, whose sins have been all washed away by the torrent of the waters of (the river) Jāhnavī that was constituted by the diffusion of the rays of the nails of his feet,—whose wealth and riches are the sustenance of a hundred thousand favourites; who is with appreciation, as if from a desire for (*his*) beauty, resorted to by (*all*) the virtuous qualities of an inviting kind;² who astonishes all archers by the speciality of (*his*) innate strength and (*skill acquired by*) practice; who is the preserver of religious grants bestowed by former kings; who averts calamities that would afflict (*his*) subjects; who is the exponent of (*the condition of being*) the one (*joint*) habitation of wealth and learning; whose prowess is skilful in causing annoyance to³ the goddess of the fortunes of the compact ranks of (*his*) enemies; (*and*) who possesses a spotless princely glory, acquired by inheritance,—(*is*) the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Dharasēna (II.), a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, who, being in good health, issues a command to all the *Āyuktakas*,⁴ *Viniyuktakas*,⁵ *Drāṅgikas*,⁶ *Mahattaras*,⁷ irregular and regular troops, *Dhruvādhika-*

¹ *pāda-chārin*, lit. 'moving on feet or legs'; see Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's translation of line 7 of the grant of Dharasēna IV. of the year 326 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 14.)

² The *ābhigāmikā guṇāḥ* are explained by Kāmandaka in the *Nīlīsāra*, iv. vv. 6 to 8 (Calcutta edition, p. 78), as quoted by V. N. Mandlik in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 348, note; they are—good birth, steadfastness in misfortune and prosperity, youth, a good disposition, civility, absence of dilatoriness, speech that is not contradictory, truthfulness, reverence for the aged, gratitude, the state of being favoured by destiny, wisdom, being independent of trifles, capability of subduing hostile neighbouring chiefs, firmness in attachment, far-sightedness, energy, purity, having great aims, modesty, and firm devotion to religion and justice.

³ *parikshābhā*; other grants, drafted from the same form, and also No. 39 below, line 10, give *paribhāga*, '(skilful in) enjoyment (of)'; which is a better reading.

⁴ This, and the following, are technical official terms, for which suitable translations have not yet been fixed.—With the present term, *Āyuktaka*, we may compare the expression *āyukta-purusha* in line 26 of the Allahābād pillar inscription, No. 1, page 8 above.

⁵ *Viniyuktaka*; compare the use of *niyuj*, 'to appoint; to commission,' in line 9 of the Junāgaḍh rock inscription, No. 14 above, page 59; also compare *tan-niyukta* in line 76 of No. 39 below, Plate xxv.

⁶ *Drāṅgika*; other forms are *draṅgika* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 205, line 14; where, however, it may be a mistake for *drāṅgika*), and *drāṅgin* (*id.* Vol. IV. p. 105, line 15). The present form, *drāṅgika*, occurs again in *id.* Vol. IV. p. 175, line 6; and, in line 10 of the same grant, we have *draṅga*, which is the origin of these terms, in Maṇḍalidraṅga. Dr. Bühler, in the places quoted, proposed to render *draṅga* by 'township,' and *drāṅgika*, &c., by 'heads of towns;' and Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives *draṅga* as meaning 'a town, a city.'

⁷ *Mahattara* is the comparative formation of *mahat*, 'great,' and is given by Monier Williams in the special sense of 'the head or oldest man of a village.'—In other inscriptions we have the superlative formation, *Mahattama*, used in the same technical way.

raṇikas,¹ *Dāṇḍapāsikas*,² *Rājasthānīyas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, and others, according as they are concerned.—

(L. 21.)—"Be it known to you, that, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (my) parents, and in order that I myself may obtain the reward that is wished for both in this world and in the next, there is given by me, with libations of water, in accordance with the rule of *bhūmichchhidra*, to the Brāhmaṇ Rudrabhūti, an inhabitant of **Unnata**, (a student) of the Vājasaneyi-Kaṇva (*śākhā*), and a member of the Vatsa *gōtra*,—for the maintenance of the five great sacrificial rites of the *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra*, and *atithi*; to endure for the same time with the moon, the sun, the ocean, the rivers, and the earth; (and) to be enjoyed by the succession of (his) sons and sons' sons,—at (the village of) **Antaratrā**, in the common-land³ called **Śivakapadraka**, one hundred *pādāvartas*⁴ (of land), (known as) the holding⁵ of **Vīrasēnadantika**; (and) fifteen *pādāvartas* on the west of this; also, in the western boundary, one hundred *pādāvartas*, increased by the twentieth,⁶ (known as) the holding of **Skambhasēna**, (and) ten *pādāvartas* in the eastern boundary;—in the village of **Dombhigrāma**, in the eastern boundary, ninety *pādāvartas*, (known as) the holding of **Vardhaki**;—in the village of **Vajragrāma**, in the western boundary, one hundred *pādāvartas* in the highest part⁷ of the village; (and) an irrigation-well with an area of twenty-eight *pādāvartas*, (known as) the holding of the **Mahattara Vīkidinna**;⁸ (and) in the common-land called **Bhumbhusapadraka**, one hundred *pādāvartas*, (known as) the holding of the cultivator **Bōṭaka**, and an irrigation-well;—(the whole of) this (being given) together with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*; with the *vāta*,⁹ *bhūta*, grain, gold, and *ādēya*; with (the right to) forced labour as the occasion for

¹ *Dhruvādhikaraṇika*; 'one who has the superintendence of the *Dhruvas*.'—*Dhruva* has been explained by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 205) as being still used in Kāthiāwāḍ and Kachh to denote "a person who, on the part of a *Rāja*, superintends the collection of the royal share of the produce in grain which is made by the farmers of revenue."

² *Dāṇḍapāsika*, or *daṇḍapāsika*, is explained by Monier Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary as meaning 'one who holds the fetters or noose of punishment; a policeman.'

³ *padraka* seems to be a fuller form of *padra*, which is given in Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary as meaning 'a village; the entrance into a village; the earth; a particular district.' Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 337) has explained it as being the modern *pādr*, 'a grazing-place.' I do not know what authority he has for this meaning. But, in H. H. Wilson's *Glossary of Indian Terms*, *pādar* (i.e. *pādr*) is explained by 'common-land, land adjacent to a village left uncultivated.' And this seems more likely to be the correct meaning.

⁴ *pādāvarta*, *lit.* 'the turning round of a foot,' is given by Monier Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary as meaning 'a square foot.' But it seems more likely that such an expression as 'a hundred *pādāvartas*' means 'a plot of ground measuring a hundred feet square each way, i.e. ten thousand square feet,' rather than only 'one hundred square feet,' which would measure only ten feet each way, and would be rather a small area for a grant; to say nothing of the still smaller areas mentioned further on.

⁵ *pratyaya*; in other passages, the form *pratyēya* occurs.

⁶ i.e. "one hundred and twenty *pādāvartas*."

⁷ *śikhara*; *lit.* 'peak, top, summit.'

⁸ See page 166 above, note 6.

⁹ The meaning of *vāta*, *bhūta*, and *ādēya*, is not apparent.—*vāta* is derived either from *vā*, 'to blow,' or from *vai*, 'to become dried or withered;' compare *āvāta* in line 14 f. of No. 31 above, page 137.—*bhūta* is the past participle of *bhū*, 'to be, to become;' but no suitable meaning suggests itself.—*ādēya* seems to mean either 'that which is to be given,' from *ā* in composition with *dē*, 'to give;' or 'that which is to be cut, reaped, or mown,' from *ā* with *dō*. But it is possible that, instead of the prefix *ā*, we have the negative particle *a*, and that the word means 'that which is not to be given.'

it occurs; (*and with the privilege that it is*) not to be (*even*) pointed at with the hand (*of undue appropriation*) by any of the king's people.¹

(L. 29.)—"Wherefore, no one should behave so as to cause obstruction to this person in enjoying (*it*) in accordance with the proper conditions of a grant to a Brāhman, (*and*) cultivating (*it*), (*or*) causing (*it*) to be cultivated, or assigning (*it to another*).

(L. 30.)—"And this Our gift should be assented to and preserved by future pious kings, born of Our lineage, bearing in mind that riches do not endure for ever, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land belongs in common (*both to him who makes it and to him who continues it*). And he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins, together with the minor sins, who may confiscate this (*grant*), or assent to its confiscation."

(L. 32.)—And it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas:—The giver of land abides in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! O Yudhishtīra, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) is more meritorious than making a grant! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)!

(L. 35.)—(*This charter*) has been written by the *Sāmdhivigrahika* Skandabhāṭa. (*This is*) the sign-manual² of me, the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Dharasēna. The *Dātaka* (*is*) Chirbira. The year 200 (*and*) 50 (*and*) 2; (the month) Vaiśākha; the dark tortnight; (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

No. 39; PLATE XXV.

ALINA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SILADITYA VII.

THE YEAR 447.

THIS inscription was discovered by Mr. Harivallabh, Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector, Kaira and Broach; and was first brought to notice in 1878, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 79 ff., where Dr. Bühler published his reading of the text, with remarks. It is on some copper-plates that were found either at, or in the neighbourhood of, Alinā or Alinā, a village about fourteen miles north-east of Nadiād,³ the chief town of the Nadiād Talukā or Sub-Division of the Kaira (Khēḍā) District in Gujarāt in the Bombay Presidency.

cut, reaped, or mowed.'—Instead of *vāta-bhūta*, we sometimes have *bhūta-vāta*, in reversed order; e.g. in line 67 of No. 39 below, Plate xxv.

¹ *samasta-rājakīyānām=a-hasta-prakshēpaṇīya*. This is the customary expression in the Valabhi grants. From the south, we have (1) the almost identical expression *rājakīyānām=an-anguli-prēkshaniya*, e.g. in line 45 of the Goa grant of Shashthadēva II. of Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4348, (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 291); and (2) the variant *rāja-rājapurushair=apy=an-anguli-nirdēṣya*, in line 61 of the Paiṭhan grant of Rāmachandra of Śāka-Saṁvat 1193 (*id.* Vol. XIV. p. 317).

² *sva-hasta*; *lit.* 'the own hand.'—Occasionally an actual representation of a sign-manual is given: e.g. at the end of the grant of Silāditya VII., No. 39 below, Plate xxv., and at the end of the Barōda grant of Dhruva II. of Śāka-Saṁvat 757 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 198 f. and Plate).

³ The 'Nadiād, Nariad, and Neriad' of maps, &c.

When they first came to light, they had been lying for some time in a merchant's shop at Alinâ. They are now in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, to which they were presented by Dr. Bühler.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, the first measuring about $1' 2\frac{5}{8}"$ by $1' 1\frac{1}{8}"$, and the second, which is rather irregular in shape, about $1' 3\frac{1}{8}"$ by $1' 0\frac{7}{8}"$. The edges of them were fashioned somewhat thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with corresponding depressions inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing. The surfaces of the plates, however, have suffered very much from corrosion; and in some places the letters, though not destroyed, are so choked up with a hard deposit of rust, which I found it impossible to remove, that they fail to appear in the lithograph. But the inscription is for the most part legible enough on the original plates; the only part that has really suffered being at the top, especially towards the right corner, of the second plate. The plates are thick, and very substantial; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the backs of them. The engraving, as displayed where the plates have not suffered much injury, is fairly well executed; but the interiors of the letters shew, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—There are holes for two rings, in the bottom of the first plate and the top of the second; but the rings, with the seal on one of them, are not forthcoming.—The weight of the two plates is 17 lbs. $3\frac{2}{3}$ oz.—The size of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{8}"$ to $\frac{1}{4}"$. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; they are a later development of the type of those of the preceding grant of the *Mahārāja* Dharasēna II. of the year 252, No. 38 above, page 164, and Plate xxiv., and illustrate what may be called the Saurāshṭra or Kāthiāwāḍ alphabet of the eighth century A.D. They include, from northern sources, a separate form of the lingual *ḍ*, as distinct from the dental *ḍ*, e.g. in *chūḍā*, line 4; also the rather rare lingual *ḍh* in *udūḍha*, line 11, and *samupōḍha*, line 56. They also include, in line 78, forms of the numerical symbols for 5, 7, 40, and 400.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for four stanzas in lines 58 to 63, and for some of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 72 to 75, the inscription is in prose throughout. As is the case with all the later grants of this family, the inscription was engrossed with great carelessness and inaccuracy; and there are a few passages, the proper reading of which can hardly yet be determined with certainty.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the occasional use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *vaṇśa*, lines 45 and 62, and *nistrīṇśa*, line 51; (2) the use of *śiṅha* for *śimha*, in line 56; (3) the use, once, of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *s*, in *ansa*, line 11; (4) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, once, in *vikkrāma*, line 11; and once in conjunction with a following *ṛi*, a very exceptional occurrence, in *prakṛṛiti*, line 26-27; and (5) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyāta*, lines 10, 14, 19, 23, 50, 53, 54-55, and 58.

The inscription is one of Śīlāditya VII., who also had the title of Dhrūbhata, i.e. Dhruvabhata,¹ of the family of the Kings of Valabhī; and the charter recorded

¹ As pointed out by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 80), Dhruvabhata is the full and correct form of the name; and the first two syllables have been contracted in this inscription, partly because the metre required one long syllable, not two short ones, and partly because *Dhrū* was no doubt at that time, just as now, the vernacular Gujarātī form of *Dhruva*, especially in its meaning, in Kāthiāwāḍ and Kachh (*id.* Vol. V. p. 205), as a technical official title denoting "persons who, on the part of the *Rāja*, superintend the collection of the royal share of the produce in grain which is made by the farmers of revenue; their duty is to see that he" (i.e. the *Rāja*, or a farmer) "does not collect more than his proper share."

in it is issued from his camp at the town of **Anandapura**. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, in the year four hundred and forty-seven (A.D. 766-67), on the fifth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyêshtha (May-June). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by **Śilāditya VII.** himself, to a Brāhmaṇ, for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices and other rites, of the village of **Mahilabalī** or **Mahilābalī** in the **Uppalahêta pathaka**¹ in the **Khêtaka dhâra**.²

Of the places mentioned in this grant, **Khêtaka** is of course the modern **Khêdâ** or **Kaira**³ itself. **Uppalahêta** is evidently the modern **Uplêt** or **Uplêtâ**, in the **Thâsrâ Tâlukâ**, about thirty-five miles almost due east of Kaira. And **Anandapura** must be the modern **Ânand**, the chief town of the **Ânand Tâlukâ**, about twenty-one miles south-east of Kaira.

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

- 1 Ôm Svasti Śrīmad-**Ānandapura**-sam[ā*]vāsita-jayaskandhāvārê⁵ prasabha-
pranāt-āmitrāṇām **Maitrakāṇām**=atula-bala-saṁpanna-maṇḍalābhô[ga-
saṁsa]kta-saṁprahâra-śata-labdha-pratâpâ-
- 2 t=pratâp-ôpanata-dâna-mân-ârrjav-ôpârjīit-ânurâgâd=anuraktâ⁶-maulabhṛitah⁷-srêṇi-
bal-âvâpta-râjya-śriyah paramamâhêśvaraḥ⁸-śrī-**Bhaṭârkkâd**=â(a)vyava-
chchhinna-varṣân=mâ-
- 3 tâpitri-charaṇâravinda-pranâti-pravivikt-âśêsha-kalmashaḥ śaīsavât=prabhṛiti
khaḍga-dvitiyah⁹-bâhur=êva samada-para-gaja-ghaṭ-âsph[ô]ṭana-prakâśita-
[sattva-ni]kashaḥ tat-p[r*]a-
- 4 [bhâ]ya-pranāt-ârâti-chûḍâra[t*]na-prabhâ-sa[m*]sakta-pâda-nakha-raśmi-samhatiḥ
sakala-smṛiti-pranîti(ta)-mârggaḥ¹⁰-samyak-kriyâ-pâlanah¹¹-prajā-hṛidaya-
raṁjanâ[d=a*]nvarṭtha-râja-śab[d]ô rūpa-kâ-
- 5 nti-sthai[r*]jya-gâmbhīryya-buddhi-sampadbhiḥ Smara-śas[â]ṅk-âdrirâj-
ôdâ(da)dhi-triâ(tri)daśagusa(ru)-Dhanêśân=atiśayânaḥ śaraṇâgat-âbhaya-
pradânah¹²-paratayâ triṇa-vad=vapâst¹³-â[śêsha-sva]-vīryya-
- 6 phalah prârṭthan-âdhik-ârttha-prad[ân-â]nandita-vidvat-suhṛit-pranayi-hṛidaya[h*]
pâdachâr=iva sakala-bhuvanamaṇḍal-âbhôga-pram[ô*]da[h] parama-

¹ *pathaka* is a technical territorial term, a suitable translation for which has not yet been determined. It is evidently connected with *pathin*, *patha*, 'a path, a road.'

² *dhâra* is another technical territorial term, a suitable rendering of which has not yet been determined.—In line 25 f. of the Allnâ grant of Dharasêna II. of the year 270 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII p. 72), we have the expression *Khêṭak-dhâra-vishayê*; which seems to shew that the term *dhâra* is synonymous with *vishaya*.—There is another term, *dharaṇî*, which is evidently a synonym of *dhâra*, since the Hastavapra *dharaṇî* is mentioned in line 21 of the Walâ grant of Dharasêna II. of the year 269 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 12); while the Hastavapra *dhâra* is spoken of in a grant of Dharasêna IV. of the year 326 (*id.* Vol. I. p. 45).

³ Lat. 22° 44' N.; Long. 72° 44' E.

⁴ From the original plates.

⁵ Read *skandhâvârât*.—In *ndhâ*, the engraver first formed *dhâ*, and then corrected it into *ndhâ*.

⁶ Read *ânurâg-ânurakta*.

⁷ Read *bhṛita*.

⁸ Read *mâhêśvara*.

⁹ Read *dvitiya*.

¹⁰ Read *mârgga*.

¹¹ Read *pâlana*.

¹² Read *pradâna*.

¹³ Read *apâst*.

- 7 mähēśvaraḥ śrī-Guhasēnaḥ [II*] Tasya sutaḥ tat-pāda-nakha-[mayūkha*]-
saṁtāna-visṛija(ta)-[āhnavī-jal-augha-prakshālita-āśēsha-kalmashaḥ prañayi-
śata-sa-
- 8 hasi-ōpajīvyamāna-saṁpad=rūpa-lōbhād=i[v=ā]śrī(śrī)taḥ sarabhā(bha)sam=ābhi-
gāmikaḥ guṇaiḥ saḥaja-śaktiḥ¹-śikshā-viśēsha-vismāpita-labdha²-dhanur-
ddharaḥ prathama-[na]-
- 9 rapati-samatisṛiṣṭānām=anupālayitā³ dharmma[dāyā]nām=api(pā)karttā praj-
ōpaghāta-kāriṇām upaplavānām samayitā⁴ śrī-sarasvatyōr=ēk-ādhivāsasya
sahōpapati⁵-pa-
- 10 ksha-lakshmi-paribhōga-daksha-vikkramaḥ vikram-ōpama-saṁp[r]āpta⁶-vimala-
pārtthiva-śrīḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-Dharasēnaḥ [II*] Tasya sutaḥ
tat-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ sakala-jagad-ānandan-ātyā(tya)dbhu-
- 11 ta-guṇa-samudra⁷-sthaḡita-samagra-digmaṇḍalaḥ samara-śata-vijaya-śōbhā-
sanātha-maṇḍalāgra-dy[u*]ti-bhāsur-ānsa-pīṭh-ōvyū(dū)ḡha-guru-manōratha-
mahābhāva(ra)ḥ sarvva-vidyā-pāra-parama-
- 12 bhāg-ādhigama-vimāla-matir=api sarvvataḥ subhāshita-lavēn=āpi sv⁸-
ōpapādaniya-par[i*]tōshaḥ samagra-lōk-āgādha-gāmbhīryya-hṛidayō=pi
savva(chcha)rit-ātiśaya-suvyakta-parama-
- 13 kalyāṇa-svabhāvaḥ kh[i*]libhūta-Kṛitayuga-nṛpati-patha-viśōdhan-ādhigat-ōdagra-
kīrttiḥ dharm-ānugā(rō)dh-ā(ō)jj[v*]alatarikṛit-ārttha-sukha-sa[m]pad-u[pa*]-
sēvā-nirahadha⁹-Varjmāditya¹⁰-tvi(dvi)tīya-nāmā
- 14 pā(pa)ramam[ā*]h[ā*]śvaraḥ grī(śrī)-Gī(śi)lādityaḥ¹¹ [II*] Tasya sutaḥ¹² tat-
pād-ānuddhyātaḥ svayav(m)=Upēndra-guruṇ=ēpa(va) guruḥ¹³ guruṇ=
ātyādaravatā samabhilashanīyānām¹⁴=api rāja-lakshmi[m*]
- 15 skandh-āsakti[ām] parama-bhadrānām¹⁵ dhu[r*]yyas=tad-ā[ñ*]ā-sa[m*]pādan-
ē(ai)ka-rasatay=ōdvāhana¹⁶ khēda-sukharatibhyām anāyāsita-[sattva*]-
saṁpatti[h*] prabhāva-sā(sa)ṁpad-vā(va)śikṛita-nṛpati-śata-śirō-
- 16 ratnā(tna)-vnā(chchhā)y-ōpagūta(dha)-pādapīṭhō=pi parām-āvajñi¹⁷-Abhimāna-
sahas¹⁸-anāli[mg*]ita-manōvrittih prañatirōkā¹⁹ parityajya prakhyāta-
paurush-ābhimānair=ā(a)py=ā(a)rātibhir=anāsā[di]-
- 17 ta-prakṛitay²⁰-ōpāyaḥ kṛita-nikh[i*]la-bhuvan-āmā(mō)da-vimāla-guṇa-sa[m]hatih
prasabha-vighatita-sakala-Kali-vilas[i*]ta-gatir=mattrā²¹-jan-ābhidrō(rō)hibhir=
āśashaiḥ²² dōshair=anāmṛi-

¹ Read *śakti*.² Read *vismāpita-sarvva*, or *vismāpit-ākhila*.³ Here, and after *samayitā* in this line, and in other places, there follows a mark which may perhaps be intended for a mark of punctuation. It is the same as the *anusvāra* (except that it is not in the proper place for the *anusvāra*), or half a *visarga*.⁴ Read *darśayitā*.⁵ Read *saṁhat-ārāti*.⁶ Read *ōpasamprāpta*, or *ōpakrama-samprāpta*.⁷ Read *samudaya*.⁸ Read *sukh*.⁹ Read *nirādha*.¹⁰ Read *dharmmāditya*.¹¹ This *visarga* is imperfect, only the lower part being engraved.¹² Read *tasy=ānujaḥ*; on the authority of line 15-16 of the next grant of certain date after this generation; that of Dhruvasēna II. of the year 310 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 14); and of later grants also (e. g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 149, line 17, and Vol. VII. p. 74, line 18.)¹³ Omit this word.¹⁴ Read *saṁabhilashanīyām*.¹⁵ Read *paramabhadra iva*.¹⁶ Read *ōdvāhan*.¹⁷ Read *par-āvajñi*.¹⁸ Read *ras*.¹⁹ Read *prañatim=ēkām*.²⁰ Read *pratikriy*.²¹ Read *nnīcha*.²² Read *āśēshaiḥ*.

- 18 [sht-ā*]tyunnata-hṛidaya[h*] prakhyāta-paurushaḥ śāstra-kōṭal¹-ātiśay[ō*]
guṇa² - gaṇatitha - vipaksha - kshitipati - lakshmi - svayamsvayam³grāhē(ha) -
prakāśita-praviā(vi)ra-purusha-prathamah⁴-[samkhy-ā]-
- 19 dhigamah⁵ ya(pa)ramam[ā*]hēsvarah śrī-**Kharagrahaḥ** [11*] Tasya sutaḥ
tat-pād-[ā*]nuddhyātaḥ sa[r*]vva-v[ī*]dy-ādihigamah-pahita⁶-nikhila-vidvaj-
jana-manah-paritōshit⁷-ātisha(śa)ya[h*] sat[t*]va-
- 20 sa[m*]pat-tyāgaiḥ sauryyēna cha vigat-ānusa[m*]dhāna-samāhit-ārāti-
paksha-manōratha-rathāksha-bhaṁgaḥ samyag-upalakshit-ānēka-śāstra-kalā-
lōkacarita-gahvara-vi-
- 21 bhāgō-pi parama-bhadra-prā(pra)kṛitir=akṛitri(tri)ma-praśrayō=pi vibha(na)ya-
śōbhā-vibhūsanāḥ⁸ samara-śata-jayapatāk-āharaṇa-pratyay-ōdagra-bāhu-daṇḍa-
vidhvamsita-pra[tipa]ksha-
- 22 darpp-ōdayaḥ sva-dhanu[h*]-prā(pra)bhāva-[pari*]bhūt-āstrakauśal-ābhimāna-
sakala-nṛpati-maṇḍa[l-ā*]bhinandita-śāsanā(na)ḥ para[mamā]hēsvarah
grī(śrī)-**Dharasā(sē)naḥ** [11*] Tasy=ānujaḥ ta[t]-p[ād-ānu]-
- 23 ddhyātaḥ sachcharit-[ā*]tiru(śa)yita-sakala-pū[r*]vva-narapatiḥ dus-
sādhana[nā*]m=api prasādhayitā vishay[ā*]nām mū[r]tt[i]m[ā*]n=iva
purushakārah parivṛiddha-gu[ṇ-ā]nūrāga-[nirbbha]-
- 24 ra-chitta-vṛitti[bhi*]ḥ Manur=iva svā(śva)yam-abhyupapannaḥ prakṛitibhir=
avi(dhi)gata-kalā-kalāpa[h*] kānti-tiraskṛita-salāchhanaḥ⁹-kumudā(da)-
nātha[h*] prājya-pratāpa-sthagita-diga[n]tarāla[h]
- 25 pradhvamsita-dhvānta-rāśiḥ satat-ōdita-savitā prakṛitibhya[h*] para[m*] pra-
tyayam = artthavantam = atipa(ba)hutitha - prayōjan-ānubamdhama¹⁰ = [ā*]gama-
paribhū(pū)ṛṇa[m*] vidadhāma(na)ḥ sandhi-vigraha-
- 26 samāsa-niśchaya-nipuṇa[h*] sthānam=anupadēsam dadamtam¹¹ guṇa-vṛiddhi-
rājadinita¹²-sa[m*]sk[ā*]ra-sādhunām rājya-Śālātu[r]īya-tantrayōr=ubhayōr=api
nishātah prakṛi-
- 27 ti-vikramō=pi karuṇā-mṛidu-hridayaḥ śrutavān=apy=i(a)-garvv[i*]taḥ kāntō=pi
praśami(mī) śi(sthi)ra-sauh[ā*]rddō=pi nirasitā dōshadōsha¹³vatām=
udaya-samupajan[i]-
- 28 ta-jan-ānūrāga-parivṛi[m*]hita-bhuvana-samartthita-prathita-**Bālādityi(tya)**-dvitīya-
nām[ā*] paramamāhagvana¹⁴ grī(śrī)-**Dharasanaḥ**¹⁵ [11*] Tasya sutaḥ
tat-pādaradēla¹⁶-praṇā-
- 29 ma-dharaṇi-kashaṇa-di(ja)nita-kiṇa-lāmchhana-lalāta-chandra-sa(śa)kala[h*] śiśu-
bhāva ēva śravaṇa-nihita-mauktik-ālamkāra-vibhram-āmala-śruta-viśō(sē)-
sha[h*] pradāna-sa-

¹ Read *kauśal*.² Omit this word.³ Omit this second *svayan*.⁴ Read *prathama*.⁵ This *visarga* is imperfect, only the upper part being engraved.⁶ Read *ādihigama-vihita*.⁷ Read *paritōsh*.⁸ Read *vibhūśanaḥ*.⁹ Read *salāchhana*.¹⁰ Read *ānubamdhama*.¹¹ Read *sthān-ānūrūpam=ādēsam dadatām*.¹² Read *vidhāna-janita*.¹³ Omit this second *dōsha*.¹⁴ Read *māhēśvara*.¹⁵ Read *dhruvasēnaḥ*, on the authority of line 9-10 of his own grant of the year 310 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 15), and of subsequent inscriptions.¹⁶ Read *pādakamala*.

- 30 lila-kshālit-āgrahastāravindah Vyāsa¹ iva mṛidu-kara-grahāṇad=amandikṛit-
ānanda-vidhiḥ vasu[m*]dharāyāḥ rā(kā)rmmurā(ka)-dhanurvv[ē*]da iva
sabhāvināśapra²-lakshya-kalāpa[h*] pra-
- 31 ṇata - samasta - sāmanta - maṇḍal - āpamōnirbhṛta - chūḍāmaṇaniyamana³ - śāsanah
parama[māhē*]śvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahār[ā*]jādhirāja-param[ē*]śvara-
chakravartti-śrī⁴. **Dha-**
- 32 rasēnaḥ [II*] Tat-pitāmaha-bhrātri-śrī-Śilādityasya Vā(śā)ṛṅgapāṇēr=iv=
āgrajanmanō⁵ bhakti-bandhur-āyaya-[kalpita-praṇatē]r=ati-dhavalayā tat-
pādāravinda-prapri(vṛi)ttayā charaṇa-nakha-maṇi-
- 33 [ru]chā Mandākiny=ēva nityā(tya)m=amalit-ōttamāṁva(ga)desasy=Ava(ga)-
styasy=[ē*]va rājakchō(rshē)ḥ d[ā*]kshinyam=ānatanvānasya⁶ prabala-
dhavalivnō(mnā) yaga(śa)sām valay[ē*]na ma-
- 34 [ṇḍita]-kakubhā navayātharalitāśēpiḥkhaḍgaparivama⁷-maṇḍalasya payē(yō)da-
śyāma-śikhara-chūchura-kachi-sama-vinyasta-stana⁸-yugāyāḥ kshit[ē]ḥ
paty[u]ḥ śrī-[Dêrabha]ṭa-
- 35 sy=āgrajaḥ⁹ kshiti[pa*]-sa[m]hatēḥ charu vibhāgasya¹⁰ gu(śu)chir=yyagō-
ṅuka¹¹-bhṛtaḥ svayamvar-ābhilāshinīm=iva rāj[y]a-śriyam=arppayantyāḥ
kṛita-par[ī*]graha[h] śauryyam=apratihā]-
- 36 ta-pratāp-ānamita¹²-prachanḍa-ripu-maṇḍalām maṇḍalāgram=apālampaḍhuānaḥ¹³
śaradi prasabham-[ā*]kṛiṣṭa-śilimukha-pā(bā)ṇāsan-āpādita-prasādha[nānām]
- 37 para-bhuvām vidhivad-ācharita-kara-grahanaḥ pūrvvam=[ē*]va vividha-vara(m)-
ōj[*]valēna gru(śru)t-ātiśay[ē*]n-ō[dbhā]sita-śravaṇa-yugalaḥ puna[h]-punar-
uktēn=ēva ratn-ā]-
- 38 [la]ṇ[k]ārēṇ=ālaṅkṛita-grōtrā¹⁴ parisphurat-kā(ka)ṭaka-vikaṭa-kīṭa-paksha-ratna-
kīraṇam=ipachchhinna¹⁵-pradāna-salila-nivahānavasē[ka¹⁶-vilasan-nava-śaival-ām]-
- 39 kuram=ap¹⁷=āgrapāṇim=udvaha[n*] dhṛita-viś[ā*]la-ratna-pa(va)laya-jaladhi-vēl[ā*]-
taṭāyam[ā*]na-bhuja-parishvakta-viśvam[bha]ra]. paramam[ā*]hēśvaraḥ śrī-
Dhruvasēnas=Tasy=āgra=

¹ Read *kanyāyā*.² Read *sambhāvit-āśēsha*.³ Read *maṇḍal-ōttamāṅga-dhṛita-chūḍāmaṇiyamāna*.⁴ In line 39 of the grant of Dharasēna IV. himself, of the year 326, Āshādha śukla 10, the reading is *chakravartī śrī-ajjaka-pād-ānudyātāḥ śrī* (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 79, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 16); also in his grant of the same year, Māgha bahula 5, of which we have only the translation of the second plate (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 45).—In all the subsequent grants, the epithet *śrī-ajjaka-pād-ānudyātāḥ* was, for some reason or other, omitted, as here; even in his own grants of the year 330 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 75, line 41, and Vol. XV. p. 340, line 40).⁵ Read *āgrajanmanō*, in accordance with line 29 of the next available grant of the generation after this, that of Kharagraha II. of the year 337 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 78).⁶ Read *ātatanvānasya*.⁷ Read *nabhasi yāminīpatēr=vvirachit-ākhanda-parivēsha*.⁸ Read *chūchuka-ruchira-sahya-vindhya-stana*.⁹ Read *āgrajaḥ*, on the authority of line 32 of the grant of Kharagraha II., quoted above, note 5 and of most of the subsequent grants.¹⁰ Read *samhatēr=anurāgiṇyaḥ*.¹¹ Read *yaśō-ṅuka*.¹² Read *apratihata-vyāśram=ānamita*.¹³ Read *iv=ālaṅkāmānaḥ*.¹⁴ Read *śrōtraḥ*.¹⁵ Read *avichchhinna*.¹⁶ Read *nirah-ōvasēka*.¹⁷ Read *iv*.

Second Plate.

- 40 [jô¹=para]-ma[hîpa]ti-sparddha(rsa)-dôsha-nâga(śa)na-dh[i]y=[ê]va lakshmyâ
svayam=atispashta-chêshṭam=Āśliṣṭ-āṅgayash [tîr=atiruchirata-charita-garima-
parikalita-sakala-na]rapa[t]ir=ati-
- 41 prakṛiṣṭ - ānurāga - [sa*]rabhasa - vaśikṛita - praṇata - samasta - sāmanta - chakra -
chûḍāmaṇi-mayûkha-[khachita-charapakamala-yugalah] prôddām-[ôḍāra]-
dô[rddanḍa]-dalita-dvishad-va-
- 42 rgga-darppah prasarpāt-patīyah-pratāpa-plôshīt-Āśēsha-śatru-va[m*]śah prañayi-
paksha-ni[kshipta-lakshmīkah prērita-gad-ôtkshi]pta-su[daśana-chakra]h
parihṛita-
- 43 [bāla-kṛi]dô=anādhahkṛita-dvijātīr=ēka-vikrama - prasādhitā - dharitṛitālo=namgikṛita-
jalaśayy[ô=pūrvva-purushōtta]mah [sākshād-dharmma iva samyag-
vya]vasthā-
- 44 pita-varṇṇ-āśram-āchārah pūrvvair=apy=urvvi(rvvi)patibhiḥ trishṇā-lava-lubdhaiḥ
yāny=apahṛitā[ni dēva-brahma]-d[ê]yā[ni tē]shām=apy=[atisarala]-manah-
pra-
- 45 [sa]ra-mut-sa[nka]la[n-ānu]mōdanābhyām parimudita-tri(tri)bhuvaṇ-ābhinandit-
ôchchhrit-ôtkriṣṭa-dhavalā-dha[rmma]-dh[vaja]h [prakāśita-ni]ja-vanśah
d[ê]va-dvija-gurū[n=pratipūjya yathārha]m=anavarata-
- 46 pravarttita - mah - ôdraṅ - [Ā]di - dāna - vyavasana - ānupajāta² - samtôsh - ôpāt - ôḍāra-
kīrttiḥ³[param]parā-[danturita-ni]kh[i]la-dikchakravālah [spasṭam=ēva
ya]th-ārttha[m] Dharmmādityi(tya)-
- 47 [dvi]tīya-nāmā para[ma*]māhēśvaraḥ śrī-Kharagrahah [I⁴] Tasy=āgra-
janmanah⁴ kumuda-shaṇḍa-śrī-[vikāśinyā kalāvataś=chandrikay=ēva kīrttyā
dhavalita-sa]kala-digmanḍa-
- 48 lasya khamḍit-āguru-[vi]lêpana-vidā⁵-śyāmala-Vindhya-[śai]la-vipula-payôdharāyāḥ
kshi[tēh patyu]h śrī-Śīlādityasya sūnu[r=nava-prâlêyakiraṇa i]va
- 49 pratidina-samvaddhamāna-hṛidaya⁶-kalā-chandra(kra)vālah [kēsar]indra-[ś]īsur=iva
rāja-lakshmīm sakala⁷-vana[sthālim=i]v=ālamkurvvāṇah [śikha]ṇḍikētana
iva ruchimach-chûḍā]-ma[nḍanaḥ]
- 50 prachanḍa-śakti-prabhāvaś=cha śarad-āgama iva⁸ dvishatām parama-

¹ It is rather peculiar that the elder brother should be mentioned after the younger. The reading, *agrajô*, however, is the same in line 37 of Kharagraha's own grant of the year 337 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 78), which seems to put the correctness of it beyond doubt; and the same reading is repeated in all the later grants without exception.—See also note 4 below.

² Read *vyavasthān-ôpajāta*, or *vyavasy-ôpajāta*.

³ Read *kīrtti*.

⁴ Here we have another instance of the elder brother being mentioned after the younger (see note 1 above). But, except that *agrajah* is written by mistake for *agrajanmanah*, the reading is the same in line 47 of the next grant after this generation, that of Śīlāditya III. of the year 352, the son of Śīlāditya II. who is now under notice (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 308); and this seems to put the correctness of it beyond doubt. Also, the same reading that we have here, *agrajanmanah*, is repeated in all the later grants.

⁵ Read *pinḍa*.

⁶ Omit this word *hṛidaya*.

⁷ Read *lakshmīm=achala*.

⁸ A considerable amount of matter is omitted here. The full passage should run — *śarad-āgama iva pratāpavān=ullasat-padmaḥ samyugē vidalayann=ambhōdharān=iva para-gajān=udaya-tapana-bālātapa iva samgrāmēshu muṣṇann=abhimukhānām=āyūmshī dvishatām*.

- māhēśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-bappa¹-pād-
ānuddhyātaḥ paramabhaṭ[ṭ]āraka-[mahārā]-
- 51 jādhirāja-paramēśvaraḥ śrī-Śīlādityadēvas=Tasya sutah pāramaiśvaryya[h*]²
kōp-ākriṣṭa-nistri(stri)ṇśa-pāta-vidalit-ārāti-kari-kumbhasthal - ôllasat - pra[srita-
ma]hā-pratāp-ānalah prā[kāra]-
- 52 [parigata*]-jaganmaṇḍala-labdhā-sthitih vikāṭa-nija-dōrddand-āvalambinā sakala-
bhuvan-ābhōga-bhājā manth-āspālana-vidhu[ta-dugdhasi]ndhu-phē[na-piṇḍa-
pā]ṇḍura-yaśō-vitā[nēna]
- 53 vihit-ātapatraḥ parama[māhē*]śvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-
paramēśvara-śrī-bappa-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārā[jādhi]rāja-
pa[ramēśva]ra-[śrī]-Śīlāditya[dēvah] [II*] [Tat-putrah]
- 54 pratāp - ānurāga - prañata - samasta - sāmanta - chūdāmāri - nakha - mayūkha³ - nichita-
rañ[ji]ta-pādāravindah parama[mā*]hēśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājā-
dhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-[bappa]-pād-ā-
- 55 nuddhyātaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Śīlāditya-
dēva[h] [II*] Tasy=ātmajaḥ praśamita-ri(?)pu(?) - bala-darppaḥ vipula-jaya-
maṅgal-āśrayaḥ śrī-samālim[gaṇa-lāli]ta-
- 56 vakṣa[h*] sam[u*]pōḍha-nārasīṅgha-vigraha-ōrjjit-ō[d*]dhura-śaktih samuddhā-
(ddha)ta-vipakṣa-bhūbhṛit-kṛita-nikhila-gōmaṇḍala-rakṣaḥ puruṣa-ōttama[h*]
praṇatanābhūta⁴-pārtthiva-kirīṭa-
- 57 [mā]ṇikya - [ma]sṛiṇita - charaṇa - nakha - mayūkha - ramjit - āgējā⁵ - digvadhū-mukhaḥ
paramamāhēśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-bappa-
pā-
- 58 [d-ā]nuddhyātaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārāladhirāja⁶-paramēśvara-śrī-Śīlāditya-
dēvah paramamāhēśvaraḥ⁷ [II*] Tasy⁸=ātmajaḥ prathita-dussaha-vīryya-
chakrō lakshmy-ālay[ō]
- 59 [nara]ka-nāśa-kṛita-prayatnaḥ prithvī-samuddharaṇa-kāryya-kṛit-aika-niṣṭhaḥ
sāmpūrṇa-chandra-kara-ni[r*]mmala-jāta-kīrttiḥ [II*] Jñāta-[tra]y[i]-[g]uṇa-
mayō jita-vai[r]i-pakṣaḥ sāmpa[nna]-
- 60 [—]ma(?) - sukhaḥ sukha-dāḥ sad=aiva jñān-ālaya[h*] sakala-vandita-lōkapālō
vidyādhairair-anugataḥ prathitaḥ pri(pri)thivyām [II*] Ratn-ōj[i*]valō
vara-tanu-

¹ Read *bāva*, in accordance with line 46 of the grant of the next generation after this, that of Śīlāditya IV. of the year 372 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 212; and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 99); with lines 45 and 46 of the two grants of Śīlāditya V. of the year 403 (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 343; and *Indian Inscriptions*, Nos. 15 and 16); and with the explanation that I give below, on the translation of this passage.—In line 51 of the grant of Śīlāditya VI. of the year 441 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 20), the reading is *bappa*, as here, wrongly.—In line 51 of the grant of Śīlāditya III. himself of the year 352 (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 309), the whole passage between *paramamāhēśvaraḥ* and *śrī-Śīlādityadēvah*, including both the reference to *bāva* and his own regal titles, is omitted.

² Several words are omitted before this. The full reading is *tasya sūtō=para-prithvī-nirmāṇa-vyavasāy-āsādita-pāramaiśvaryyah*.

³ Read *chūdāmāri-mayūkha*.

⁴ Read *prañata-prabhūta*.

⁵ Read *āśēsha*.

⁶ Read *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja*.

⁷ This epithet is repeated unnecessarily, as we have already had it in the preceding line.

⁸ Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the following three verses.

- 61 [r=ggu]ṇa-ratna-rāśiḥ aiśvaryya-vikrama-guṇaiḥ paramair=upêtaḥ sat[t*]v-
ôpakāra-karaṇê satatam pravṛittaiḥ s[ā*]kshāḥ=[j*]anārdana(na) iv=
ārdita-duṣṭa-darppaḥ [II*]
- 62 Yuddhāḥ¹ sakṛid=gā(ga)ja-ghaṭā-ghaṭan-aika-dakṣhaḥ puny-ālayô jagati gīta-
mahā-pratāpaḥ rājādhirāja-param[ē*]śvara-vaṇṣa-janmā śrī-Dhrūbhaṭô
jayati jā-
- 63 ta-mahā-pramôdām² [II*] [Sa cha*] paramêśvaraḥ³ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja-
dhirāja-parāmêśvara⁴-śrī-pa(ba)ppa-pāp(d)-ānuddhyātaḥ para(rā)mabhaṭṭāra-
na(ka)-mahārāja-
- 64 dhirāja-parāmêśvara-śrī-Śīlādityadêvaḥ sarvvān=êva samājñāpayaty=Astu
vaḥ samvidita[m*] yathā mayā m[ā*]tāpitṛr=ātmanaś=cha punya-yaśô-
bhivṛi-
- 65 ddhayê aihik-āmushmika-phal-āvāpty-artham śrīmadĀnandapuravāstavya-
tachchāturvvidyasāmānya-Ś[ā*]rkkarākshisagôśra(tra)-bahvṛichasabrahmachāri-
- 66 bhaṭṭ-Ākhaṇḍalamitrāyê(ya) bhaṭṭa-Vishṇu-putrāya bali-charu-vaiśva-dêv-
āgnihoṭra-kratu-kṛi(kri)y-ādy-utsarppaṇ-ātthê⁵ grī(śrī)-Khêṭak-ānārê
Uppalahêta-
- 67 pathakê Mahila(Plā)balī-n[ā*]ma-grāmaḥ s-ôdraṅga[h*] s-[ô*]parikā(ka)raḥ
s-ôtpadyā(dya)māna-vishtikāḥ sa-bhūta-pā(vā)ta-pratyādôyah⁶ s-daś-
āparādhaḥ sa-
- 68 bhôga-bhāgaḥ sa-dhānya-hiraṇy-ād[ē*]yah — sarvva-rājakiyānaḥ a-hasta-
prakshôpaśīyah⁷ pūrvva-pradatta-dôpadāya-prahmadāya-varjja⁸ bhūā(bhū)mi-
chchhidra-nyāy[ē*]n=ā-chan[dr]-ā[r*]kk-ā-
- 69 rṇṇava-kshiti-parvvata-samakālīnaḥ putra-pautr-ānvaya-bhōgya uday(k)-
ātisarggēṇa brahmadāyatvēna pratipāditaḥ [I*] yatô=bhy(sy)=ôchitayā
brahmadā[ya-sthi]-
- 70 tyā bhumjataḥ kṛishataḥ karshāpayataḥ pratidiśatô vā na kaischid=
vyāsêdhê varttitavya[m*] II Āgāmi-bhadra-nṛi(nṛi)patibhiḥ a-
- 71 smad-vaṇṣa-jair=anyair=vv=ā-nityānityāny⁹=aiśvaryyāny=a-sthira[m*] mānujya-
(shya)kaṁ sāmānyam cha bhūmi-dānam¹⁰-phalam avagachchhadbhiḥ
ayam=a-
- 72 smad-dāyô=numantavyaḥ pālayitavyaś=cha [II*] Uktañ=cha pē(ve)da-
vyāśô(sê)na Vyā¹¹sēna [I*] Bahubhi[r*]¹²=vvāsura dhā¹³ bhuktā rājabhiḥ
Sagar-ādibhiḥ

¹ Read *yuddhê*.² Read *pramôdah*.³ Read *paramamāhêśvaraḥ*.⁴ Read *paramêśvara*.⁵ Read *ārttham*.⁶ Read *pratyāyah*.⁷ Read *rājakiyānām=a-hasta-prakshêpaśīyah*.⁸ Read *dêvadāya-brahmadāya-varjjañ*.⁹ Read *vv=ā-nityāny*.¹⁰ Read *dāna*.¹¹ The engraver first formed apparently *gyā*, and then corrected it into *vyā*.¹² Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh).¹³ Read *vvāsudhā*.

- 73 yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phala[m*] 1(11) Yân¹=îha
dattâni purâ nna(na)rëndraiḥ dhanâni dharmâyatanâkriâtâni²
nirmmâlya-vântaḥ³.
- 74 prati[mâ]ni tâni kê(kô) nâma [sâ*]dhu[h*] pratir=âdadîtaḥ⁴ [11*]
Shashti⁵-varva(rsha)-sahasrâni sva[r*]gg[ê*] tishṭhati bhu(bhû)mi-daḥ
a(â)chchhêtâ ch=ânumant[â*] chcha(cha) tâny=êva nara-
- 75 [kê va]sêt 11 Bhushv-âtavishv⁶=a-tê(tô)yâsu sushu⁷-kôṭara-vâsinaḥ kṛishṇ-
[â*]hay) hi jâyantô(ntê) bhûmi-d[â*]yam haranti y[ê*] 11 Dutakê⁸=tra
mahâpratiḥâ-
- 76 [ra] . . .⁹ h[â*]kshapaṭalika-tra-râjakula¹⁰-śrî-Siddhasêna[h*] gri(śrî)-Śarvvaṭa-
sutaḥ [1*] tava(thâ) tanniyukta-pratinartaka-kulaputr-âsâ(mâ)-
- 77 tya-G[u]hêna Hemaṭa-putrêṇa likhitam¹¹=iti 11 Samva[t]sara-śata-
chatusṭayê sapta-chatvârîṇśad-adhikê Dyêpṭha¹²-śuddha-paṁchamyâm
aṅka-
- 78 ta[h*] sava¹³ 400 40 7 Śrê(jyê)shṭha gu(śu) 5 [11*] Sva-hastô
mama¹⁴ [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! Hail! From the victorious camp located at the famous town of **Ânanda-pura**:¹⁵—In unbroken descent from the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the illustrious **Bhaṭârka**,—who was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought with the large armies, possessed of unequalled strength, of the **Maitrakas**, who had by force bowed down (*their*) enemies; (*and*) who acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (*his*) hereditary servants, who had been brought under subjection by (*his*) splendour, and had been acquired by gifts and honourable treatment and straightforwardness, and were attached (*to him*) by affection,—(*there was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the illustrious **Guhasêna**,—whose sins were all removed by doing obeisance to the waterlilies that were the feet of (*his*) parents; whose sword was verily a second arm (*to him*) from childhood;¹⁶ the test

¹ Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.

² Read *âyatanîkriâtâni*.

³ Read *vânta*.

⁴ Read *punar=âdadîta*.

⁵ Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following verse.

⁶ Read *vindhy-âtavîshv*.

⁷ Read *śushka*.

⁸ Read *dûtakô*.

⁹ Two very doubtful *aksharas*, or perhaps three, are engraved here. Dr. Bühler read them as *śrî-âṭa*, giving the proper name of Dêṭaha. But we ought to have simply the *ma* of *mahâkshapaṭalika*.

¹⁰ Read *paṭalika-râjakula*. The *tra* is meaningless; and it is not easy to see how it came to be introduced.

¹¹ Supply *śâsanam*.

¹² Read *jyêshṭha*.

¹³ Read *samvat*.

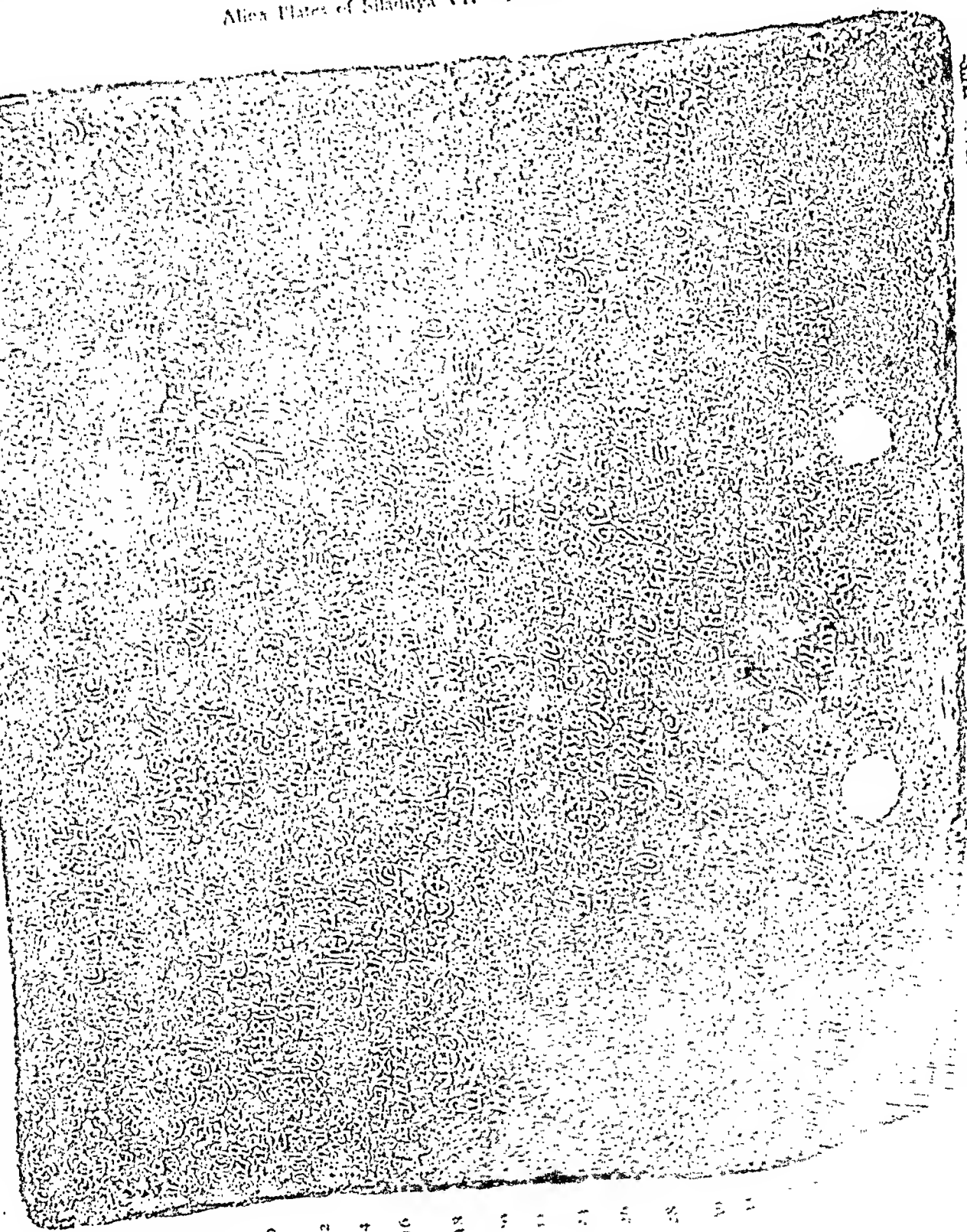
¹⁴ In the original, these two words, with a representation of the sign-manual underneath them, stand in an enclosure at the end of lines 70-78.

¹⁵ The proper context is in line 64,—“The glorious Śîlâdityadêva (VII.) issues a command to all people.”

¹⁶ See page 168 above, note 2.

III.

Alia Placa of Siladitya VII — The Year 447



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100



42 44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62 64 66 68 70 72 74 76 78

of whose strength was manifested by clapping (*his*) hands on the temples of the rutting elephants of (*his*) foes; who had the collection of the rays of the nails of (*his*) feet interspersed with the lustre of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of (*his*) enemies who were made to bow down by his prowess; whose title of 'king' was obvious and suitable, because he pleased the hearts of (*his*) subjects by preserving the proper rites of the path prescribed by all the traditionary laws; who in beauty, lustre, stability, profundity, wisdom, and wealth, surpassed (*respectively*) (the god) Smara, the moon, (Himālaya) the king of mountains, the ocean, (Bṛhaspati) the preceptor of the gods, and (the god) Dhanēśa; who, through being intent upon giving freedom from fear to those who came for protection, was indifferent to all the (*other*) results of his vigour, as if they were (*of as little value as*) straw; who delighted the hearts of learned people and (*his*) friends and favourites, by giving (*them*) wealth greater (*even*) than their requests; (*and*) who was, as it were, the personified happiness of the circumference of the whole earth.

(Line 7.)—His son, whose sins were all washed away by the torrent of the waters of (the river) Jāhnavī spread out by the diffusion [of the rays*] of the nails of his feet, (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious **Dharasēna (II.)**,—whose riches were the sustenance of a hundred thousand favourites; who was with eagerness, as if from a desire for (*his*) beauty, resorted to by (*all*) the virtuous qualities of an inviting kind; who astonished all archers by the speciality of (*his*) innate strength and (*skill acquired by*) practice; who was the preserver of religious grants bestowed by former kings; who averted calamities that would have afflicted (*his*) subjects; who was the exponent of (*the condition of being*) the one (*joint*) habitation of wealth and learning; whose prowess was skilful in enjoying¹ the goddess of the fortunes of the compact ranks of (*his*) enemies; (*and*) who possessed a spotless princely glory, acquired by (*his*) prowess.

(L. 10.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious **Śīlāditya (I.)**, who acquired the second name of **Dharmāditya** by the pursuit of wealth, happiness, and riches, illumined by conformity with religion,—who pervaded all the regions with the excess of (*his*) wonderful good qualities that gladdened all mankind; who supported the great burden of weighty desires on a cushion that was (*his*) shoulder, radiant with the lustre of (*his*) scimitar that was possessed of the brilliance of victory in a hundred battles; who, though (*his*) intellect was pure through mastering the endmost divisions of the limits of all the sciences, was easily to be gratified with even a small amount of good conversation; who, though (*his*) heart possessed a profundity that could be fathomed by no people, yet had a most agreeable disposition that was displayed by the excess of (*his*) good actions; (*and*) who acquired an eminent reputation by clearing out the blocked-up path (*of the good behaviour*) of the kings of the Kṛita age.

(L. 14.)—His younger brother,² who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious **Kharagraha (I.)**,—who possessed a wealth [of vigour*] that was not worn out, either with fatigue or with pleasurable enjoyment, when, bearing the yoke as if he were a most choice bullock, he was carrying on (*his*) shoulders, with the sole object of fulfilling his commands,³ the goddess of sovereignty, even while she was still an object to be longed for by (*his*) elder (*brother*) who, excessively full

¹ See page 169 above, note 3.

² See page 177 above, note 1.

³ i.e. the commands of Śīlāditya I.

of respect (*for him*), (*behaved*) as if he were (the god Indra) the elder (*brother*) of Upēndra;¹ who, though (*his*) footstool was covered over with the lustre of the jewels on the heads of a hundred kings subdued by (*his*) wealth of power, had a disposition that was not embued with the sentiment of haughtiness (*induced*) by contempt for other people; by (*whose*) enemies, even though renowned for manliness and pride, no remedy, except the performance of obeisance alone, could be successfully employed; the collection of whose pure virtues effected the happiness of the whole world; who forcibly destroyed all the specious procedure of (*this wicked*) Kali age; whose very noble heart was not tainted by any of the faults that assert an ascendancy over inferior people; who was renowned for manliness; who excelled in knowledge of the sacred writings; (*and*) who manifested (*his*) attainment of being accounted the first among heroes, by being spontaneously chosen (*as her lord and husband*) by the goddess of the fortunes of the assembled hostile kings.

(L. 19.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious **Dharasēna (III.)**,—who, by mastering all the sciences, produced an excess of joy in the minds of all learned people; who, with (*his*) goodness and wealth and liberality, and with (*his*) heroism, broke the chariot-axles that were the thoughts of (*his*) enemies who, occupied in intense reflection (*upon his might*), lost the power of acting in concert (*against him*); who, though thoroughly well conversant with the devious divisions of the many sacred writings and the arts and sciences and the proceedings of mankind, still had a nature that was of the most gracious kind; who, though possessed of innate affability, was (*still further*) decorated with the grace of modesty; who destroyed the display of pride of (*his*) opponents by the staff of (*his*) arm that was uplifted in the act of capturing banners of victory in a hundred battles; (*and*) whose commands were hailed with joy by the whole array of kings whose pride, induced by (*their*) skill in the use of weapons, was subdued by the power of his own bow.

(L. 22.)—His younger brother, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the illustrious **Dhruvasēna (II.)**,² whose famous second name of **Bālāditya** was established as one of appropriate meaning, through the (*whole*) world being pervaded by the affection of mankind that was produced by (*his*) rising,³—who surpassed all previous kings in excellent achievements; who was the accomplisher of objects, even such as were hard to be attained;⁴ who was, as it were, the very personification of manhood; who, as if he were Manu, was spontaneously resorted to by (*his*) subjects, the action of whose thoughts excelled in affection for (*his*) great good qualities; who mastered all the arts and sciences; who, in beauty, put to shame the moon, which (*lustrous as it is, still*) is marked with spots; who pervaded with (*his*) great brilliance all the intermediate spaces between the points of the compass; who destroyed

¹ Upēndra, the younger brother of Indra, is Viṣṇu. The allusion seems to be to the contest between Viṣṇu (in his incarnation as Kṛiṣṇa) and Indra concerning the tree of Indra's paradise, in which Viṣṇu was victorious and had homage done to him by Indra (see the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, book V. chap. xxx.; Hall's edition of Wilson's Translation, Vol. V. p. 97 ff.)—On this analogy, it would seem that the two brothers, Śilāditya I. and Kharagraha I., had some dispute about the leadership of their family; and that eventually Śilāditya I. conceded the question to his younger brother.

² See page 175 above, note 15.

³ The play on words is on the meaning of *bāl-āditya*, 'the young sun, the rising sun.'

⁴ Or "who was the conqueror of territories, even such as were hard to be subdued."

the mass of darkness; who, being a sun that was always risen, was (*ever*) conferring upon (*his*) subjects confidence of the highest kind, that was fully justified, (*and*) was the result of the very various objects with which he busied himself (*for their welfare*), (*and*) was filled out with (*constant*) augmentation; who, being clever (*on the one side*) in determining peace and war and reconciliation (*and on the other*) in settling the euphonic joining of letters and the analysis of words and composition, was thoroughly well versed even in both the rituals of sovereignty and of Śālāturiya,¹ (*the text-books on the one side*) of those who give commands suitable to the rank (*of their subordinates*) (*and on the other side*) of those who apply substituted grammatical forms suitable to the places (*that they are to fill*), (*and on the one side*) of those who are eminent in refinement effected by the employment of an increase of virtue, (*and on the other side*) of those who excel in the perfection of language effected by the employment of the *guṇa*² and *ṛiddhi*³ changes of vowels; who, though naturally valorous, possessed a heart that was tender through compassion; who, though well acquainted with sacred learning, was free from pride; who, though beautiful, was full of tranquillity; (*and*) who, though firm in friendship, repudiated people pervaded with faults.

(L. 28.)—His son, whose forehead, resembling a portion of the moon, had on it a spot that was the mark caused by rubbing against the earth in performing obeisance to the waterlilies that were his feet, (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, and *Chakravartin*,⁴ the glorious Dharasēna (IV.),—who, in very childhood, had a speciality of sacred learning that was as pure as the beauty of the pearl-ornaments worn in (*his*) ears; who had the waterlilies that were (*his*) fingers besprinkled with the stream of (*constant*) liberality; who intensified the happiness of the earth by the lenient levying of taxes, as if he were intensifying the happiness of a maiden by tenderly taking (*her*) hand (*in marriage*); who, as if he were (*the very personification of*) the science of archery of bowmen, perceived at once all objects that should be aimed at; (*and*) whose commands were like the jewels in the locks of hair worn on the heads of all the chieftains who bowed down before (*him*).

(L. 32.)—Of the son⁵ of the illustrious Śilāditya (I.),⁶ who was the (*elder*) brother of his father's father⁷ (Kharagraha I.), (*and*) who was, as it were, (the god) Śārṅga-

¹ The grammarian Pāṇini, as having been born in the town of Śālātura. The play on words here rests on the ordinary and grammatical meanings of *sandhi*, *vigraha*, and the other terms employed.

² The formative change of *i*, and *ī*, *u* and *ū*, *ṛi* and *ṛī*, and *lṛi*, into *ē*, *ō*, *ar* or *ra* and *al*.

³ The formative change of *a*, *i* and *ī*, *u* and *ū*, *ṛi* and *ṛī*, into *ā*, *ai*, *au*, *ār* or *rā*, and *āl*.

⁴ *Chakravartin* is explained by Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, as meaning "a ruler, the wheels (*chakra*) of whose chariot roll everywhere without obstruction;" or "the ruler of a *chakra* or country described as extending from sea to sea." Another explanation is given in the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, book I. chap. xiii. verse 46 (see Hall's edition of H. H. Wilson's Translation, Vol. I. p. 183, and note 1), *viz.* "a discus (*chakra*), the sign of (the god) Vishṇu, (is to be found among the marks) on the hands of all *Chakravartins*; (and such a ruler is one) whose prowess cannot be withstood even by the gods."—The word *Chakravartin* denotes 'an universal ruler;' and is one of the technical titles of paramount sovereignty, though it is not of such frequent occurrence as the others are (see page 10 above, note 3).—This Dharasēna's own grant of the year 326, inserts, after *Chakravartin*, the epithet "who meditated on the feet of (his) illustrious grandfather" (see page 172 above, note 4).

⁵ See page 176 above, note 5.

⁶ Mentioned in line 14 above.

⁷ *i.e.* of the father's father of the last-mentioned king, Dharasēna IV.

pâni,—(*viz.*) of the illustrious **Dêrabhata**, who performed obeisance with (*his*) limbs bowed down through attachment; whose head was always rendered pure, as if by (the river) Mandâkinî, by the very dazzling lustre, proceeding from the waterlilies that were his feet,¹ of the jewels that were the nails of (*his*) feet; who, as if he were Agastya, was a royal saint, displaying courtesy on all sides; who with the exceedingly white circle of (*his*) fame, that adorned the points of the compass, formed an entire halo round the moon in the sky; (*and*) who was the lord of the earth which has (the mountains) Sahya and Vindhya for (*its*) lovely breasts,² the nipples of which are (*their*) summits that are made of a dark-blue colour by the clouds (*resting upon them*),—the son³ (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the illustrious **Dhruvasêna (III.)**,—who accepted in marriage the goddess of royalty, just as if she were longing to choose (*him*) of her own accord, from the assemblage of kings, full of affection (*for him*) (*and*) wearing fine garments that were (*their*) resplendent reputations, which offered (*her to him*); who relied upon (*his*) heroism, which was never exerted in vain, as if upon a scimitar which bowed down the array of (*his*) fierce enemies; who, in the autumn season,⁴ according to proper custom levied taxes from (*his*) enemies' lands, the quiet state of which was upset by (*his*) bow, the arrows of which were forcibly drawn out to the full; who, having (*his*) ears already decorated with an excess of sacred learnings, radiant with a variety of topics, had them (*still further*) adorned with the embellishment of jewels, as if it were (*with that sacred learning*) repeated again and again; (*and*) who,—holding up a fore-arm which, (*covered*) with gleaming bracelets and wings of beautiful insects and rays of jewels, was as it were a fresh sprout of a *śaivala*-plant⁵ looking charming in the waters that were (*his*) ceaseless gifts,—embraced the (*whole*) earth with (*his*) arms which, wearing great jewelled bands, behaved as if they were the banks of the shores of the ocean.

(L. 39.)—His elder⁶ brother (*was*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the illustrious **Kharagraha (II.)**, who, in a very clear and suitable manner, had the second name of **Dharmâditya**—whose slender body was embraced in a very public fashion by the goddess of fortune herself, who was minded, as it were, to destroy the pollution of the touches of other kings; who surpassed all (*other*) kings by the greatness of (*his*) exceedingly brilliant achievements; who had the waterlilies that were (*his*) feet studded with the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of (*their*) heads of the whole assemblage of chieftains who bowed down when they had been subdued by the violence of (*their*) excessive affection (*for him*); who broke the pride of the multitude of (*his*) enemies with the large and lofty staff of (*his*) arm; who scorched the whole race of (*his*) foes with (*his*) very hot brilliance that spread itself abroad; who delivered over (*all his*) wealth to the ranks of (*his*) favourites;⁷ who had a mace that he hurled, and a nice-looking discus that he threw; who discarded childish sports; who never treated the twice-born with contempt; who ac-

¹ *i.e.* the feet of Dhruvasêna IV.

² See page 86 above, note 2.

³ See page 176 above, note 9.

⁴ As being suitable for campaigns, and also for marriages, as indicated by the secondary meaning of this sentence, in which *para-bhuvām* means "his enemies' daughters."

⁵ The aquatic plant, *Vallisneria Octandra*.

⁶ See page 177 above, note 1.

⁷ In this and some of the following sentences, he is, through their secondary meanings, compared and contrasted with the god Vishnu.

quired the (*whole*) surface of the earth by (*his*) prowess alone; who approved not of making his couch among stupid people; who was one of the best of men of a kind that was unprecedented; who, as if he were the personification of religion, properly regulated the practices of the different castes and stages of life; whose lofty and excellent white banner of religion was hailed by the three worlds that were gladdened by (*his*) collecting together, in the joy of (*his*) very upright disposition, and then assenting to (*the continuance of the enjoyment of*), even those grants to gods and Brâhmanas that had been confiscated by previous kings, who were made avaricious by a little greed; who glorified his own lineage; (*and*) who, having done worship to the gods and Brâhmanas and spiritual preceptors, filled all the circuit of the regions with the continuity of (*his*) excellent reputation acquired by (*their*) satisfaction produced by (*his*) settlement of liberal grants of the *udraṅga*¹ and other (*rights*) which were ceaselessly made (*by him*) according to the merits (*of the recipients*.)

(L. 47.)—Of his elder brother,² the illustrious Śīlāditya (II.),³—who made all the regions white with (*his*) fame, as if with the light of the full-moon that makes the beauty of the waterlilies to develop itself; (*and*) who was the lord of the earth, the bulky breasts of which are the Vindhya mountains of a dark-blue colour like cakes of ointment made of pounded aloë-bark,—the son (*was*) the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the glorious Śīlādityadēva (III.),—who day by day increased (*his*) circle of accomplishments, like the new cold-rayed (moon) day by day increasing (*its*) digits; who adorned the goddess of sovereignty, like a young lordly lion adorning a forest on a mountain; who, like (the god Kārttikēya) who has the banner of a peacock, was adorned with a beautiful lock of hair on the top of the head, and was possessed of excessively great energy and majesty; who was [full of glory (*and*) possessed ample treasures*],⁴ like the approach of autumn, [which is full of warmth (*and*) causes the waterlilies to bloom*]; [who used to part asunder in battle the elephants of (*his*) enemies, just as the young sun, hot (*even*) in (*its*) rising, parts asunder the clouds*]; [who used to steal in war the lives*] of (*his*) enemies; who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara; (*and*) who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, (*his*) glorious uncle.⁵

(L. 51.)—His son (*was*) the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the glorious Śīlādityadēva (IV.),—[who achieved*] supremē lordship⁶ [by engaging in the creation of another world]; the diffused fire of whose great prowess played about on the temples of (*his*) enemies' elephants, which were split open by the blows of (*his*) sword that was drawn in anger; who acquired a firm position on the earth by encircling it about

¹ See page 97 above, note 6.

² See page 177 above, note 4.

³ In Dr. Bühler's genealogical table (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 208; and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 26), this Śīlāditya, because he did not actually reign, is passed over without being numbered; with the result that the last of the family, the maker of the present grant, is called Śīlāditya VI., instead of Śīlāditya VII. But this arrangement, if endorsed, would place us under the inconvenience of having to refer to him in a very roundabout way, by specifying his father, son, or brother, in any discussion of the history of the family. He belongs to the direct line of descent; and all considerations of expediency require that he should be duly numbered, quite as much as his grandfather and descendants of the same name.

⁴ See page 177 above, note 8.

⁵ *dhāva*.—See page 178 above, note 1, and page 186 below, note 1.

⁶ See page 178 above, note 2.—In this passage, Śīlāditya IV. is likened to the god Śiva, under the name of *Paramēśvara* or 'the supreme lord,' and as the creator (see page 155 above, note 1.)

with a rampart; whose umbrella was constituted by the canopy of (*his*) fame, white as the clusters of foam of the ocean of milk when it was stirred about by the shaking of the churning-stick, which hung out from a mighty staff that was his own arm, (*and*) which enveloped the whole circumference of the earth; who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara; (*and*) who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, (*his*) glorious father.¹

¹ *bappa*.—This word has already occurred in line 50 above, where, however, it is a mistake for *bāva*, 'uncle.'—The word *bāva*, qualified by the paramount titles, in the epithet *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-bāva-pād-ānudyāta*, actually occurs (1) only in respect of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara* Śīlāditya III., a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara (Śiva), in line 46 of the grant of his son Śīlāditya IV. of the year 372 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 212; and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 99), and in lines 45 and 46 respectively of the two grants of Śīlāditya V. of the year 403 (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 343). No other instance of the use of *bāva* is known to me.—The word *bappa* is of far more frequent use. In the Valabhi grants it occurs, qualified by the same paramount titles, in *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-bappa-pād-ānudyāta*, an epithet that is applied (2) here and in lines 54-55, 57-58, and 63 below, and in other grants as far as they go, to Śīlāditya IV. V. VI. and VII., each of whom came in direct succession after his father, and each of whom had the paramount titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, and was also a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara. Among the inscriptions of other families, the same expression, *bappa-pād-ānudyāta*, without any qualifying titles of *bappa*, is used as an epithet (3) of the *Bhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārāja* Śivadēva I. of Nēpāl (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 98, line 1-2); (4) of the *Mahāsāmanta* Amśuvarman of Nēpāl, who was also favoured by the feet of the god Paśupati, *i.e.* Śiva (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 169, No. 6, line 2, and p. 170, No. 7, line 4-5); (5) of Jishnugupta of Nēpāl, who again was also favoured by the feet of the god Paśupati (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 171, No. 9, line 4, and p. 173, No. 10, line 6-7); and (6) of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja* Śivadēva II. of Nēpāl, who again was also favoured by the feet of the god Paśupati, and was a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 174, No. 12, line 2, and p. 176, No. 13, line 2).—The same expression *bappa-pād-ānudyāta*, with the feudatory titles of *Mahārāja* and *Bhaṭṭāraka* qualifying *bappa*, occurs in *paramadaivata-bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja-śrī-pād-ānudyāta*, an epithet (7) of the *Bhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārāja* Vasantasēna of Nēpāl (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 167, No. 3, line 1-2).—And finally, a compound of almost identical import, *viz.* *bappa-pāda-bhakta*, "devoted to the feet of *bappa*," occurs, with the title *Bhaṭṭāraka* qualifying *bappa*, in the epithet *bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhakta*, which is applied (8) to the Pallava *Mahārāja* Simhavarman II., who was a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat, *i.e.* the Divine One, or Viṣṇu (*id.* Vol. V. p. 155, line 13); (9) to the Veṅgi *Mahārāja* Vijayanandivarman, also a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat (*id.* Vol. V. p. 176, line 1); and (10) to the Pallava *Mahārāja* Nandivarman, again a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat (*id.* Vol. VIII. p. 168, line 14-15); and, with the further qualifying title of *Mahārāja*, in the epithet *bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja-pāda-bhakta*, which is applied (11) to the Pallava *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman, again a most devout worshipper of Bhagavat (*id.* Vol. V. p. 51, line 14).—In publishing the two grants of Śīlāditya V. of the year 403, Mr. V. N. Mandlik (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 355, note) treated the words *bappa* and *bāva*, quite unnecessarily, as identical, and considered that they denoted "some great teacher of the Śaiva faith, or some remarkable great king of that name; but more probably the former, from the adjectives used;" or, again, some "sage, venerated equally in all parts of Hindustān." So, also, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 167, note 17) has recorded his opinion that *bappa* is "a general title used by chief priests." And I myself (*id.* Vol. X. p. 57 f., note 4), have suggested that the name is that of "some king or pontiff of very early times, whose authority was recognised universally in his own day, and was afterwards preserved in the tradition of several distinct regal families."—These suggested explanations, however, cannot be upheld.—In the first place, the epithet in which *bappa* occurs belongs undoubtedly to persons of the Śaiva faith in instances 1 to 6 above. But Nos. 8 to 11 shew that it was applicable just as much to followers of the Vaishṇava faith.—In the second place, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler (*id.* Vol. V. p. 208 f.) the feudatory title *Mahārāja* which qualifies *bappa* in Nos. 7 and 11 above, and, still more, the paramount sovereign titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, which qualify it in the instances grouped under No. 2, shew that the word must refer to some one of noble or regal birth, and cannot denote a priest, no matter how high

(L. 53).—[His son] (*was*) the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the glorious Śīlādityadēva (V.),—the waterlilies of whose feet were tinted by being covered over with the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of all the chieftains, who did obeisance through the affection (*produced*) by (*his*)

his rank in the hierarchy might be.—As regards the question of *bappa* being a proper name, the word does occur in this way, as the name of an official, the *Balādhikṛita* and *Bhōgika* Bappa (*id.* Vol. V. p. 212, and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 99, line 59); as the name of someone after whom was named the *Bappa-pādīya-vihāra*, or "Buddhist monastery of the feet of Bappa," at Valabhī (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 12, line 19); in Bappasvāmin, one of the grantees in the Khōh grant of the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja* Hastin, of the year 163 (No. 22 above, p. 103, line 11); in Bappārya, one of the grantees in line 53 of the Chammak grant of the Vākātaka *Mahārāja* Pravarasēna II. (No. 55 below, Plate xxxiv. line 53); and in Bappabhaṭṭi, a Jain teacher, allotted to Vikrama-Samvat 800 to 895 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 253). The same word is probably a component of Bappūra, the name of the family to which, as recorded in an unpublished inscription of Maṅgalīśa (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 19, 22), Durlabhādēvi, the wife of the Early Chalukya king Pulikēśin I., belonged. A similar word *tāppa*, probably derived from it, occurs in Bāppadēva, the name of a *Sēnāpati* in the Siwan grant of Pravarasēna II. (No. 56 below, Plate xxxv. line 35). And, finally, Bappa has been preserved by tradition, in 'Mewar,' as the more familiar appellation of an early Gōhila chief, who is said to have established the power of that tribe on the overthrow of the Bhīllas or Bhīls (see *Tod's Annals of Rājasthān*, chapter II., Calcutta Reprint, Vol. I. p. 238 ff.; also pp. 121, 253, 258 f.; see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 275, note 26).—But the idea that, in the technical expression under discussion, *bappa* denotes some particular priest, whether of the Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava faith, whose memory had been preserved in different parts of India from very early times, has been disposed of above. And, this being so, it remains difficult, on the supposition that the word is a proper name, to imagine how it should have cropped up again from time to time, under precisely similar circumstances, in such different parts of the country, and such varying periods, as are indicated by instances 2 to 11 above.—The true explanation of the word first occurred to me from noticing the way in which the titles that qualify *bappa* vary in accordance with the titles of the persons to whom the epithet *bappa-pad-ānudhyāta* is applied; and it is fully borne out by the epithet *śrī-ajjaka-pad-ānudhyāta*, which is applied only to Dharasēna IV. in his complete grant of the year 326 (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 79, line 38; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 16), and in his grant of the same year of which only the translation of the second plate has been published (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 45). This expression, which, if it had not been so completely overlooked, would probably have made the matter clear long ago, dropped out in all the subsequent Valabhī grants, even in those of Dharasēna IV. himself of the year 330; probably on account of something in the official relations between Śīlāditya I. and Kharagraha I. which remains to be cleared up. But it occurs in these two instances; and, in accordance with Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's rendering (*id.* Vol. I. p. 16), it undoubtedly means "meditating on the feet of (his) illustrious grandfather." *Ajja* in Kanarese, and *ajā* and *ājā* in Marāṭhī, are the ordinary words for 'a grandfather' in the present day. And it is evident that *ajjaka* is the older Prākṛit word, from which these have been derived.—On this analogy, *bappa* suggests itself at once as the old Prākṛit form of the modern *bāp*, 'a father. And now it becomes clear why the word is qualified by the paramount titles in its connection with the paramount sovereign Śīlāditya IV. and his successors, the reason being that the father of each of them was himself a paramount sovereign; and, on the other hand, why, in its connection with feudatories, it has either no qualificatory title at all, or only the feudatory titles *Mahārāja* and *Bhaṭṭāraka*, as in the case of Vasantasēna, Siṃhavarman, Vijayanandivarman, Nandivarman, and Viṣṇugōpavarman. The rule thus disclosed also shews why, in the case of Śivadēva II., himself a paramount sovereign, *bappa* has no qualifying term; for, the way in which he is introduced in lines 11-12 of the Nēpā inscription No. 15 (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 178; see also Vol. XIV. p. 348) shews that he brought in a new branch of the Ṭhākuri family, and that his father Narēndradēva, even if he held the rank of *Mahārāja*, was at least not a paramount sovereign. And the same rule explains why, in connection with the paramount sovereign Dharasēna IV., *ajjaka* is qualified by nothing more than the ordinary title *śrī*, for, he himself was the first paramount sovereign in the family; and his grandfather, Kharagraha I., was at the best only a *Mahārāja*.—The analogy of *ajjaka* and *bappa* now suffices fully to clear up the meaning of the word *bāva*. It suggests at once that it is nothing but the older Prākṛit word from which have been derived, with somewhat differing significations in Marāṭhī, *bābā*, 'a term of respect-

splendour; who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara; (and) who meditated on the feet of the *Parameṣṭhāṣṭṛaka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, (his) glorious [father].

(L. 55.)—His son (πας) the *Parameṣṭhāṣṭṛaka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the glorious *Śilādityadēva* (VI.),—who allayed the pride of the strength of (his) enemies; who was the auspicious asylum of great victory; whose breast dallied with the embraces of the goddess of fortune; whose unrestrained energy exceeded (even) that of (the god Viṣṇu) who assumed the form of the man-lion;¹ who effected the protection of the whole earth by eradicating the hostile kings; who was the best of men; who tinted the faces of all the women that are the distant regions with the rays of the nails of (his) feet shining with the rubies in the tiaras of the powerful princes who bowed down before (him); who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara; (and) who meditated on the feet of the *Parameṣṭhāṣṭṛaka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, (his) glorious father.

For mention for a father or an elderly person: *ḍāśa*, 'a term of respectful mention for a Gōsavi, Guru, father, or elderly person,' and *ḍāśaśa*, 'a husband's brother, especially an elder brother;' and in Kanarese, *ḍāśa*, 'the son of a mother's brother, or father's sister, a man or woman's brother-in-law (in every case, if older than one's self),' and *ḍāśaśa*, 'a husband or wife's elder brother, a maternal uncle's son (similarly, in every case, if older than one's self).' Looking for its application in connection with *Śilāditya* III., we note, in the first place, that the grants shew very clearly that his father *Śilāditya* II. did not reign at all, which explains why the epithet *ḍāśa-pād-ārudhyāta* is not used in respect of him; and, in the second place, that the only paramount sovereign before him was his father's distant cousin *Dharasēna* IV., who, so far as paramount sovereignty is concerned, was his immediate predecessor. This shews us that *ḍāśa* was used, here at least, to denote 'a male relative, of the same generation with a father,' or roughly 'an uncle,' and explains why *ḍāśa* is qualified here with the paramount titles. And the fact that, after the first adoption of this technical expression, the Valabhi succession was in each instance direct from father to son, explains why the expression *ḍāśa-pād-ārudhyāta* does not occur again.—In Kanarese, *ḍāśa* appears in the form of *ḍāśa* (marked in Sanderson's edition of Reeve's Kanarese Dictionary as a word common to most Hindu languages), in *ḍāśa-siṅga*, 'the lion of (his) father,' an epithet applied to the Raṭṭa chieftain *Lakṣmidēva* II., the son and successor of *Kārtavīrya* IV. (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 113, line 63-64). In confirmation of this I may quote with the analogous introduction of terms of relationship, *ayyana-siṅga*, 'the lion of (his) father,' a title of the Śilāhara chieftain *Gaṇḍarāditya* of Kōlāpur (*Four. Br. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XIII. p. 3, line 21), and also of his son *Vijayāditya* (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 103); *śāśana-siṅga*, 'the lion of (his) father-in-law,' applied to the *Danḍanāyaka* *Kāśmāḍityadēva* (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 105, line 17-18); *ayyana-gaṇḍharāṣṭra*, 'the choice elephant of (his) elder brother,' applied to the *Danḍanāyaka* *Sōmēśvarabhaṭṭa* in the same inscription (*ib.* line 11-12); *ayyana-śāśakāṣṭra*, 'the warrior or champion of (his) elder brother,' applied to the Sinda chieftain *Āchugi* II. (*Four. Br. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 247, line 9); and *śāśana-śāśakāṣṭra*, 'the warrior or champion of (his) uncle or other relation of the same generation with his father,' applied to a Śilāhara chieftain named *Gaṇḍidēva* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 16, line 28). Other similar titles, which help to explain the preceding, through the introduction of proper names instead of words of relationship, are *śāśana-siṅga*, 'the lion of Sēna,' applied to the Raṭṭa chieftain *Kārtavīrya* II., the son and successor of *Sēna* I. (*Four. Br. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 213, line 7); *Taillana-siṅga*, 'the lion of Tallā,' applied to the Kādamba chieftain *Kīrtivarman* II. of Betavāli, the son and successor of *Tallā* I. (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 83); *Taillana-śāśakāṣṭra*, 'the warrior or champion of Tallā,' applied to *Kāmadēva* of the same family, the son and successor of *Tallā* (*ib.* p. 85); and *Gaṇḍana-śāśakāṣṭra*, 'the warrior or champion of Gaṇḍa,' and *Gaṇḍana-siṅga*, 'the lion of Gaṇḍa,' applied to the Śilāhara chieftain *Mārasimha*, the son and successor of *Gaṇḍa*, and the nephew of *Gaṇḍa* or *Gāvala* I. (No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, p. 103, line 28.)

¹ When he became incarnate, in a form that was half that of a man, and half that of a lion, in order to destroy the demon *Himnyakāṣṭha*, who had obtained a boon from Brahman that he should not be destroyed by either god or man or animal.

(L. 58.)—Victorious is his son, the glorious *Dhrūbhata*,¹ born in a lineage of supreme kings of kings and supreme lords, (*and*) possessed of great happiness,—who is renowned for an abundance of heroism that is hard to be resisted; who is the abode of the goddess of fortune; who has striven to destroy hell; who has made it (*his*) sole resolve to save the earth; whose fame is as pure as the rays of the full-moon;—who is full of virtue through his knowledge of the three (*Vēdas*); who has conquered the ranks of (*his*) enemies; who is possessed of happiness; who always confers happiness; who is the abode of knowledge; who is a protector of the world whom all people applaud; who is attended by learned men; who is praised far and wide on the earth;—who is resplendent with jewels; who has a beautiful person; who is a very pile of jewels that are virtuous qualities; who is endowed with the choicest virtues of lordship and prowess; who is always employed in conferring benefits on living creatures; who, as if he were (the god) *Janārdana* incarnate, humbles the pride of wicked people;—who is always most skilful in disposing the array of elephants in war; who is the abode of religious merit; (*and*) whose great prowess is sung over the (*whole*) earth.

(L. 63.)—[*And he**], the most devout worshipper of (the god) *Mahēśvara*, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the glorious *Śīlādityadēva* (VII.), who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, (*his*) glorious father, issues a command to all people:—

(L. 64.)—"Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*my*) parents and of myself, (*and*) in order to obtain a reward both in this world and in the next, the village named *Mahilabali*,² in the *Uppalahēta pathaka* in the famous *Khēṭaka āhāra*,—with the *udraṅga* (*and*) the *uparikara*; with (*the right to*) forced labour as the occasion arises; with the revenue of the *bhūta* and *vāta*;³ with (*the fines for*) the ten offences;⁴ with (*its*) enjoyments and shares; with the grain, and gold, and *ādēya*;

¹ See page 172 above, note 1.

² Or perhaps *Mahilābali*, with the long vowel *ā* in the third syllable.

³ See page 170 above, note 9.

⁴ *sa-daśāparādhaḥ*.—This is a technical fiscal expression, of constant use in charters, for which I have not been able to obtain any absolutely certain explanation. But Mr. S. Ch. Chitnis has brought to my notice that, in the *Dharmasindhusāra* of Kāśīnāthōpādhyāya, chapter ii. verse 19 ff., we have—*Adattānām=upādānam himsā ch=aiv=ā-vidhanataḥ || Para-dār-ōpasēvā cha kāyikam tri-vidham smṛitam || pārushyam=anritam ch=aiva paśunyaṁ ch=āpi sarvaśaḥ || Asambaddha-pralāpaś=cha vānimayam syāch=chatur-vidham || paradravyeśhv=abhidhyānam manas=ānishṭa-chintanam || Vitath-ābhinivēśaś=cha mānasam tri-vidham smṛitam || ētāni daśa pāpāni hara tvam mama Jāhnavī || Daśapāpa-harā yasmāt=tasmād=Daśaharā smṛitā*,—"the appropriation (theft) of things that are not given, and killing in a manner that is not in accordance with precept, and the pursuit of the wives of other men, are laid down to be the three (sins) of the body; harshness of language, and untruthfulness, and slandering in all directions, and incoherent conversation, are the four (sins) of speech; coveting the property of others, (*and*) thinking with the mind about things which are wrong, and tenacity of that which is not true, are laid down to be the three (sins) of the mind; do thou, O *Jāhnavī* (*Gaṅgā*), take away these my ten sins; because thou takest away (these) ten sins, therefore art thou called "*Daśaharā*."—These verses occur in connection with the *Daśaharā* (popularly *Dasarā* or *Dusrah*) a festival in honour of the river *Ganges*, held on the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month *Jyēṣṭha*.—So, also, in the *Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛidayā* of *Vāgbhata*, *Sūtrasthāna*, chapter i. verse 21 f. (Bombay edition of 1880, p. 38) we have, in only slightly different language,—*Himsā-stēy-ānyathākāman paśunyaṁ parush-ānritē || sambhinnāḷāpa-vyāpādam=abhidhyā drigviparyayam || Pāpam karm=ēti daśadhā kāya-vān-mānasais=tyajēt*; which shews that the classification was a well-established and well-known one.—These ten sins are probably the

(with the privilege that it is) not to be (even) pointed at with the hand (of undue appropriation) by any of the king's people; (and) with the exception of previously-given grants to gods and Brāhmaṇs,—is given by me, with copious libations of water, on the terms of a grant to a Brāhmaṇ, in accordance with the rule of *bhūmichchhidra*,—to endure for the same time with the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, and the mountains; (and) to be enjoyed by the succession of sons and sons' sons,—to the *Bhaṭṭa* Ākhaṇḍa-mitra, the son of the *Bhaṭṭa* Viṣṇu, an inhabitant of the famous town of *Ānandapura*, belonging to the community of *Chaturvêdins* of that (place), a member of the *Śārkarākshigôtra*, and a student of the *Bahvricha* (*śākhā*),—for the maintenance of the rites of the *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihôtra*, and *atithi* sacrifices, and other (ceremonies).

(L. 69.)—"Wherefore, no one should behave so as to cause obstruction to this person in enjoying (it) in accordance with the proper conditions of a grant to a Brāhmaṇ (and) cultivating (it), (or) causing it to be cultivated, or assigning (it to another).

(L. 70.)—" (And) this Our gift should be assented to and preserved by future pious kings, whether born of Our lineage or others, bearing in mind that riches do not endure for ever, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land belongs in common (both to him who makes it and to him who continues it)."

(L. 72.)—And it has been said by Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vêdas:—The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continues it)! These chattels, made into altars of religion, which have been formerly given here (on earth) by (previous) kings, (are) like the remains of offerings to gods, and like food that is vomited up; verily, what good man would take them back again? The giver of land abides in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Those who confiscate a grant of land, are born as black serpents, dwelling in the hollows of dried-up trees in the Vindhya mountains, destitute of water!

(L. 75.)—The *Dūtaka* in this matter (is) the *Mahāpratihāra*,¹ the *Mahākshapaṭalika*,² a member of the king's household, the illustrious *Siddhasēna*, the son of the illustrious *Śarvaṭa*; and (this charter) has been written by his deputy, the *Pratinartaka*,³ the high-born *Amātya* *Guha*, the son of *Hembaṭa*, who was deputed by him (to write it).

dāsa aparādhaḥ, or 'ten offences,' referred to in the text. And the full technical expression evidently conveyed, to the grantee of a village, the right to the proceeds of fines imposed for the commission of these, or similar, wrongful actions in the limits of his village.

¹ *Mahāpratihāra*, lit. 'the great *Pratihāra*,' is a technical official title denoting the superior officer of the *Pratihāras* or 'door-keepers.'

² *Mahākshapaṭalika*, lit. 'the great *Ākshapaṭalika*,' is a technical official title denoting the superior officer of the *Ākshapaṭalikas* or 'keepers of the records.'—The title *Ākshapaṭalika* occurs for instance, in an abbreviated form, in line 34 of the Kaṭi grant of Bhīmadēva II. of Vikrama-Samvat 1283 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 200). It is derived from *akshapaṭala*, which Monier Williams gives in his Sanskrit Dictionary as meaning 'a court of law; a depository of legal documents,' and which occurs in the title *Akshapaṭalādhiḥkṛta*, synonymous with *Ākshapaṭalika*, in line 15 of No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii.—Another title, *Ākshaśālita*, which is perhaps synonymous with *Ākshapaṭalika*, occurs in line 25 of the 'Chicacole' grant of Indravarman of the year 146 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 123).

³ *Pratinartaka* appears to be an official or family title. Westergaard, in his *Radices*, does not give *nartaka* in composition with *prati*. Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives it in the sense of 'to dance before, in token of contempt.' But it more probably has some connection with *nartaka* in the sense of 'a bard, a herald.'

(L. 77.)—In four centuries of years, increased by forty-seven; on the fifth lunar day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Jyêshṭha; (or) in figures, the year 400 (and) 40 (and) 7; (the month) Jyêshṭha; the bright fortnight; (the lunar day) 5. (This is) my sign-manual.¹

No. 40; PLATE XXVI.

ARANG COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE RAJA MAHA-JAYARAJA.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1884, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 55 ff. and Plates xxiv. and xxv. ; and is now published in full for the first time,—is on some copper-plates that were obtained by Colonel Bloomfield, and were found at Ârang,² a village about twenty miles almost due east of Râypur,³ the chief town of the Râypur District in the Central Provinces. The original plates are now in the Provincial Museum at Nâgpur.

The plates, of which the first is inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about $5\frac{3}{8}$ " by $2\frac{3}{4}$ " at the ends and a little less in the middle. They are quite smooth, the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. A few of the letters have been damaged by rust; but the inscription is for the most part in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The plates are of fair thickness; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the backs of them at all. The engraving is very good, but shews here and there, as usual, in the interiors of the letters, marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is circular, about $\frac{3}{16}$ " thick, and 3" in diameter; it had already been cut, for the purpose of taking impressions of the plates, when the grant came into my hands; but there is no reason to suppose that it is not the ring properly belonging to the plates. The seal, in which the ends of the ring are secured, is circular, about $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter; and, like the seal of the Râypur grant of Mahâ-Sudêvarâja, No. 41, below, Plate xxvii., it has a strong yellow glint in it, which gives it the appearance of being made of a kind of brass, rather than of copper. It has, in relief, on a countersunk and slightly concave surface,—across the centre, a legend, in two lines, of which the text and translation are given below;—in the upper part, a standing figure of the goddess Lakshmi, facing full-front; on each side of her, an elephant standing on a waterlily, with its trunk lifted up to pour water over her head; in the proper right corner, an expanded waterlily, on its stalk; and in the proper left corner, a *śaṅkha* or conch-shell;—and in the lower part, there seems to have been a floral device. The seal has, at some time or other, been subjected to the action of fire, but not enough to do any very serious damage to the legend and devices on it.—The weight of the three plates is about 1 lb. 3 oz., and of the ring and seal, 1 lb. 1 oz.; total 2 lbs. 4 oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{16}$ "

¹ *sva-hasta*.—In the original these words have some wavy lines under them, which are intended for an actual representation of the sign-manual. See also page 171 above, note 2.

² The 'Airing and Arang' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 91. Lat. $21^{\circ} 12' N.$; Long. $82^{\circ} 1' E.$ —Gen. Cunningham was first informed (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 55) that the plates were found at Ârvi (see page 192 below, and note 4); then (*id.* p. 59), that they were actually obtained at Râypur, but were most probably found at Ârang; and finally (*id.* Preface, p. iii.), that they were found at Ârang.

³ The 'Raepoor, Raipur, and Ryepoor,' of maps.

The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets, and give another very good specimen of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, on which I have commented at page 19 above. They include, however, in *chūḍā*, line 1, the separate form of the lingual *ḍ*, as distinct from the dental *ḍ*. The superscript long vowel *ī* is denoted in rather a peculiar way, by a mark just like an *anusvāra* inside the circle which, by itself, represents the superscript short *i*; see, for instance, *sīmamāntī*, line 2, and *rāshṭrīya*, line 4; the burr of the copper, raised in the process of engraving, gives in a few places, in the ink-impression and consequently in the lithograph, a faint mark, very similar to this, inside the short *i* proper, e.g. in *bhūmipān*, line 13; but the difference can, of course, be detected at once in the original plates. The characters also include, in line 24, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 5 and 20.—The **language** is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal is in verse; but the inscription itself, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 13 to 23, is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the *jihvāmālīya* and *upadhmanīya*, in *yah=kāñchanam*, line 18; and *pradaḥ ḥ=parama*, line 3, and *dhiyaḥ=pravadamnti*, line 14; (2) a constant use of the *anusvāra*, instead of the dental *n*, and the doubling of *t* after it, e.g. in *sāmamnta*, line 1; *uddharamnti*, line 17; and *bhavamnti*, line 18; (3) the doubling of *v* after the *anusvāra*, in *samvatsara*, line 24; (4) the insertion of a superfluous *anusvāra*, in *prasamna*, line *a* of the seal; *āmbubhir*, line 1-2; *kutummbinaḥ*, line 5; and *pravadamnti*, line 14; (5) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *vikkram-ākkrāmṭa*, line *a* of the seal, and *vikkrama*, line 1; (6) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyāta*, line 4; (7) the introduction of a superfluous sibilant, in *pradaḥ ḥ=parama*, line 3; *anuddhyātaḥ ś=śrī*, line 4; and *kutummbinaḥ s=samajñāpayati*, line 5; and (8) the use of *siṅgha* for *siṃha*, line 24, and of *tāmbra* for *tāmra*, line 11.

The **inscription** is one of the *Rāja Jayarāja* or *Mahā-Jayarāja*; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the town of *Śarabhapura*. The date of the engraving of it is recorded, in numerical symbols, as the year five of increasing victory, and the twenty-fifth day, without any, specification of the fortnight, of the month *Mārgaśīra* (November-December). No era is referred to; and, as we have a similar small date of the year ten in the next inscription of *Mahā-Sudēvarāja*, the fifth year must be simply that of the power or government of *Jayarāja*. It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being only to record the grant, by *Jayarāja* himself, to a *Brāhmaṇ*, of the village of *Pamvā* in the *Pūrvarāshṭra* or **Eastern Country**.¹

As regards the town of *Śarabhapura*, whence the charter was issued, General Cunningham² has suggested—in the first place, that, by elision of the initial *ś*, it may, through the forms of 'Arabhpura' and 'Arbhi,' be represented by the modern *Ārvi*,³ the chief town of the *Ārvi Tahsil* or Sub-Division of the *Wardhā District* in the *Central Provinces*;—and in the second place, that it may be represented by the modern 'Sambal-

¹ So called, perhaps, from its lying on the east of the range of mountains, identified by Gen. Cunningham with the *Mēkala* mountains, which commences near 'Amarkantak,' runs to the south, passing about half-way between *Nāgpur* and *Rāypur*, and then, near 'Wairagarh,' takes a sharp turn to the east, and comes to an end about sixty miles south-east of *Rājim*.

² *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 57 f.

³ The *Arooc*, *Arvi*, and *Arwee*, of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 72. Lat. 20° 59' N. Long. 78° 16' E.—It is thirty miles north-west of *Wardhā*, and about two hundred and thirty miles west by south from *Rāypur*.

pur' or 'Sambhalpur,' the chief town of the 'Sambalpur' District in the Central Provinces, where, or in which neighbourhood, another copper-plate inscription of Mahā-Sudēvarāja was obtained.³ But neither of these proposed derivations can be upheld. And, if Śarabhapura is represented by any place now existing, we have to look in the maps for some such name as Sarbhôr or Sābhôr.

TEXT.

The Seal.

- a Prasam̐na⁴-h[rida]yasy=aiva vikram-ākkrā[m]tta-
vidvisha[h]
b śrīmatô Jayarājasya śāsa[nam] ripu-śāsanam [II*]

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti Sarabhapurât d=vikram⁶-ôpanata-sāmaṁtta-chûḍāmaṇ[i]-prabhā-prasêk-
ām-
2 mbubhir⁷=dhô(dhau)ta-pāda-yugalô ripu-vilāsinī-sīmaṁtt-ôddharana-hētu-
3 r=vasu-vasudhā-gô-pradaḥ ḥ=parama⁸bhāgavatô mâtāpitri-pā-
4 d-ānuddhyātah ś=śrī⁹-Mahā-Jayarājah Pūrvvarāshṭriya-Pamvām¹⁰-prati-
5 vāsi-kuṭummbi¹⁰naḥ s=sam¹¹ājñāpayati 1 Veditam=astu vô yath=ā-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 6 smābhir=ayam grama- 1 s¹²=tridaśapati-sadana-sukha-pratishṭh-ākarô yāva-
7 d=ravi-śāsi-tārā-kirāṇa-pratihata-ghôr-andhakāram jaga[d=a*]vatishṭhatê
8 tāvad = upabhōgyas = sa - nidhis = s - ôpanidhir = a - chāṭa - bhāṭa - prāvêśyas = sa -
9 rvva-kara-visarjitaḥ Vāji(ja)sanēya-Kauṇḍinyasagôtraḥ Brahma¹³dēva-
10 svāminê II(I)¹⁴ mâtāpitrôr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ê(ā)bhivṛi[d*]dhayê II(I) udaka-
pūrvva[m*]

¹ Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 106. Lat. 21° 27' N.; Long. 84° 1' E.—It is about one hundred and forty-five miles almost due east of Rāypur.

² It has been published by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, in 1866, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXV. p. 195 ff. But the original plates, which were presented to the Society by the finder of them, Col G. Bowie, are not now forthcoming; and the published version is not sufficiently reliable to be reproduced. I have, therefore, not been able to include this inscription in the present volume.

³ From the original plates.—Read *prasanna*.

⁴ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁶ Read *purād=vikram*.—The *t* of *purât* is so small and shallow, that it plainly was only inserted as an afterthought. It is quite superfluous; since its representative by *saṁdhi*, viz. *d*, had already been duly engraved in conjunction with the following *vi*.

⁷ Read *āmbubhir*, or *āmbubhir*.

⁸ Read *pradaḥ=parama*, or *pradaḥ parama*.

⁹ Read *ānuddhyātāś=śrī*, or *ānuddhyātah śrī*.

¹⁰ From a comparison of the corresponding passage in line 4-5 of No. 41, page 198 below, the reading that was intended is probably *pamvāyām prativāsi*.

¹⁰ Read *kuṭumbi*, or *kuṭumbi*.

¹¹ Read *nas=sam*, or *naḥ sam*.

¹² Read *grāmas*, expunging the mark of punctuation.

¹³ Read *sagôtra-brahma*.

¹⁴ This mark of punctuation is exactly like the *visarga*, as the latter is written in this inscription. But, that the sign may be interpreted as either a mark of punctuation or the *visarga*, is shewn by the regularity with which it occurs where a mark of punctuation is appropriate, and a *visarga* is not; and also by the occurrence of the half mark of punctuation, formed in the same manner, which is never mistaken for anything else, in lines 5 and 6 above, and 22 below, and in : of No 41, page 198 below

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 11 tāmbrā(mra)-śāsanān=ātista(sp)śātab [II*] Tē yūyam=ēvam=upalabhy=āsy=ājñā-
śṭavapa-
12 vi(vi)dhēyā bhūtvā yath-āchitarā bhōga-bhāgam=upenayamittā(ttaḥ) sukhām
prativā[ti*]sya-
13 tha II Bhavishyatas=cha bhūmipān=anudarśayati II(I). Dānād¹=viśiṣṭam=a-
14 nupālana-jam purāṇē(nā) II(I) dharmamēshu niśchita-dhiyaḥ=pravadaṁti²
dharmam II(I)
15 tasmād=[t*]vijāya suvisuddha-kula-śrūtāya II(I) dattā[m*] bhuvam bhavatu
vō ma[ti*]r=ā-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 16 va gōpt[ti*]m II Tad=bhavadbhīr=apy=ēśā datur=anupālayitavyā II Vyāsa-
gītāmś=ch=ātra
17 ślōkān=udāharanti II(I) Agnē³=apatyam prathamam svarūpa[m*] bhūr=
Vaiśnavi sū-
18 ryya-sur[ti*]ś=cha gāvāḥ [I*] dattās=trayas=tēna bhavamiti lōkēḥ yaḥ=
kāñchanam gū[m*]
19 cha mahi[m*] cha dadyā[ti*] II Shashihim⁴ varsha-sahasrāpi svarggē
vasati bhūmi-dāḥ [I*]
20 āchchhēti ch=anuma[m*]itā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasē[ti*] II Sva-
dattā[m*] para-dattā[m*] vā ya-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 21 tū[ti*]ksha Yuśhiṣṭhima II(I) mahi(m)=mahimatām chchhreshṭha⁵ dānāch=
chhētyō=nupālanaḥ [II*]
22 Bahubbir=vrasudhā dattā rājabbis=Sagar-ādibhi[h*] I yasya [yasya*] yadā
bhūmis=ta-
23 sya tasya tadā phalanm⁶=iti [II*] Sva-mukh-ājāyā ukṭi(tk)ṛṇam⁷
Acha-
24 Iasiṅghēna pravarddhamāna-vijaya-samvatsara 5 Mārgaśira 20 5 [II*]

TRANSLATION.

The Seal.

A charter of the illustrious Jayarāja,—who
verily has a gracious heart: (mra) who has
overcome (his) enemies by (his) prowess,—
(is) a charter for (the over-taker of) even his
enemies!

The Plates.

Hail! From the town of Śarabhapura, the illustrious Mahā-Jayarāja,—whose
two feet are purified by the waters which are the flowing forth of the radiance of the
jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of the chieftains, (owing down before)

¹ Metre. Vāsantatīka.² Read *prastānti*, or *p-prastānti*.³ Metre. Iśāvarajī.⁴ Metre. Śūla (Anuśṭubh); and in the following two verses.⁵ Read *t-tk*ika.⁶ Read *phalan*.⁷ Supply *śāntam*.

iii a

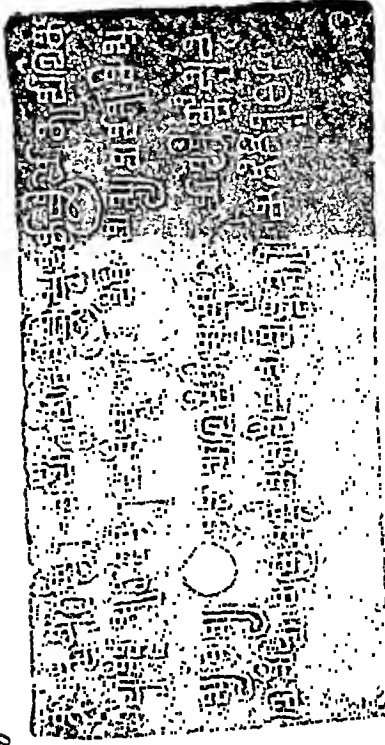


16

18

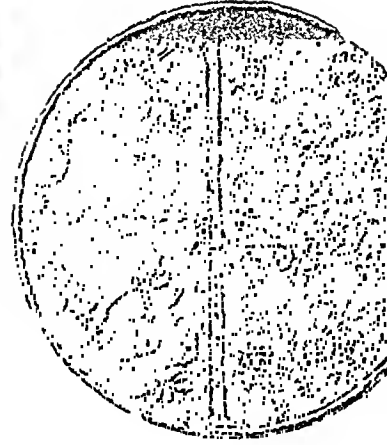
20

iii b

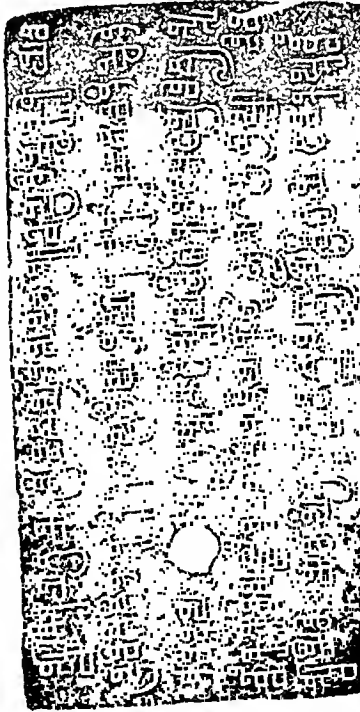


22

24



iii a

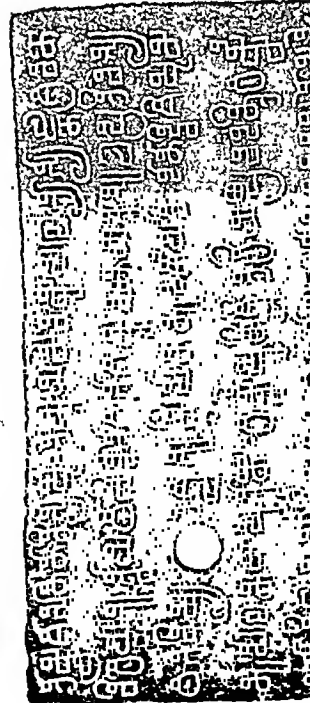


6

8

10

iii b



12

14

him), who have been subjugated by (*his*) prowess; who is the cause of the tearing out of the parted hair of the women of (*his*) enemies; who is the giver of treasure and land and cows; who is a most devout worshipper of the Divine One; (*and*) who meditates on the feet of (*his*) parents,—issues a command to the cultivators residing at (the village of) **Pamvâ** in the **Eastern Country** :—

(Line 5.)—“Be it known to you, that this village, the source (*by this grant of it*) of (*Our*) ensuring the happiness of (*attaining*) the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods, is by (*this*) copper-charter conveyed by Us, with libations of water, for the increase of the religious merit of (*Our*) parents and of Ourselves, to Brahmadvâsamin, of the Vâjasaṇēya (*śākha*) and the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra*,—to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of the sun and the moon and the stars; together with (*its*) hidden treasures and deposits; not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops; (*and*) exempted from all taxes.

(L. 11.)—“Being aware of this, you should be obedient to his commands, and should dwell in happiness, rendering in proper manner (*his*) share of the enjoyment.”

(L. 13.)—And he enjoins upon future kings,—“The ancients, whose minds are fixed upon religion, say that the virtue that arises from the preservation (*of a grant*) is greater than (*that which arises from*) making a grant; therefore your mind should verily incline to preserve land that has been given to a Brâhmaṇ of very pure family and holy learning. Therefore this gift should be preserved by you also.”

(L. 16.)—And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyâsa :—Gold (*is*) the first offspring of fire;¹ the earth² belongs to (the god) Vishṇu;³ and cows (*are*) the daughters of the sun;⁴ therefore the three worlds⁵ are given by him who gives gold, an^d a cow, and land! The giver of land dwells in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! O Yudhishtîra, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant! Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)!

(L. 23.)—At the command of (Mahâ-Jayarâja's) own mouth, (*this charter*) has been engraved by **Achalasingha**, (*in*) the year 5 of increasing victory, (*in*) (the month) **Mârgasîra**, (*on the day*) 20 (*and*) 5.

¹ Dr. Hultsch (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 203, note 46) has explained this, by saying that, “according to the Naiyâyikas” or followers of the Nyâya philosophy, “gold consists of fire (*têjas*).”

² This is the customary reading.—In line 39 of the Khârêpâṭaṇ grant of the Śilâhâra chieftain Raṭṭarâja of Śaka-Samvat 930 (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 218) the reading is *dyauh*, ‘the sky,’ instead of *bhûh*, ‘the earth;’ but I know of no other instance of this variation.

³ Or, perhaps, “the earth (*is*) Vaishṇavi (the personification of the *śakti* or female energy of Vishṇu).”

⁴ This seems to be explained by the *Rig-Vêda*, vii. 101, 6, in which the sun is described as “the bull that impregnates all the cows” (Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. IV. p. 112 f.)

⁵ The three worlds are sometimes reckoned as heaven, earth, and the lower region; sometimes as the sky, the atmosphere, and the earth. The latter arrangement seems to be the one referred to in this verse, the sky being represented by cows, as the daughters of the Sun or the god Sûrya, the lord of the sky; and the atmosphere by gold, as the offspring of fire or the god Agni, who is the lord of the Pitris or spirits of deceased ancestors, whose abode is in the region of the air.

No. 41; PLATE XXVII.

RAYPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE RAJA
MAHA-SUDEVARAJA.

THIS inscription,—which was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1884, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 55 ff., and Plates xxvi. and xxvii.; and is now published in full for the first time,—is from some copper-plates that were obtained by Colonel Bloomfield at Râypur,¹ the chief town of the Râypur District in the Central Provinces. The original plates are now in the Provincial Museum at Nâgpur.

The plates, of which the first is inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about 6" by $3\frac{1}{2}$ " at the ends and a little less in the middle. They are quite smooth, the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. The inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The plates are of fair thickness; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the backs of them at all. The engraving is very good; but, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is circular, about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter; it had already been cut, for the purpose of taking impressions of the plates, when the grant came into my hands; but there is no reason to suppose that it is not the ring properly belonging to the plates. The seal, in which the ends of the ring are secured, is circular, about $3\frac{5}{8}$ " in diameter; and, like the seal of the Ârang grant of Mahâ-Jayarâja, No. 40 above, page 191, and Plate xxvi., it has the appearance of being made of a kind of brass, rather than of copper. It has plainly, at some time or other, been subjected to the action of fire, which, with the effects of wear and tear, has almost completely destroyed the upper surface of it. But there are visible, in relief on a slightly countersunk and concave surface, faint traces of—across the centre, a legend, in two lines, of which, as restored, the text and translation are given below;—in the upper part, a standing figure of the goddess Lakshmi, facing full-front; on each side of her, an elephant, standing on a waterlily, with its trunk lifted up over her head, to pour water over her; in the proper right corner, an expanded water-lily, on its stalk; and, in the proper left corner, a *saṅkha* or conch-shell;—and, in the lower part, there seems to have been a floral device.—The weight of the three plates is about 1 lb. $5\frac{1}{2}$ oz., and of the ring and seal, 1 lb. $7\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; total, 2 lbs. 13 oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; and give another specimen of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, on which I have commented at page 19 above. They are of almost exactly the same type as those of the preceding inscription of Mahâ-Jayarâja, No. 40 above, page 191, and Plate xxvi. The most noticeable difference is in the formation of the superscript long vowel *ī*; the stroke, similar to an *anusvāra*, which distinguishes it from the short *ī*, being placed, not in the centre of the circle, but on the right side of it, as part of the down stroke of the circle; see, for instance, *vilāsinī*, line 2, and *rāshṭrīya*, line 4. The separate sign for the lingual *ḍ*, as distinct from the dental *d*, occurs in *chūḍā*, line 1.

¹ The 'Raepoor. Raipur, and Ryepoor,' of maps, &c Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 91. Lat. 21° 15' N.; Long. 81° 41' E

We have the very rare initial *au*, in *aupamanyava*, line 10. And forms of the numerical symbols¹ for 9 and 10 occur in line 27.—The language is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal is in verse; but the inscription itself, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 15 to 24, is in prose throughout. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice, in *atisrishṭaka*, line 11-12, the affix that I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the *jihvāmālīya* and *upadhmnīya*, in *yah kūchanam*, line 20; *visarjṇīta-kōṇḍīnya*, line 9; *pradaḥ=parama*, line 3; and *dhiyaḥ-pravadanīti*, line 16; (2) the doubling of *v*, after the *anusvāra*, in *samvatsara*, line 24; (3) the insertion of a superfluous *anusvāra*, once only, in *pravadanīti*, line 16; (4) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *vikkrāma*, line 1; (5) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyāta*, line 4; and (6) the use of *siṅgha* for *śiṃha*, line 28, and of *tāmbra* for *tāmra*, line 11.

The inscription is one of the *Rāja Sudêvarāja* or *Mahâ-Sudêvarāja*; and the charter recorded in it is issued, as in the case of the preceding inscription of *Mahâ-Jayarāja*, from the town of *Śarabhapura*. The occasion of its issue was the *uttarāyana*, or the sun's commencement of his progress to the north. The date of the engraving of it is recorded, in numerical symbols, as the year ten of increasing victory, and the ninth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month *Māgha* (January-February). No era is referred to; and the tenth year must be simply that of the power or government of *Sudêvarāja*. It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being only to record the assent of *Sudêvarāja* to the grant, to two *Brāhmanas*, of the village of *Śrīśāhikā*, in the *Pūrvarāshtra* or Eastern Country.

TEXT.²

The Seal.³

- a* Prasanna⁴-hṛidayasyaiva vikkrām-ākkrānta-vidviṣaḥ
b śrīmat-Sudeva'rājasya śāsanam ripu-śāsanam [11*]

First Plate.

- 1 Om Svasti Śarabhapurād=vikkrām-ōpanata-sāmanta-makuṭa-chūḍā-maṇi-
 2 prabhā-prasēk-āmbu-dhō(dhau)ta-pāda-yugalō ripu-vilāsini-simant-ōddha-
 3 raṇa-hētur=vasu-vasudhā-gō-pradaḥ⁵=paramabhāgavatō mātāpitṛi-

¹ The symbol for the day might perhaps be interpreted as 30. But it seems, on the whole, to be a transitional form of the symbol for 9, from which the modern *Dēvanāgarī* decimal figure 9 was developed.—Gen. Cunningham read the symbol for the year as 80, not 10; but I do not think this can be upheld. It is evidently a square and upright variety of the second form of 10 given in col. 5 of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's Table in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 44 f.

² From the original plates.

³ With the exception of the word *prasanna* at the beginning of the first line, the legend is almost entirely obliterated. But there are faint indications here and there, which, with the help of the legend on the seal of No. 40, page 193 above, and Plate xxvi., enable us to restore it as above.

⁴ Metre, *Ślōka* (Anuṣṭubh).

⁵ The lithograph in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. Plate xxvi. shews *śrī-Mahâ-Sudêra*. But this reading is not legible on the seal; and, as it does not suit the metre, it cannot have been so engraved.

⁶ Here, and in line 16 below, the *jihvāmālīya*, instead of being clearly formed as in lines 3 and 14 of No. 40, Plate xxvi., is indicated, hardly perceptibly, by little more than a vertical division of the square top of the *pa*.

- 4 pād-ānuddhyātaś=śrī-Mahā-Sudēvarājaḥ Pūrvvarāśhṭriya-Srīsāhi-
 5 kâyām prativāsi-kuṭumbinas=samājñāpayati I Vīditam=astu vō
 6 yath=āsmābhir=ayam grāmas=tri(tri)daśapati-sadana-sukha-pratishṭh-āka-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 7 rô yāvad=ravi-śaśi-tārā-kiraṇa-pratihata-ghōr-āndhakāram jagad=ava-
 8 tiṣṭhatē tāvad=upabhōgyas=sa-nidhis=s-ōpanidhir=a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśya[h*]
 9 sarvva - kara - visarjitaḥ = Kō(kau)ṇḍīyasagōtra - Vājasanēya - Savit[ri*] -
 10 svāmīna [ā*]tmīya-kanyā-praḍānē[na*] Aupamanyava-[Va*]tsasagōtra yā'mā-
 11 trō³[h*] Nāgavatsasvāmi-Bandhuvatsasvāminōs=tāmbra(mra)-śāsanēn=āti-
 12 strī(sri)shṭakō bhūtv=āsmābhir=apy=uttarāyaṇō mātāpitrōr=ātmanaś=cha

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 13 puṇy-ē(ā)bhivṛiddhayē=numōditaḥ⁷ [II*] Tē yūyam=ēvam=upalabhy=āsy=ājñā⁴-śra-
 14 vaṇa-vidhēyā bhūtvā yath-ōchitarṇ bhōga-bhāgam=upamupanayantas⁵=su-
 15 kham prativāsyatha [II*] Bhaviṣyataś=cha bhūmipā[n=a*]nudarśayati I
 Dānād⁶=viśiṣṭa-
 16 m=anupālana-jam purāṇē(nā) ddha(dha)rmamēshu niśchita-dhiyaḥ=pravadamnti⁷
 dharmam I tasmā-
 17 d=[d*]vijāya su⁶=viśuddha-kula-śrutāya dattam bhuvam bhavatu vō matir=
 ēva gōptum [II*] Ta-
 18 d=bhavadbhir=apy=ēśhā dattir=anupālayitavyā [II*] Vyāsa-gītā[m*]ś=ch=ātra
 ślōkān=udāharanti [I*]

Third Plate; First Side.

- 19 Agnēr⁹=apatyam prathamam suvarṇa[m*] bhūr=vvaishṇavi sūryya-
 sūtās=cha gāva[h*] dattā-
 20 s=trayas=tēna bhavanu lōkā yah=kāñchanam gān=cha mahīn=cha
 dadyāt [II*] Shasṭī¹⁰-va-
 21 rsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmi-daḥ āchchhētā ch=ānumantā
 cha tāny=ē-
 22 va na[ra*]kē vasēt [II*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhi[h*] Sagar-
 ādibhiḥ yasya
 23 yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [II*] Sva-dattā[m*] para-
 dattā[m] [vā*] ya
 24 tnād=raksha Yudhisṭhira mahi¹¹ mahimatā[m*] śrēṣṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=
 nupāla¹².

¹ Before [this word, *yāmātrō*, there is a cross, to indicate that this is not the place to which it properly belongs. It is plain that the reading intended in lines 9 to 11 was *Savitṛisvāmīna ātmīya-kanyā-praḍānēna yāmātrōr=Aupamanyava-Vatsasagōtra-Nāgavatsasvāmi* &c.

² Before this *trō*, *mī* was engraved, and then cancelled; and *ba* seems to have been engraved and cancelled in the place where the *trō* stands.

³ Over this *visarga*, there is a cross, to indicate that something has to be inserted here; viz. the passage commencing with *asminn=ēva grāmē*, in lines 25 and 26 below.

⁴ Read *upalabhy=aitayōr=ājñā*.

⁵ Read *bhāgam=upanayantas*.

⁶ Metre, Vasantatilaka.

⁷ Read *pravadamnti*, or *pravadamiti*.

⁸ First *si* was engraved, and then *n* was added, without the *i* being sufficiently cancelled.

⁹ Metre, Indravajra.

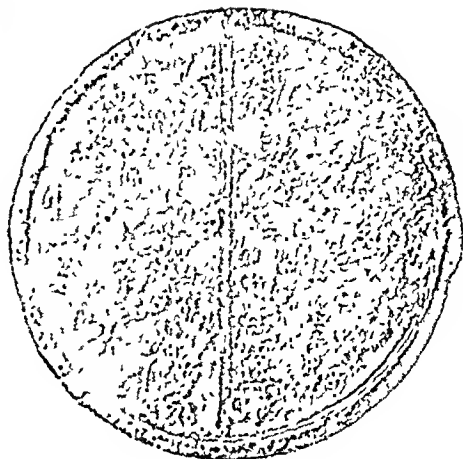
¹⁰ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following two verses.

¹¹ Read *mahīm*.

¹² The proper context is *lanam=iti*, in line 27.

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22

23
24
25
26
27
28



2
4
6

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10
12
13

14
16
18

ukti(tki)ṛṇṇa[ni*]' Drôṇasiṅghâ(nghê)na [II*]

⁵ As restored, with the help of the few letters that remain, on the analogy of the legend on the seal of the Âraṅ grant of Mahā-Jayarāja, No. 40 above, page 194.

been assented to by Us indeed, for the increase of the religious merit of (*Our*) parents and of Ourselves.

(L. 13.)—"Being aware of this, you should be obedient to their commands, and should dwell in happiness, rendering in proper manner (*their*) share of the enjoyment."

(L. 15.)—And he enjoins upon future kings,—“The ancients, whose minds are fixed upon religion, say that the virtue that arises from the preservation (*of a grant*) is greater than (*that which arises from*) making a grant; therefore your mind should verily incline to preserve land that has been given to a Brāhmaṇ of very pure family and holy learning. Therefore this gift should be preserved by you also.”

(L. 18.)—And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyāsa:—Gold is the first offspring of fire; the earth belongs to (the god) Viṣṇu; and cows are the daughters of the sun: therefore the three worlds are given by him who gives gold, and a cow, and land! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! O Yudhisṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant!

(L. 25.)—In this same village, the irrigation-well called Śrīvāpikā, constructed within the mound on the land that skirts the eastern tank, (*and*) extending up to the road, is given to Nāgavatsasvāmin, in excess of (*his exact*) half of the village, because he is the elder.

(L. 27.)—At the command of (Mahā-Sudēvarāja's) own mouth, (*in*) the year 10 of increasing victory, (*in*) (the month) Māgha, (*on the day*) 9, (*this charter*) has been engraved by Drōṇasiṅha.

No. 42; PLATE XXVIII.

APHSAD STONE INSCRIPTION OF ADITYASENA.

THIS inscription was discovered by Major Markham Kittoe, some time anterior to 1850; but the first notice of it, that I have been able to trace, is General Cunningham's mention of it in 1863, in his report for the year 1861-62, which was issued as a supplement to the *Journal* of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXXII. p. iii ff., and was in 1871 reprinted in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I., where this inscription is referred to on page 40.—In 1866, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXV. p. 267 ff., Dr. Rajendralala Mitra published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, from a transcript of the original, in modern Dēvanāgarī characters, which Major Kittoe had given to General Cunningham in 1850.—In 1882, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XV. p. 11, General Cunningham supplemented this translation, by notifying, from his own examination of a rubbing of the original inscription made by Major Kittoe, which had meanwhile been discovered by Mr. J. D. M. Beglar in a box of inscriptions in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Library, that the name of the second king was Harshagupta; not Hashkagupta, as read by Major Kittoe.—And in 1883, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVI. p. 79, he further notified that Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, apparently in a letter to him, had indicated that

the name of Īśānavarman should be substituted, in line 7, for the Śāntavarman of Major Kittoe's transcript.

Aphsaḍ or Aphsaṇḍ,¹ also called Jāfarpur, is a village near the right bank of the Sakarī river, about fifteen miles towards the north-east of Nawāḍā,² the chief town of the Nawāḍā Sub-Division of the Gayā District in the Bengal Presidency. The inscription is on a stone-slab, that was found here, and was afterwards removed by Major Kittoe, in order "to re-examine it, and to restore it as much as possible, before having it fixed in a pedestal near the Varāha" in Aphsaḍ. According to the local statement, Major Kittoe removed the stone to Nawāḍā; but General Cunningham failed to find it, or to hear anything more of it, either there, or at Gayā and Benares. The loss of the original stone, however, is as well compensated for as is possible by the existence, in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta, of an exceptionally good red-chalk rubbing, made by Major Kittoe himself, from which I now edit the inscription, and from which my lithograph has been prepared.

The writing, with its margin, covers the entire front of the stone; and is apparently on a slightly countersunk surface about 2' 9" broad by 1' 5½" high, with a corresponding rim from ¾" to 1" broad. It has suffered a great deal from the effects of the weather, about the centre of the stone; but, even here, nothing of a historical nature seems to be lost, except perhaps, in line 15, a completion of the hint as to the relations between Mādhavagupta and Harshadēva, *i.e.* Harshavardhana of Kanauj. The rest of the inscription is very legible. The impression indicates that the stone has been broken at the lower proper right corner; but, as shewn in the note to line 25 of the Text, the stone seems to have been originally imperfect here; and not so much of the writing has been lost, as would be expected at first sight.—The size of the letters varies from about ⅙" to ⅙". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and present a very marked development as contrasted with the preceding plates of this volume. They belong to a particular type, to which the special name of Kuṭīla has come to be attached, in consequence of the upright strokes having at the bottom a small tail which is 'crooked, curved, or bent' (*kuṭīla*) to the right. The term Kuṭīla actually occurs in the 'Dewal' inscription³ of (Vikrama)-Saṃvat 1049; in the last line of which it is recorded that "this (eulogy) has been written by the scribe Takshāditya, —(a native of) the (country of) Gauḍa; and the son of Viṣṇuhari,—who is well acquainted with the curved letters." The term used here for "curved letters" is *kuṭīl-ākṣharāṇi*. It does not seem to be employed with the specific object of recording a standing name of this style of writing; any more than the expression *vikaṭ-ākṣharā*, "(an eulogy) in beautiful letters," is used in that way in line 27 of the present inscription; and *ruchir-ākṣhara-paṅktibhiḥ*, "(this eulogy has been engraved) in lines of pleasing letters," in line 27 of an inscription in the Provincial Museum at Nāgpur; and *sad-varṇā*, "(an eulogy) in excellent letters," in line 41 of the Śāsbaḥū temple inscription of Mahīpāla.⁴ But the term Kuṭīla fits this type of letters so well, that, as the name has been

¹ The 'Aphsar, Ufsund, and Ufsund-Jafurpoor,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 112. Lat. 25° 4' N.; Long. 85° 44' E.

² The 'Nawāḍa, Newadeeh, Nowada, and Nowāḍa,' of maps, &c.

³ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 355, Pl. li.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 41.

applied to the alphabet for so long a time, there seems no objection to continuing it. The alphabet of the present inscription might be called the Kuṭila variety of the Magadha alphabet of the seventh century A.D. It really differs but little from the modern Dēvanāgarī. The form of the lingual *ṣh*, which occurs in *gṛḥha*, line 1, and *dṛiḍha*, line 2, is almost quite identical with the modern Dēvanāgarī form. The form of the lingual *ḥ*, which occurs in *chūḍā*, lines 3 and 16, in *kṣadga*, line 18, and *jaḍō*, line 21, is still rather transitional, differing but little from the form of the dental *d*. And the most antique remnant in the whole inscription is the form of *r*, in conjunction with a following consonant, e.g. in *harsha*, lines 2 and 15, *dhanur-bhīma*, line 2, *sindhur-lakshmi*, line 7, and *arīha*, line 12; following the custom noted at several places above, but practised in the earlier inscriptions in respect only of *r* in combination with a following *y*, it is formed throughout on the line of writing, instead of above it; and in the *rya* of *saurya*, in line 7, we have an exact reproduction of the same letter as it was written nearly two centuries before, e.g. in *kurya* in line 12 of the Mājhgawān plates of the *Mahārāja* Hastin, of the year 191, No. 23 above, Plate xiv.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse throughout. It offers about the earliest instance of the hyperbolical expressions and mythological allusions with which the later inscriptions abound, distinguishing them so completely from the artistic, concise, dignified, and frequently really poetical, style of the more ancient records.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, once, in *tiṣṭhira*, line 21; where, however, it may possibly be due to a mistaken idea as to the etymology of the word; and (2) the use throughout of *r* for *h*, e.g. in *rīṇḍāha*, lines 9 and 11; *raha*, line 14-15; *raha*, line 15; and *riḥra*, line 17.

The inscription is one of Ādityasēna, of the family of the Guptas of Magadha. It is not dated. It is a Vaishṇava inscription; the principal object of it being to record the building, by Ādityasēna, of a temple of the god Viṣṇu. But it also records the building of a religious college or monastery by his mother Śrīmātī, and the excavation of a tank by his wife Kōṇadēvī.

TEXT:

1. Ōm [H*] Āsīd¹=danti-sahasra-gāḍha-katakō vidyādhar-ādhyāsitaḥ sad-
vaṁśaḥ sthira unnatō girir-iva śrī-Kṛishṇaguptō nripaḥ | dṛipt-
ārāti-madāndha-vāraṇa-ghaṭṭa-kumbhasthaliḥ kshundatā yasy=āsamkhyā-
ripa-pratāpa-jayinā dōshaḥ mṛigēndrayitam || Sakalah² kalaṅka-rahitaḥ
2. kshata-timīras=tōyadhēḥ śaśāṅka iva | tasmād=udapādi sutō dēvaḥ śrī-
Harshagupta iti || Yō³ yōgy-ākāla-hal-āvanata-dṛiḍha-dhanur-bhima-
vān-augha-pāti mūrti⁴[t*]aiḥ sva-svāmi-lakshmi-vasati-vimukhitair-ikshitaḥ
s-āsrupātām | ghōṛāpām=ā
3. havānam likhitam=iva jayam ślāghyam=āvirddadhānō vakshasy=uddāma-
śāstra-vraṇa-kathina-kīpa-granthi-kṣhā-cheḥhalēna || Śrī⁵-Jivitaguptō=bhūt-
kshitiśa-chūḍāmanīḥ sutas=tasya | yō dṛipta-vaini-nāri-mukhanalina-van-
aika-śēsēra⁶karah ||

¹ From Major Kittoe's impression: so, also, the lithograph.











² Metre, Śāṇḍilyakṛīṭa.

³ Metre, Āryā.

⁴ Metre, Śragdhara.

⁵ Metre, Āryā.

⁶ Read *śīṭra*.

- 4 Mukta¹mukta¹-payah-pravāha-sīśirās=āttuṅga-tālivana-bhrāmyad-danti-kar-āvalūna-kadali-kāṇḍāsu vélās=api I śchyōtat-sphāra-tushāra-nirjhara-payah-sītē=pi sailē sthitān=yasy=ōchchair-dvishatō mumōcha
- 5 na mahā-ghōrah pratāpa-jvarah II Yasy²=ātimānusham karmma drīsyatē vismayāj-jan-aughēna I adyāpi Kōśavarddhana-tatāt=plutam Pavanajasy=ēva II Prakhyāta-śaktim=ājishu purahsaram śrī-Kumā-
- 6 raguptam=iti I ajanayad=ēkarṇ sa nripō Hara iva śikhivāhanam tanayam II Utsarppad³-vāta-hēlā-chalita-kadalika-vīchi-mālā-vitānah prōdyad-dhūli-jalaugna-bhramita-guru-mahā-matta-
- 7 mātariṅga-sailah I bhimah śr-ī⁴śānavarmma-kshitipatiśaśinah sainya-dugdhōda-sindhur-llakshmi-samprāpti-hētuh sapadi vimathitō Mandarībhūya yēna II Śāurya⁵-satyavrata-dharō yah Prayāga-gatō dha-
- 8 nē I ambhas=iva karish-āgnau magnah sa pushpa-pūjitah II Śrī-Dāmōdaraguptō-bhūt-tanayas-tasya bhūpatēh I yēna Dāmōdarēṇ=ēva Daityā iva hatā dvishah II Yō⁶ Maukharēh samitish=ōddha-
- 9 ta-Hūṇa-sainyā valgad-ghatā vighatayann=uru-vāraṇānām I samṁurchchhitah sura-vadhu(dhū)r=varayam(n) mam=ēti tat-pāṇ[i]pāṅkaja-sukha-sparśād⁷ vivu(bu)ddhah II Guṇavad⁸-[d⁹]vija-kanyānā[m¹⁰] nān-ālamkāra-yauvana-
- 10 vatīnām I pariṇāyitavan=sa nripah Satam nisrīṣṭ-āgrahārānām II Ś[ri]¹¹-Mahāśēnaguptō=bhūt-tasmād=vir-āgrāṇi[h¹²] sutah I sarvva-vira-samājēshu lēbhē yō dhuri viratā[m II] Śr[i]mat¹³-Susthitavarmma-yuddha-vijaya-
- 11 ślāghā-pad-āṅkarṇ muhur=yasy=ādvyāpi vivu(bu)ddha-kunda-lumuda-kshuṇṇ(?)-āchchha-hāra[]ta[m¹⁴] I Lōhityasya tat[ē]shu ś[i]tala-tal[ē]sh=ūtp[h[u]]l[i]a-nāgadr[u]ma-chchhāyā-supta-vivu(bu)ddha-s[i]ddha-m[i]thun[ai]h sph[i]tam yasō giyatē II Vasudēvā-
- 12 d¹⁵=iva tasmāch=Chhri-s(ē)vana-[śō(?)]]bh-[ō]dita-charaṇa-yugah I śrī-Mādhava-guptō=bhūn=Mādhava iva vikram-aika-rasa[h II] [— — —¹⁶  a]nusm[ri]tō dhuri raṇ[ē] ślāghāvatām=agraṇ[i]h sō(sau)janyasya nidhānam=artha-nidha(cha)-
- 13 ya-tyāg-ō[d¹⁷]dhurānām dha(?)ra[h] I lakshm[i]-sa[tya-sa]rasvatī-kulagriha[m] dharmasya sētur=drīdhaḥ pū(?)jyō(?) n=ās[t]i sa bh[ū]tal[ē] [   — — — ] [—] sadgūṇ[ai]h II Chakra[m] pāṇi-talēna sō=py=udavahat=tasy=āpi śārṅga[m] dhanu-
- 14 r=nāśāy=āsuhridā[m] sukhāya suhridām tasy=āpy=asir=nandakah I prāptē vidvishatām vadhē pratihat[—] tēn=āpa[— —  — — —  ] —  — dha(?)ri(?)ma(?) [— —]nyāḥ praṇēmur=jjanāḥ II Ājau¹⁸ mayā vinihatā va(ba)-

¹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita. ² Metre, Āryā; and in the following verse. ³ Metre, Sragdharā.

⁴ The lower part of the ś, and all except the extreme end of the r, either were left unfinished or have been broken away. But enough remains to shew clearly what the *akshara* really is.

⁵ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh); and in the next verse.

⁶ Metre, Vasantatilaka.

⁷ The metre is faulty here; instead of two long syllables, we ought to have two short and one long.

⁸ Metre, Āryā.

⁹ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).

¹⁰ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹¹ Metre, Āryā.

¹² Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and in the next verse.

¹³ Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the next verse.

- 15 linô dvishan[taḥ] kṛitya[m] na m[é*]=sty=aparam=ity=avadhârya vîraḥ [I]
 śrî-Harshadêva-nija-sa[m]gama-vâñichhayâ cha(?) [— — — — —] [II] Ś[r]îmân=va(ba)bhûva dalit-âri-karîndra-kumbha-muktâ-
 rajah-
- 16 paṭala-pâmsula-maṇḍalâgrah I Ādityasêna iti tat-tanayaḥ kshitiśa-
 chûḍamaṇ[i]r=dda[— — — — —] [II] [— — — — —]m-
 âgatam=ari-dhvaṁs-ôttam=âptam yaśaḥ ślâghyam
- 17 sarvva-dhanushmatâm pura iti ślâgham parâm vi(bi)bhratî i âśîrvvâda-
 paramparâ chi(?)ra-sak[i](?)d[— — — — —] — — — — —
 — — — — — yâmâsama(?) II Âjau² svêda-chchhalêna dhva-
- 18 ja-paṭa-śikhayâ mârjjatô dâna-paṅkam khaḍgam kshuṇṇêna muktâ-śakala-
 sikatil[i](?)kṛi(?)tya(?) [— — — — —] — — — — —
 —]mat[t]a-mâta[m]ga-ghâtam tad-gandh-âkṛiṣṭa-sarppad-va(ba)-
- 19 hala-parimala-bhrâtta(nta)-matt-âli-jâlam II Āva(ba)ddha³-bhîma-vikaṭa-bhrukuṭi-
 kaṭhōra-sa[m]g[r]âma[— — — — —] — — — — —
 — — — — — va-
 vallabha-bhṛitya-vargga-gôsthîshu pēṣa-
- 20 latayâ parihâsa-śilāḥ II Satya⁴-bhartṭri-vratâ yasya mukh-ôpadh[â]na-
 tâpasî I par[i]hâs[— — — — —] [II] [— — — — —]
 —]jñāḥ sakala-ripu-va(ba)la-dhvaṁsa-hêtur=ggarî-
- 21 yân=nistrîmś-ôtkhâta-ghâta-śrama-janita-jadô=py=ûrjjita-sva-pratâpaḥ I yuddhê
 matt-êbha-kumbhastha[la — — — — —] — — — — —]śv[ê]t-
 âtapattra-sthagita-vasumatî-maṇḍalô lô-
- 22 kapālah II Âjau⁵ matṭa-gajêndra-kumbha-dalana-sphîta-sphurad-dôr-yugô
 dhvast-ânê(?)ka(?)ripu-prabhâva-v[— — — — —] yaśô-maṇḍalaḥ I nyast-
 âśêsha-narêndra-mauli-charaṇa-sphâra-pratâp-âna-
- 23 lô lakshmîvan=samar-âbhimâna-vimala-prakhyâta-kîrttir=nṛipaḥ II Yên=êyam
 śarad-indu-vimva-dhavalâ prakhyâta-bhûmaṇḍalâ lakshmî-saṁgama-
 kâmkshayâ su-mahatî kîrttiś=chiram kôpitâ I yâtâ sâ-
- 24 gara-pâram=adbhutatamâ sâpatnya-yairâd=âhō tēn=êdam bhavan-ôttamam
 kshitiḥhujâ Vishṇôḥ kṛitê kâritam II Taj⁷-jananyâ mahâdêvyâ
 Śrîmatyâ kâritô mathaḥ I dhârmikêbhya svayam-dattaḥ sura-lô-
- 25 ka⁶-grih-ôpamaḥ II Śamkh⁶-êndu-sphaṭika-prabhâ-pratisama-sphâra-sphurach-
 chhikaram nakra-krânti-chalat-taraṅga-vilasat-pakshi-pranṛityat-timi I rājñiyâ
 khânitam=adbhutam su-tapasâ pēpiyamânam
- 26 janais=tasy=aiva priya-bhâryayâ narapatêḥ śrî-Kôṇadêvyâ saraḥ II
 Yâvach=chandra-kalâ Harasya śirasi Śrîḥ Śârṅginô vakshasi
 Vra(bra)hm-âsyê cha Sarasvatî kṛita-

¹ Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.² Metre, Sragdharâ.³ Metre, Vasantatilaka.⁴ Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh).⁵ Metre, Sragdharâ.⁶ Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.⁷ Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh).

⁸ The stone appears to be broken away at this corner. But there seems also to have been some fault here when the inscription was engraved; since,—though nine *aksharas* are entirely lost, and two more are partly destroyed, at the beginning of line 27, which commenced at the edge of the stone,—the metres shew that nothing is lost at the beginning of line 26, which was commenced at the distance of about nine *aksharas* from the edge of the stone, and that only four *aksharas* are lost at the beginning of line 28, which was commenced at the distance of about sixteen *aksharas* from the edge of the stone.

⁹ Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.

27 [— — — — —] I [bhôgê] bhûr=bhujag-Adhipāśya cha taḍid=
yāvad=ghanasy=ôdarê tāvat=kirttim=ih=Ātanôti dhavalām=Āḍityasênô
nripaḥ || Sūksīmaśivēna¹ Gauḍēna praśastir=xvikaṭ-āksharā || (1)
28 [— — —] mā(?) mitā samyag-dhārmikēṇa sudhimatā !²

TRANSLATION.

Ôm ! There was a king, the illustrious **Krishnagupta**, who was like a mountain, in that (*his*) cities, like the slopes of a mountain, were crowded with thousands of elephants ; in that he was attended by men of learning, as a mountain is inhabited by Vidyādhara ; in that he was of good descent, as a mountain is possessed of excellent bamboos ; (*and*) in that he was firm (*and*) lofty ; (*and*) whose arm played the part of a lion, in bruising the foreheads of the array of the rutting elephants of (*his*) haughty enemies, (*and*) in being victorious by (*its*) prowess over countless foes.

(Line 1.)—Just as the full-moon, destitute of spots, the destroyer of the darkness, was produced from the ocean, so from him there was born a son, the majestic one, named the illustrious **Harshagupta**, who,—raining down a terrible flight of arrows from (*his*) firm bow that was bent with ease at the befitting proper time, (*and*) being gazed upon with copious tears by (*his enemies*) who, averse to the abode of the goddess of fortune being with (*him, her*) own lord, were stupified (*at being unable to prevent it*),—was (*always*) displaying a glorious triumph, the written record as it were of terrible contests, in the guise of the rows of the knots of hard callous places, caused by wounds from many weapons, on (*his*) chest.

(L. 3.)—His son was the illustrious **Jivitagupta (I.)**, the best among kings, who was a very cold-rayed (moon) to (*with*) the waterlilies that were the countenances of the women of (*his*) proud enemies. The very terrible scorching fever (*of fear*) left not (*his*) haughty foes, even though they stood on seaside shores that were cool with the flowing and ebbing currents of water, (*and*) were covered with the branches of plantain-trees severed by the trunks of elephants roaming through the lofty groves of palmyra-palms ; (*or*) even though they stood on (*that*) mountain (Himālaya) which is cold with the water of the rushing and waving torrents full of snow. Even still his superhuman deeds are regarded with astonishment by all mankind, like the leap of (the monkey Hanumat) the son of the Wind³ from the side of (the mountain) Kôśavardhana.³

¹ Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh).

² Hanumat was one of the most celebrated of a host of semi-divine apes, who were created to become the allies of Rāmachandra in his war with Rāvaṇa. The leaders of this army of monkeys were supposed to be the offspring of various gods ; and Hanumat was the son of Pavana or Māruta, the Wind. One famous leap taken by Hanumat was from the mainland, over the sea, onto Ceylon, in order to discover the whereabouts of Sītā. Another was his leap back from Ceylon to the mainland, after setting Rāvaṇa's city on fire, on which occasion he sprang from a mountain which sank into the ground under the shock. A third leap, or flight through the air, was when he went to the mountain Gandhamādana, to procure a medicinal herb to cure the wounded Lakshmaṇa. Which of these leaps is alluded to here, is difficult to say, as Kôśavardhana does not seem to be given in the epic as the name of a mountain at all ; and I cannot find the names of the mountains from which his leaps were taken.

³ The only other mention that we have of a mountain Kôśavardhana, is in line 17 of the Shêrgadh (Kôḷā) Buddhist inscription (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 46), where it seems to denote the hill on which the Fort of Shêrgadh now stands. This may, or may not, be one of the mountains from which Hanumat took one of his flights through the air.

(L. 5.)—That king begat one son, by name the illustrious **Kumâragupta**, of renowned strength, a leader in battle; just as (the god) Hara begat a son, (**Kârttikêya**) who rides upon the peacock;¹—by whom, playing the part of (the mountain) **‘Iandara**,² there was quickly churned that formidable milk-ocean, the cause of the attainment of fortune, which was the army of the glorious **Îsânavarman**, a very moon among kings, (*and*) which had for (*its*) spreading rows of waves the plantain-trees that were wantonly shaken to and fro by the roaring wind (*caused by the marching of the troops*), (*and*) had (*its*) rocks, that were the ponderous and mighty rutting elephants (*of the forces*), whirled round and round by the masses of water that were the rising dust (*stirred up by the soldiers*). Cherishing heroism and adherence to the truth, (*even*) in (*the possession of*) wealth, he went to **Prayâga**; (*and there*), honourably decorated with flowers, plunged into a fire (*kindled*) with dry cow-dung cakes, as if (*simply plunging to bathe*) in water.³

(L. 8.)—The son of that king was the illustrious **Dâmôdaragupta**, by whom (*his*) enemies were slain, just like the demons by (the god) **Dâmôdara**. Breaking up the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants, belonging to the **Maukhari**, which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the **Hûnas** (*in order to trample them to death*), he became unconscious (*and expired in the fight*); (*and then, waking again in heaven*, *and*) making a choice among the women of the gods, saying “(*this one or that*) belongs to me,” he was revived by the pleasing touch of the waterlilies that were their hands. He, (*while he was*) king, gave away in marriage a hundred daughters of virtuous **Brâhman**s endowed with many ornaments and with youth, (*and*) dowered with **agrahâra**-grants.

(L. 10.)—From him there was a son, the illustrious **Mahâsênagupta**, the leader, among brave men; who in all the assemblages of heroes acquired a (*reputation for*) valour (*that stood*) in the foremost rank;—whose mighty fame, marked with the honour of victory in war over the illustrious **Susthitavarman**, (*and*) [white] as a full-blown jasmine-flower or waterlily, or as a pure necklace of pearls pounded into little bits (?), is still constantly sung on the banks of (the river) **Lôhitya**, the surfaces of which are (*so*) cool, by the **Siddhas** in pairs, when they wake up after sleeping in the shade of the betel-plants that are in full bloom.

(L. 11.)—As (the god) **Mâdhava**, whose feet are graced by the attentions of (the goddess) **Śrī**, (*was born*) from **Vasudêva**, so from him there was (*a son*), the illustrious **Mâdhavagupta**, finding pleasure only in prowess, whose feet were graced by the attentions of the goddess of fortune. He being remembered in the foremost rank; being the leader of those who acquire renown in war; (*and*) being a very store-house of goodness, the best of those who excel in the collection and bestowal of riches, the natural home of wealth, truth, and learning, (*and*) a firm bridge of religion, —there is no one on the earth who is (*as*) worthy to be praised by vir-

¹ One of the names of **Kârttikêya** was **Kumâra**; hence the comparison between him and **Kumâragupta**.

² The allusion in this verse is to the churning of the ocean by the gods and demons, for the recovery of the nectar and other precious things that had been lost. The mountain **Mandara** was utilised as the churning stick. And, during the process, **Lakshmi**, the goddess of fortune and wealth, sprang from the froth of the sea.

³ This verse seems to indicate that **Kumâragupta**’s funeral rites took place at **Allahâbâd**; but not necessarily that he placed himself on the funeral pyre while still alive.

tuous people, (*as he was*). He also (*like the god*), carried a discus in the palm of (*his*) hand;¹ to him also belonged a bow made of horn, and a pleasing sword (*which was employed*) for the destruction of (*his*) enemies (*and*) the happiness of his friends;² (*and*), when the slaughter of (*his*) foes had been achieved, was averted by him; people did obeisance "(My) mighty enemies have been slain by me in battle; there remains nothing more for me to do,"—thus he, the hero, determined in his mind; (*and then*) with the desire to associate himself with the glorious **Harshadêva**³

(L. 15.)—His son was the illustrious one, named **Âdityasêna**, the best among kings, whose scimeter was sullied with a thick coating of dust in the shape of the pearls from the temples of the lordly elephants⁴ of (*his*) enemies that were split open (*by it*), Maintaining the supreme renown, that (*his*) perfect praise, coming from (*and*) rising from the destruction of (*his*) enemies, is worthy to be lauded in the presence of all wielders of the bow,—a continuous line of blessings Cleaning with the edge of the silken cloth of a banner, (*used*) under the excuse of (*wiping away*) sweat in battle, (*his*) sword that was stained with the rut (*of the elephants slain by him*), and was covered with sand in the shape of the minute fragments of the pearls (*from their foreheads*) through that was broken to pieces, the destruction of rutting elephants, in the course of which many swarms of bees, led into a mistake by the copious fragrant juice that trickled forth, were attracted by their perfume. in battle which is full of terrible and repulsive frownings (*he*) is accustomed to laugh in a charming manner in the gatherings of (*his*) favourites and servants. His [wife], truthfully constant to (*her*) lord; performing penance with the excellent qualities of (*her*) mouth (?); laughter Being (*and*) being the greatest cause of the destruction of the power of all (*his*) enemies, (*and*) being possessed of his own mighty prowess, even when he is full of weariness produced by the fatigue of drawing (*his*) sword forth (*from its scabbard*) and (*dealing*) blows (*with it*),— the foreheads of rutting elephants in battle, [he is verily] a guardian of the world, by whose white umbrella the whole circuit of the earth is covered. He, the king, has had both (*his*) gleaming arms increased in bulk by splitting open the temples of rutting elephants in war; he

¹The god carries an actual discus; the king had the mark of a discus (see page 183 above, note 4).

²The allusions here are to the discus of Vishṇu (Mādhava), to his bow of horn named Śārṅga, and to his sword called Nandaka.

³Harshavardhana of Kanauj.—The present form of his name occurs also in the *Harshacharita* (Kāśmīr edition), p. 119, line 5.—I notice that he is often called Śrīharsha, and Śrīharshavardhana; as if *śrī* were a component part of his name, instead of being only the honorific prefix. But I cannot find any authority whatever for this. I cannot trace a single instance in which the reading of any inscription or book is *śrī-Śrīharsha* (see page 8 above, note 3); while, in line 26 of the Kauṭhēm grant of Vikramāditya V. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 22), he is distinctly called *Harsha-mahānripa*, "the great king Harsha." So, also, Bāṇa's book about him and his history is always called simply *Harshacharita*, not *Śrīharshacharita*, in the colophon of each division of it; and the *śrī*, which is prefixed on the title-page of the Kāśmīr edition, only qualifies *Harshacharita*, as the name of the book, in the sense of "the famous history of Harsha."

⁴The belief, to which there are constant allusions in Sanskrit poetry, was, that there are pearls to be found inside the foreheads of elephants.

has a halo of fame, [acquired] by destroying the power of many enemies; the darting fire of the prowess of (*his*) feet has had thrown into it (*to feed it*) the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of all (*other*) kings; he is possessed of fortune; (*and*) he has a pure and celebrated reputation (*acquired*) by honourable behaviour in war.

(L. 23.)—This best of temples has been caused to be made, on account of (the god) Vishṇu, by him, the king, whose very great fame, (*of*) this (*kind that has been described*), white as the orb of the autumn moon (*and*) conferring renown on the (*whole*) circle of the world, was for a long time made angry by him through (*his*) desire for (*her*) association with (*his*) wealth, and then, becoming more wonderful than ever, went, forsooth, through the enmity natural to the condition of rival wives, to the other side of the ocean (*in order to dwell there far away*).¹

(L. 24.)—By his mother, the *Mahādēvī Śrīmatī*, a religious college has been caused to be built, resembling a house in the world of the gods, (*and*) has been given by herself in person to religious people.

(L. 25.)—By the queen, the illustrious *Kōṇadēvī*, the dear wife of that same king, in the performance of an excellent penance, there has been caused to be excavated a wonderful tank, the waters of which are eagerly drunk by people; which is full of drifting and glistening spray, resembling in lustre a *śaṅkha*-shell, or the moon, or crystal; (*and*) in the waves of which, driven to and fro by the motion of the alligators, the birds disport themselves and the large fishes play about.

(L. 26.)—As long as a digit of the moon [remains] on the head of (the god) Hara, (*and*) (the goddess) Śrī on the breast of Vishṇu, (*and*) (the goddess) Sarasvatī in the mouth of Brahman; as long as the earth [remains] on a hood of (*Śēsha*) the king of serpents; and as long as there is lightning in the interior of a cloud,—so long shall the king *Adityasēna* display here (*in these works*) (*his*) dazzling fame!

(L. 27.)—(*This*) eulogy, (*written in*) beautiful letters, [has been composed, or engraved] by *Sūkshmaśiva*, (*a native of*) the *Gauḍa* (*country*), who is thoroughly religious (*and*) very intelligent.

No. 43; PLATE XXIXA.

SHAHPUR STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF ADITYASENA.

THIS inscription was discovered, apparently in 1879-80, by Mr. J. D. M. Beglar, Assistant to the Director General of Archaeological Surveys; and was first brought to notice, in 1882, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XV. p. 12, where General Cunningham published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xi. No. 1).

Shāhpur,² also known as *Shāhpur-Têtarâwâm*, is a village on the right bank of

¹ *Kīrtti*, 'fame,' and *Lakshmi*, 'fortune or wealth,' are here regarded as the two co-wives of the king. The idea is that his fame became at length so great as to extend to the uttermost ends of the world, beyond even the oceans; and this is indicated by *Kīrtti* becoming at length jealous of *Lakshmi*, and leaving her husband's house in order to dwell far away from her rival wife.

² The 'Shahpur, Shahpoor, Shahpoor-Tetranwan, and Shahpoor-Titarawa.' of maps, &c. *Indian Atlas*, Sheet No. 112. Lat. 25° 6' N.; Long. 85° 43' E.

the Sakarî river, about nine miles to the south-east of Bihâr, the chief town of the Bihâr Sub-Division of the Patna District in the Bengal Presidency. The inscription is on the pedestal of a standing image of the sun,—represented as a man, 2' 10" high, holding a waterlily in each hand; and with, on each side, a small standing figure, that on the right being armed with a club,—which was found on a mound in the lands of this village. When I sent my copyists to Shâhpur in 1884, they could not find the image, and could obtain no information as to what had become of it; my lithograph, therefore, has been prepared from Mr. Beglar's pencil-rubbing, which suffices for practical purposes, though perhaps the date is not quite as clear as it might be.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 4½" broad by 4" high, has suffered a good deal of injury towards the proper right side of the stone; the rest, however, is very well preserved.—The average size of the letters is about ⅙". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of almost precisely the same Kuṭila type as those of the preceding Aṃśa inscription of Âdityasêna, No. 42, Plate xxviii. They include, in line 2, forms of the numerical symbols¹ for 6, 7 (?), and 60.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the use of *v* for *b* in *valâdhikṛita*, line 3.

The inscription refers itself to the time of Âdityasêna, of the family of the Guptas of Magadha. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year sixty-six, on the

¹ The symbol for the day is a little doubtful; but it seems to be 7.—Gen. Cunningham interpreted these symbols as decimal figures, and read the year as 55, and the day as 1. At the same time he notified that Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, interpreting them in the same way, read the year as 88. And the date certainly has the appearance, in Gen. Cunningham's published lithograph, of either 55 or 88.—But this is too early a period for the occurrence of decimal figures; and, though the symbols are rather damaged, I think quite enough of them remains to shew very clearly a 60, followed by a 6.—So far as definite dates are available, the system of numerical symbols was preserved in this part of the country as late as Harsha-Saṃvat 188 (A.D. 794-95) as shewn by the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the *Mahârâja* Vinâyakapâla (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 138 ff.); and in the neighbouring country of Nêpâl, as late as Harsha-Saṃvat 153 (A.D. 659-60), as shewn by the inscription of Jayadêva II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 178 ff., and Vol. XIV. p. 345), and Gupta-Saṃvat 535 (A.D. 854-55), as shewn by another Nêpâl inscription (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 168 ff., and Vol. XIV. p. 345). In the west of India, it continued, in Gujarât, as late as Śaka-Saṃvat 679 (A.D. 757-58), as shewn by the Kârêlî grant of Kakka of Gujarât (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 105 ff.). In Central India, as late as Vikrama-Saṃvat 879 (A.D. 822-23), as shewn by the Shêrgadh (Kôṭā) inscription of the Sâmantâ Dêvadatta (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. pp. 45 ff., 351). And in the South, as late as about Śaka-Saṃvat 549 (A.D. 627-28), as shewn by the Vizagapatam grant of the Eastern Chalukya *Mahârâja* Vishṇuvarḍhana I. (Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*, p. 137 f. and Pl. xxvii.; see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 186, where I gave the date as the sixteenth year, instead of the eighteenth, which it really appears to be.)—As regards the introduction of decimal figures (setting aside the question of the first invention of them, which was probably by the astronomers of Ujjain in the fifth or sixth century A.D.), the earliest epigraphical instances of the use of them that I can quote, are, in the north, the Gwâlîor inscription of Bhôjadêva dated Vikrama-Saṃvat 933 or A.D. 876-77 (*Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 407 f.; see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 108, note 25); and the 'Pehewâ' inscription of the same king, dated Harsha-Saṃvat 276 or A.D. 882-83 (*Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXII. p. 673 ff., and Vol. XXXIII. p. 223 ff.; see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 109, note 27); in Central India, the 'Deogarh' inscription of the same king, dated Vikrama-Saṃvat 919 and Śaka-Saṃvat 784 or A.D. 862-63 (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 100 ff.; see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 110, note 32); in Gujarât, the 'Bagumra' grant of the Râshṭrakûta chieftain Dhruva III., dated Śaka-Saṃvat 789 or A.D. 732-33 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 185); in Kâthiâwâḍ the Môrbi grant of Jâinka, dated (irrespective of the actual reading in line 17) Gupta-Saṃvat 585 (A.D. 804-5); and in the Dekkan, the Sâmaṇḍa grant of Dantidurgâ, dated Śaka-Saṃvat 675 or A.D. 753-54 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 108 ff.).

seventh (?) day of the bright fortnight of the month Mārga, *i.e.* Mārgaśīra or Mārgaśīrsha (November-December). The era is not specified; but, from the known facts of Āditya-sēna's history, it is that of Harshavarḍhana of Kanauj, commencing¹ A.D. 606 or 607; and the result for this date, therefore, is A.D. 672-73. The inscription is one of solar worship; and the object of it is to record, in the first place, some grant, the details of which are illegible in line 1; and, in the second place, the installation of the image by the *Balādhikṛita*² Sālapaksha, in, apparently, the *agrahāra* of Nālanda.

The name of Nālanda is rather doubtful in this inscription; but there is no special objection to reading it, since Nālanda was a famous place, originally Buddhist, in the neighbourhood of Shāhpur, being in fact identified by General Cunningham³ with the modern 'Baragaon,'⁴ seven miles due north of Rājgir, and about fifteen miles nearly due west of Shāhpur. The image, being fairly small and portable, may easily have been originally set up at Nālanda, and then removed at some time or other to Shāhpur.

TEXT.⁵

- 1 kh . l . ḍh . g ... chandra-kshiti-kālam yāvat=p[r]atipāditam [11*]
- 2 Ōm Samvat 60 6 Mārgga śu di 7(?) asyān=divasa-māsa-
samvatsar-ānupūrvvyām⁶ śrī-Āditya'sēna-
- 3 [dēva]-rāj[y]ē Nā(?)landa(?) mah-āgrahārē sād[h]a va(ba)lādhikṛita-
Sālapakshēna dē[ya*]-dharmmô=yam pratishṭhitam(h)
- 4 [mâtāpitrôr=ā]tmanaś=cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē [11*]

TRANSLATION.

..... has been granted, to endure for the same time with
..... and the moon and the earth.

(Line 2.)—Ōm! The year 60 (*and*) 6; (the month) Mārga; the bright fortnight,⁸ the day 7 (?),—on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the day and month and year,⁹—in the reign of the illustrious Ādityasēnadēva, this appropriate religious gift has been installed by the virtuous Sālapaksha, the *Balādhikṛita*, in the great *agrahāra* of Nālanda (?), for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*his*) parents and of himself.

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 420, note 37.

² *Balādhikṛita* is a technical military title, meaning literally 'one who is appointed to (a command of) the troops.' The superior of the *Balādhikṛitas* was the *Mahābalādhikṛita*; see page 109 above, note 2.

³ *Anc. Geog. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 468 ff.

⁴ Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 8' N.; Long. 85° 29' E.—In the map, the name is written 'Burgaon.' The correct form of the name would therefore seem to be Badgaum.

⁵ From Mr. Beglar's pencil-rubbing; so also the lithograph.

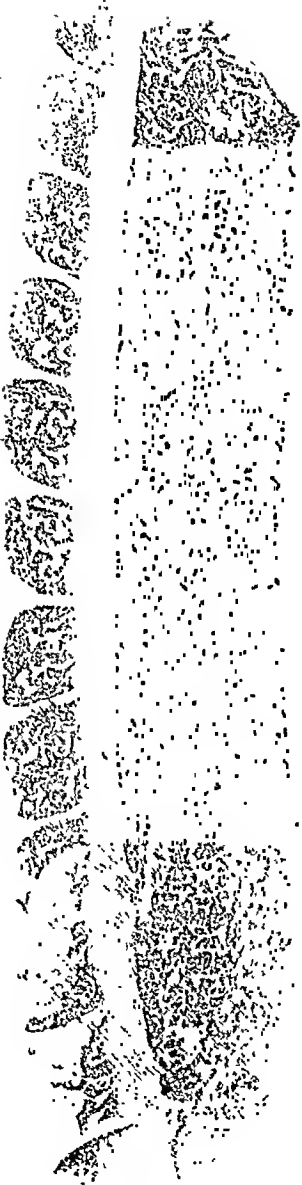
⁶ Supply *tithau*.

⁷ Read *śrī-āditya*.

⁸ The text here has the abbreviation *śu*, which represents *suddha*, or *śukla*, in composition with *paksha* or *pakshē*: see page 92 above, note 1.

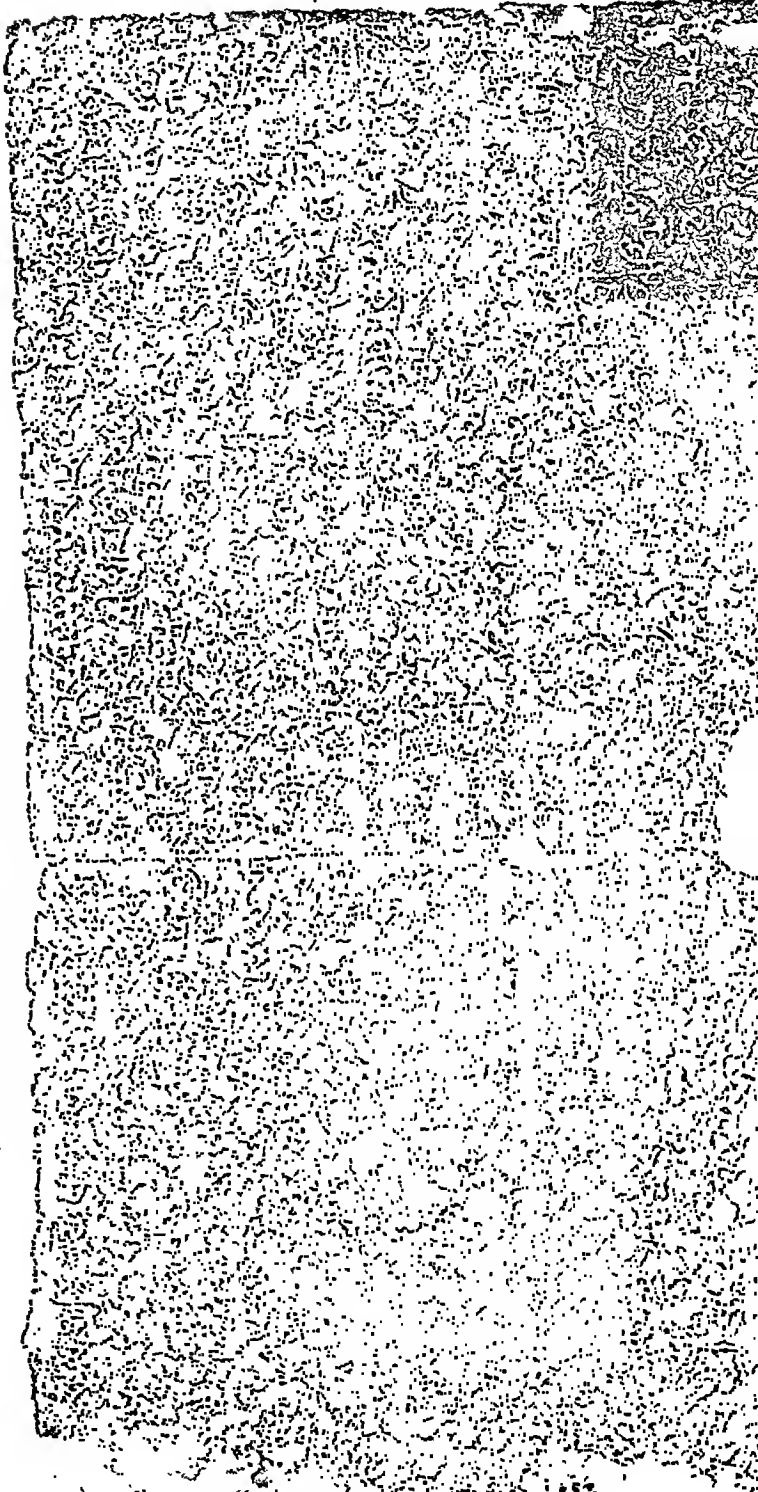
⁹ See page 97 above, note 1.

A.—Shahpur Image Inscription of Adityasena.



SCALE 1/40

B.—Deo-Baranark Inscription of Jivitagupta II.



Nos. 44 and 45; (No PLATE.)

MANDAR HILL ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF ADITYASENA.

THESE two inscriptions were discovered by Dr. Francis Buchanan (Hamilton), and were first brought to notice in his reports, from which Mr. Montgomery Martin compiled, and in 1838 published, the book entitled *Eastern India*, where the inscriptions are mentioned in Vol. II. p. 58, with reduced lithographs (*id.* Plate iv. Nos. 3 and 4).—I cannot find that any fuller notice of them has ever been published.

Mandâr or **Mandâragiri**¹ is a famous hill about seven miles south-east of Bânkâ,² the chief town of the Bânkâ Sub-Division of the Bhâgalpur³ District in the Bengal Presidency. When I was on tour in the north of India, I could not succeed in acquiring any accurate information as to the position of the inscriptions, and was thus unable to obtain impressions and publish lithographs of them. But Dr. Buchanan's facsimiles, though not good enough to reproduce, are intelligible throughout, with the exception of the three letters immediately following the name of Âdityasênadêva. And quite recently Mr. Beglar has sent me a rubbing and a hand-copy of No. 44, which, though not suitable for lithography, fully endorse Dr. Buchanan's rendering of this record, and enable me also to read with certainty some of the letters that are doubtful in his lithograph. From Mr. Beglar's remarks, I learn that this inscription, No. 44, is on the rock to the right of the steps rising from a corner of the lower tank, now called Pâpaharîni, and at the base of a flight leading to the upper tank. The position of the other inscription, No. 45, seems to be not now known at all.

The two inscriptions are identical in substance; but are arranged, one in two lines, and the other in four. The writing of No. 44 covers a space of about 6' 2" broad by 2' 11" high; and is in a state of fairly good preservation; but the surface of the rock seems to be so rough that it is doubtful whether an ink-impression could be obtained, sufficiently good for lithography.—The average size of the letters is about 5". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of almost precisely the same Kuṭila type as those of the Aphsad inscription of Âdityasêna, No. 42 above, Plate xxviii. page 200.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscriptions are in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscriptions refer themselves to the time of Adityasêna, of the family of the Guptas or Magadha. They are not dated. But the paramount titles of *Paramabhattachâraka* and *Mahârâjadhirâja* applied here to Âdityasêna, shew that they belong to the period of confusion and anarchy that attended the death of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, when Âdityasêna established the independence of his family in Magadha; and that they are slightly later than his Aphsad and Shâhpur inscriptions, in the latter of which,—as it is in prose,—the paramount titles would certainly have been introduced, if he had assumed them by that date. They are non-sectarian; the record being simply that Âdityasêna's wife, Kôṇadêvî, caused a tank to be made.

¹ The 'Mandar, Mandargiri, Mundar Hill, and Mundar H. Temple,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 112. Lat. 24° 50' N.; Long. 87° 4' E.

² The 'Banka' of maps.

The 'Bhagalpur and Bhaugulpur' of maps, &c.

TEXT.¹

No. 44.

- 1 Ōm Paramabhattachāraka-mah[ā]r[ā]jjādh[i]r[ā]ja-
- 2 śrī-Aditya²sēnadēva-dayit[ā] parama-
- 3 bhattachārik[ā]-r[ā]jj[ī]nī-mah[ā]d[ē]v[ī]-śrī-[Kō]ṇad[ē]v[ī]
- 4 pushkarīṇī-kīrttim=im[ā]ṇ=k[ā]r[ī]tava[tī] [II*]

No. 45.

- 1 Ōm Paramabhattachāraka-mah[ā]r[ā]jj[ā]dhirāja-śrī-Ād[i]tya³sēnadēva-
- day[i]tā
- 2 paramabhattachārik[ā]-r[ā]jj[ī]nī-mahād[ē]vī-śrī-K[ō]ṇad[ē]vī pu[shkarīṇī-
- kīrt][t[i]m=im[ā]ṇ-kāritavatī [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Ōm! The *Paramabhattachārikā*,⁴ the queen,⁵ the *Mahādēvi*, the glorious *Kōṇadēvi*,—the dear wife of the *Paramabhattachāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Aditya-sēnadēva*,—caused to be made this famous work⁶ of a tank.

¹ From Mr. Beglar's rubbing of No. 44, and Dr. Buchanan's published lithograph of No. 45.

² Read *śrī-āditya*.

³ Here, again, read *śrī-āditya*.

⁴ *Paramabhattachārikā*, lit. 'she who is supremely entitled to respect or veneration,' is the feminine of *paramabhattachāraka* (see page 17 above, note 3), and was one of the customary technical titles of the wives of paramount sovereigns.

⁵ *rājñī*; also in line 2 ff. of the following Dēś-Baraṇārka inscription of Jivitagupta II.—The word is only the feminine form of *rājan*; but it does not seem to have been so exclusively and technically used as a subordinate feudatory title, in the way in which *rājan* was used. In the present day also *Rāñī*, which is the Prākṛit form of *rājñī*, is the proper title of a wife of a *Rājā*; but is also used, equally with *Mahārāñī*, as a title of the Queen-Empress of England and India.

⁶ *kīrtti*.—Mr. K. T. Telang (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX p. 36, note 13) first brought to notice, on the authority of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, that in certain connections *kīrtana* has the meaning of 'a temple,' e.g. in line 18 of the Khārēpāṇ grant of Anantadēva, dated Śāka-Saṃvat 1016 (*id.* p. 34), which he was then editing.—This was supported by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 228 f.); who, in pointing out the error into which, from not being aware of this meaning of the word, I had fallen in translating the passage in lines 14 f. of the Barōda grant of Kakka II., dated Śāka-Saṃvat 734 (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 159), was able to quote three passages from the *Agni-Purāṇa* (in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Vol. I p. 111), Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, and Sōmēśvara's *Kīrttikaumudī*, in which the word evidently has the same meaning.—And to these instances I have since been able to add the 'Dudahi' inscriptions of Dēvalabdhī (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 289), and the Udayagiri inscription, dated Vikrama-Saṃvat 1093 (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 185).—On the analogy of these authorities, there is every reason for allotting the same meaning, when required, to *kīrtti*, which is a derivative from the same root. Dr. Bhandarkar has, however, recently suggested to me that *kīrtti* and *kīrtana* are hardly to be actually translated by the word 'temple,' or by any other specific term; but denote generally 'any work, of public utility, calculated to render famous the name of the constructor of it.' This is in accordance with the etymology of the words, from the root *kṛt*, 'to mention, commemorate, praise.' And the particular work referred to may be a temple, as in the instances quoted above; or a tank, as in the present inscriptions; or anything else of a suitable nature.

Another passage in which *kīrtti* has the same meaning, though we have no information now as to the specific nature of the work referred to, is in line 4 f. of an inscription on the right-hand side pier in the porch of the temple of Vaidyanātha at 'Deoghar' in the 'Santāl' Parganās in the Bengal Presidency, edited by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LII, Part I

No. 46; PLATE XXIX B.

DEO-BARANARK INSCRIPTION OF JIVITAGUPTA II.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1880-81 by General Cunningham; and was first brought to notice by him, in 1883, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVI. pp. 68 and 73 ff., where he published a reading of the text, and a partial translation of it, supplied to him by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, with a lithograph (*id.* Plates xxv. and xxvi.) from a photograph by his Assistant, Mr. H. B. W. Garrick.

p. 190 f., No. 3. It is a Vaishṇava inscription; and, therefore, as pointed out by Dr. R. Mitra, it does not belong properly to the temple of Vaidyanātha, which is a Śaiva shrine; and, from the concluding words, it seems to have been brought away from some building on the Mandār Hill. I had no opportunity of obtaining a proper impression of the inscription. But the one in the Society's library suffices to shew that Dr. R. Mitra's version of the text, which I now give, with my own translation of it, is correct:—

TEXT.

- 1 Śāstā samudt-ānta-vasundharāyāḥ yashṭ=Āśvamēdh-ādyā-mahā-
kratūnām | Ādityasēnaḥ prathita-prabhā-
- 2 vō babbhūva rāj=āmara-tulya-tējāḥ || Māghyām Viśākhā-pada-
samyutāyām Kṛitē yugē Chōla-purād=a-
- 3 pētya mahā-maṇīnām=ayuta-trayēṇa trilakṣha-chāmīkara-ṭaṅkakēna ||
Ishṭv=Āśvamēdha-trita-
- 4 yēna dattvā tuḷā-sahasraṁ haya-kōṭi-yuktam | śrī-Kōshadēvyā
sahitō mahishyā achīkarat=ki-
- 5 rttim=imām sa sarvvām || Kṛitvā pratishṭhām vidhi-vad=
dvijēndraiḥ svayam yathā vēda-patham narēndrah |
kalyāṇa-hē-
- 6 tōr=bhuvana-trayasya chakāra samsthām Nṛiharēḥ sa ēva ||
Sthāpitō Balabhadreṇa varāhō bhukti-mukti-
- 7 dah | svarg-ārthē pitṛi-mātrīṇām jagataḥ sukha-hētavē || Iti
Mandāragiri-prakaraṇam ||

TRANSLATION.

There was a king, Ādityasēna, of renowned prowess, equal in glory to the gods; the ruler of the (whole) earth up to the shores of the oceans; the performer of the *āśvamēdha* and other great sacrifices. On the full-moon day of (the month) Māgha, coupled with the sign of (the lunar asterism) Viśākhā, in the Kṛita age, —having arrived from the Chōla city,—having sacrificed with three *āśvamēdha*-sacrifices, (and) having given away his own weight a thousand times over, together with a crore of horses,—he, with (his) consort, the glorious Kōshadēvī, caused to be made the whole of this famous work (*kīrtti*), with three myriads of large jewels (and) three lakhs of gold (coins of the kind called) *ṭaṅkakas*. Having consecrated (*iṭ*) according to due rite (through the ceremonies performed) by Brāhman, just as if he, the king, himself (was laying out) the path of the Vēdas, he made an establishment of (the god) Nṛihari, who is the cause of the prosperity of the three worlds. A boar (*i.e.* the god Vishṇu in that form), the giver of enjoyment and final emancipation, has been set up by Balabhadra, in order that (his) parents may attain heaven, (and) for the happiness of the (whole) world. Thus runs the chapter on the Mandāragiri.

Dêo-Baranârk,¹ or **Dêva-Baranârk**, the ancient **Vârūnikâ** of this inscription, is a village about twenty-five miles south-west of Arrah (properly **Ârâ**), the chief town of the Shâhâbâd District in the Bengal Presidency. The inscription is on two contiguous faces of a pillar in the entrance-hall of a temple on the west side of the village,² which has apparently been adapted in modern times as a temple of the god Vishṇu.³

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 2' 3½" broad by 1' 4" high, has suffered a great deal of injury from the weather, especially down the proper right side, where many passages are hopelessly illegible; but fortunately the whole of the genealogy of the Guptas of Magadha given in this inscription is intact, with the exception of the first three syllables of the name of Mâdhavagupta, in line 2, which can easily be supplied. In lines 7 ff., however, there was a good deal of historical information that is not now quite perfect.—The average size of the letters is about ⅞". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of almost the same Kuṭila type as those of the Aṃśad inscription of Âdityasêna, No. 43 above, Plate xxviii.; but they do not shew the bent tails of the letters quite so markedly.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout. In style, it follows the customary form of a copper-plate charter; not of a stone-inscription.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of *śh*, instead of the *jihvāmūliya* or the *visarga*, in *antashpâti*, line 7; (2) the use of the dental *n*, instead of the *anusvâra*, before *s*, in *hansa*, line 14; (3) the doubling throughout of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*; e.g. in *ttraya*, line 1; *puttra*, line 5; and *mittra*, line 16; and (4) the use of *v* for *b*, in *vâlâditya*, line 13.

The inscription is one of **Jivitagupta II.**, of the family of the **Guptas of Magadha**; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the fort of **Gômatikottaka**. It is not dated.⁴ It is an inscription of solar worship;⁵ its object being to record the continuance of the grant of a village, either **Vârūnikâ** or **Kisôravâtaka**, to the Sun, under the title of Varuṇavâsin, a name which is of some interest, as apparently preserving the ancient belief, in accordance with which *varuṇa*, *lit.* 'that which envelopes,' meant 'the all-encompassing sky, before it became the name of the ocean-god Varuṇa, who himself was ori-

The characters, called Maithila by Dr. R. Mitra, shew that this inscription is quite modern, —certainly not earlier than the sixteenth century A.D.; and it must have been engraved when the boar-statue of Vishṇu, spoken of in line 6, was set up by Balabhadra. I have thought it worth while, however, to give the record in full, because, in my opinion, it so plainly contains a memorial of the great Âdityasêna of Magadha. The antiquity of the allusion is indicated by its being referred to the Kṛita age. And though the name of Âdityasêna's wife is here given as Kôshadêvi, instead of Kôṇadêvi, this is to be explained by the usual inability of the people, then as now, to read correctly the ancient characters of the inscription or other record from which the composer of these verses obtained his information; and it is a mistake of the kind that corroborates, not invalidates, the identification of Âdityasêna.

¹ The 'Deo-Barnârak, Deo-Barnârk, Deo-Barunârak, and Deonar Narooli,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 15' N.; Long. 84° 31' E.

² See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVI. Plates xxii. xxiii. and xxiv.

³ *id.* p. 69.

⁴ Gen. Cunningham read in it the date of 152, which he referred to the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj. But this arose only from a misunderstanding of the words *sa-daśâparâdha-pañcha*, in line 19.

⁵ It appears that two special festivals in honour of the sun still take place at Dêo-Baranârk, on the sixth day of the bright fortnight of the months Chaitra and Kârttika (see *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVI. p. 72).

ginally looked upon as one of the twelve Âdityas, or forms of the sun, the offspring of Aditi.¹

The importance of this inscription consists, first, in its continuation, for three more generations, of the genealogy of the **Guptas of Magadha**, including the name of **Dêvagupta**, which, as will be seen hereafter, gives the clue to the date of the *Vākātaka Mahārājas*; and secondly, in its recording the names of certain previous kings, who each in succession had confirmed the grant. The names that are now legible are those of **Bâlāditya**, who, as is known from the writings of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, played so important a part in connection with Mihirakula; **Śarvavarman**, who is evidently the Maukhari king Śarvavarman, whose copper-seal we have in No. 47 below, Plate xxxA.; and **Avantivarman**, who is probably the Maukhari Avantivarman, mentioned in Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* as the father of Grahavarman who became the husband of Rājyaśrī, the sister of Harshavardhana of Kanauj.²

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, **Gômatikoṭṭaka**, the fort whence the charter was issued, must evidently be looked for somewhere along the river Gômatī, the modern Gômṭi or Gumti, which, rising in the Shâhjahânpur District of the North-West Provinces, passes Lucknow and Jaunpur, and flows into the Ganges about half-way between Benares and Ghâzīpur, and about eighty-five miles to the west of Dêô-Baraṇārka. And **Vârūnikâ** is plainly the modern Dêô-Baraṇārka itself. In the modern name, the first component is *dêva*, 'a god'; and the second, a corruption of Varuṇārka, evidently gives the name of a later conception of the original god, embodying the attributes of the Sun (*arka*) with those of Varuṇa.

TEXT.³

- 1⁴ [na]mah [II*] Svasti Śakti-ttray-ôpâtta-jayaśabdân=mahâ-nauhâ(ha)sty-aśva-patti-sambhâra-durnivârâj=jaya-skandhâvârât **Gômatikoṭṭaka-samîpa-vâsa-**
- 2 [kât]⁵ [śrī-Mâdhava]guptas=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ paramabhattachârikâyâm rājñyâm mahâdêvyâm śrī-Śrîmatyâm=utpannah paramabhâgavataḥ śrī-Âditya[sê]-
- 3 [nadêvas=tasya] pu[ttra]s=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ paramabhattachârikâyâm rājñyâm mahâdêvyâm śrī-Kônad[ê*]vyâm=utpannah paramamâhêśvara-paramabhattachâraka-mahâr[â]j[â]-
- 4 [dhirâja-paramêśvara]-śrī-D[ê]vaguptad[ê]vas⁷=tasya puttras=tat-pâd-ânu-

¹ See, for instance, Monier Williams' *Indian Wisdom*, pp. 12 f. and 68; and Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I. p. 27, note 42.

² See FitzEdward Hall's preface to the *Vāsavadattâ*, p. 52; and the *Harshacharita*, Kaśmîr edition, p. 311 ff.

³ From the ink-impression.

⁴ Bhagwanlal Indraji supplied *varuṇavâsi-bhattachârakâya* here. But only about five *aksharas*, or at the most six, appear to have been destroyed.

⁵ Some sectarian title of Mâdhavagupta must have been destroyed here; but there seems hardly room enough for *paramabhâgavata* or *paramamâhêśvara*.

⁶ Read *śrī-Âditya*.

⁷ This name of Dêvaguptadêva,—which is of considerable importance, from its bearing on date of the *Vākātaka Mahārājas*,—is very indistinct; but I agree with Bhagwanlal Indraji can be read with sufficient certainty.

- dhyātaḥ paramabhattachārikāyā[m*] rājñyā[m*] mahādēvyā[m*] śrī-
Kamala¹dēvyām=utpannaḥ paramamābhe-
- 5 [śvara-paramabhattachārika-ma]hārājā[dhi]rāja-paramēśvara-śrī-**Vishnuguptadēvas**-
 tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramabhattachārikāyā[m*] rājñyā[m*]
 mahādēvyā[m*] śrī-Ijjā²dēvyā].
- 6 [m=utpannaḥ parama.....³-parama]bhattachārika-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-
 śrī-Jivita⁴guptadēva[h*] kuśali Nagara-bh[u*]ktau Vālavī-vaishayika-
 śrī-Vā(ṣvō) ..
- 7 padra(?)lik(ṣksh)-āntaśpāti-V[ā*]runikā-grama-
 gōshth[ā]na(?)kula-talāvātaka-dūta-sīmakarmakara-madyā(?) -
- 8 taka-rājaputtra-rājāmattrā⁵-mahā
 kshatika-mahādaṇḍanāyaka-mahāpratihāra-mah[ā]śā-
- 9 pra(?)mātasā k[u]m[ā]rāmātya-rājasthānīy-
 ōparika- dhika-chaurōddharanika-dāṇḍika-da(?)dā)ṇḍa-
- 10 [pāsika(?)] ka rshṇi(?)vala - vyāyata -
 Kiśō(?)ravā(?)ṭa(?)ka(?) - g[r]āma-h d . t ... vaṇikaga pati-
 karma(?) -
- 11 rasaka t-āsmat-[p]āda-prasād-ōpajīvinaś=cha
 prativ[ā]sinaś=cha vrā(bra)hmaṇ-ōttarā[n*] mahattara-ka(?)ku)kshi(?)pura-
- 12 vijñāpita-śrī-Varuṇavāsi-
 bhattachārika-pratīva(ba)ddha-bhōjaka-Sūryamittreṇa upari-likhi-
- 13 [ta] grām-ādi-samhutam paramēśvara-
 śrī-Vā(bā)lādityadēvēna sva-śāsanēna bhagava-śrī⁶-Varuṇavāsi-
 bhattachārika ..
- 14 ka va-parivā(?)haka bhōjaka-Hansa-
 mittrasya samāpat[t*]yā yathākāl-ādhyāsibhiś=cha ēvaṁ paramēśvara-
- 15 śrī-Śarvvavarmma bhōjaka-Rishi⁷mittra yatakam
 ēvaṁ paramēśvara-śrī[ma*]d-Avantivarmmaṇā pūrva-dattakam: avala-
- 16 [mbya] ēvaṁ mah[ā*]rājādhirā*]ja-paramēśvara-
 śāsana-dānēna bhōjaka-Durddha(?)ra(?)mittrasya=
 anumō-
- 17 [dita] tē(?)na(?) bhu(?)jyātē(?) [I*] tad=aham
 kimapi(?) ēvaṁ matimān ānupā(īnō)ditam=iti
 sa(?)rvva(?) - samājñāpa(?)nā(?) [I*] ētā ..
- 18 payu
 Varuṇavāsy-āyatanam tad=anu dattam

¹ Bhagwanlal Indraji read *kumāra*; but the three *aksharas* are distinctly *kamala*.

² Read *sr-ijjā*.

³ Either *bhāgavata* or *māhēśvara* is illegible here.

⁴ Bhagwanlal Indraji read *savitri*; but the three *aksharas* are distinctly *jivita*, as, in fact, was recognised by Gen. Cunningham (*Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVI. pp. viii., 68).

⁵ Read *rājāmātya*.

⁶ Read *bhagavach-chhri*.

⁷ Read *bhōjaka-rishi*; or, according to the more usual custom, *bhōjak-arshi*.—In the case of a final *a*, followed by an initial *ri*, it is usual to join the vowels in regular *saṁdhi*. But Dr. Hultzsch has drawn my attention to the fact that the commentary on Pāṇini, vi. 1, 128, *ṛity=akāḥ*, states that the *saṁdhi* here is in accordance with the opinion of Śākalya, and thus seems to intimate that, according to other grammarians, the *saṁdhi* is optional, and a hiatus is equally permissible.

- 19 tyaksha
 s-ôdraṅgaṃ s-ôparikaraṃ sa-daśāparādha-pañcha ..
 20 [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to! Hail! From the victorious camp, possessed of shouts of victory acquired by the three constituents of power,¹ (and) invincible through (its) equipment of great ships and elephants and horses and foot-soldiers, (and) situated near the fort of **Gômatikoṭṭaka** :—

(Line 2.)—(There was) the illustrious **Mâdhavagupta**. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the glorious **Adityasênadêva**,² begotten on the *Paramabhaṭṭârîkâ*, the queen,³ the *Mahâdêvî*, the glorious **Śrîmatidêvî**.

(L. 3.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout worshipper of (the god) **Mahêśvara**, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and [*Paramêśvara*], the glorious **Dêvaguptadêva**,⁴ begotten on the *Paramabhaṭṭârîkâ*, the queen, the *Mahâdêvî*, the glorious **Kôṇadêvî**.

(L. 4.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, was the most devout worshipper of (the god) **Mahêśvara**, the [*Paramabhaṭṭâraka*], *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the glorious **Vishnuguptadêva**, begotten on the *Paramabhaṭṭârîkâ*, the queen, the *Mahâdêvî*, the glorious **Kamaladêvî**.⁵

(L. 5.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the most devout worshipper of, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*, the glorious **Jîvitaguptadêva**⁶ (II.),—[begotten] on the *Paramabhaṭṭârîkâ*, the queen, the *Mahâdêvî*, the glorious **Ijjâdêvî**,⁷—being in good health, [issues a command] to the herdsmen, *Talâvâtakas*,⁸ messengers,⁹ makers of boundaries,¹⁰

¹ *śakti-traya*.—The three *śaktis*, or 'constituents of regal power,' are *prabhutva*, 'majesty;' *mantra*, 'good counsel;' and *utsâha*, 'energy.'

² The omission, in the case of *Ādityasēna*, of the paramount titles,—which are duly attached to his name in the Mandâr Hill inscriptions, Nos. 44 and 45 above, page 211, and to the names of his mother and wife, and all his successors, in the present inscription,—is rather peculiar.

³ *râjñî*; see page 212 above, note 5.

⁴ See page 215 above, note 7.

⁵ See page 216 above, note 1.

⁶ See page 216 above, note 4.

⁷ This is a Prâkṛit name, in which *ijjâ* represents the Sanskrit *ijyâ*, 'a sacrifice.'—We have had another Prâkṛit name of a female, in *Ajjhitadêvî*; e.g. in line 5 of the *Kârîtalâi* grant of the *Mahârâja* Jayanâtha of the year 174, No. 26 above, page 117.

⁸ *Talâvâtaka* is an official title, the etymology and meaning of which are not apparent.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in his treatment of this inscription, read the word with the short vowel *a* in the second syllable, and explained it as meaning the modern *Talâṭī* or *Talâṭhī*, 'the village accountant;' but of course some authority requires to be cited, before this explanation can be accepted.

⁹ *Dûta*; the word seems to denote here simply ordinary message-carriers or postmen; not the special officers called *Dûtakas*, employed in connection with copper-plate charters (see page 100 above, note 3).

¹⁰ *Sîmakarmakara*.

..... *Rājaputras*,¹ *Rājāmātyas*, *Mahādaṇḍanāyakas*, *Mahāpratīhāras*,²
 *Kumārāmātyas*, *Rājasthānīyas*, *Uparikas*,
 *Chaurōddharanīkas*,³ *Dāṇḍīkas*,⁴ *Daṇḍapāśīkas*,
 of the village of *Vārunīkā*, which lies in the
 in the *Nagara bhukti*,⁵ (and) belonging to the
Vālavī vishaya, (and) to the village of *Kiśōravātaka* (?), which
 was laid out by
 and to those who subsist on the favour of Our feet, and to the neighbours, headed by the
Brāhmaṇas, (and) to the *Mahattaras*,

(L. 12.)—By the *Bhōjaka*⁶ *Sūryamitra*, belonging to (the establishment of) the divine
 (god) the holy and sacred *Varuṇavāsin*, who was requested the
 above-mentioned [village] together with and the
 village, &c., was formerly bestowed by the *Paramēśvara*, the glorious *Bālādityadēva*, by
 (his) own charter, the divine (god) the holy and sacred *Varuṇavāsin*,
 by restoration to the *Bhōjaka* *Haṃsamitra*, and by those who presided at
 different times, viz. the *Paramēśvara*, the glorious *Śarvavarman*
 [to] the *Bhōjaka* *Rishimitra* by the *Paramēśvara* *Avantivarman*. In accord-
 ance with this practice⁷ assent to its enjoyment by the
Bhōjaka *Durdharamitra* was given, by the grant of a charter, by the *Mahārājādhirāja* and
Paramēśvara; and it is now enjoyed by him.

(L. 17.)—"Therefore I [now announce] that it is assented to
; such is (my) command to all people.
 the altar of (the god) *Varuṇavāsin*; after that, there is given
 with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*, with (the proceeds of
 fines for) the ten offences, the five

¹ *Rājaputra* means literally 'a king's son, a prince;' but, as used in such passages as the present, it evidently has some technical official meaning, differing from this. In the modern Prākṛits we have, in Marāṭhī, *rāut* or *rāūt*, and in Gujarātī, *rāwat*, in the sense of 'a horse-soldier, a trooper.' And these words would seem to be derived from *rājaputra*, and so to indicate its technical meaning; rather than, as given by Molesworth and Candy in their Marāṭhī Dictionary, from *rāva-dūta*, 'a king's messenger.'

² *Mahāpratīhāra*, lit. 'a great door-keeper,' was the technical title of the officer next in grade above the *Pratīhāras* (see page 190 above, note 1).

³ *Chaurōddharanīka*, lit. 'one who is entrusted with the extermination of thieves,' is evidently the technical title of a certain class of police officers.

⁴ *Dāṇḍīka*, lit. 'a chastiser, a punisher,' may denote either a judicial functionary, from *daṇḍa* in the sense of 'a fine;' or a police officer, from the same word in the sense of 'a rod (of punishment).'

⁵ *bhukti*, lit. 'enjoyment,' is a technical territorial term.—From the arrangement of the text here, as also from the mention of "the village of *Pāṇīyaka*, in the Śrāvastī *bhukti*, and belonging to the *Vālayikā vishaya* which lay in the Śrāvastī *maṇḍala*," in the Dighwā-Dubault grant of the *Mahārāja* *Mahēndrapāla* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 112, line 7 f.), and the mention of "the village of *Tikkarikā*, in the *Pratishthāna bhukti*, and attached to the *Kāśīpāra pathaka* which belonged to the *Vārāṇasī vishaya*," in the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant of the *Mahārāja* *Vināyakapāla* (*id.* Vol. XV p. 141, line 9 f.), the term *bhukti* seems to have denoted a larger extent of territory than a *vishaya*.

⁶ *Bhōjaka* is explained by Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, as denoting 'a class of priests, or sun-worshippers, supposed to be descended from the *Magas* by intermarriage with women of the *Bhōja* race.'—Childers, in his Pāli Dictionary, gives the same word as meaning 'a village-headman.'

⁷ The construction of the original is *Bālādityadēvāna* *pūrva-dattakam*=*avalambhya*, "having relied on (i.e. having adapted himself to) the former grant that was made by *Bālādityadēva* (and the others mentioned)." I have broken up the construction for convenience of translation.

No. 47; PLATE XXX A.

ASIRGADH COPPER SEAL INSCRIPTION OF SARVAVARMAN.

THIS inscription was first brought to notice, through two independent channels, in 1836. In the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. V. p. 482 ff., Mr. James Prinsep published the Rev. W. H. Mill's reading of the text, and translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxvi.) reduced from a drawing, forwarded to him by Dr. J. Swiney, which had been made in 1805 from a wax-impression of the original seal, and had been in the possession of Dr. Mellish from then; the lithograph is a fairly good one; but the rendering of the inscription was erroneous almost throughout. And in the *Four. R. As. Soc.* F. S. Vol. III. p. 377 ff., Professor H. H. Wilson published Sir Charles Wilkins' reading of the text and translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph, apparently full-size, prepared from an impression which was found in 1805 or 1806 by Captain Colebrooke at *Āsīrgadh*, in a box containing property of the Mahārāja Scindia, and was forwarded by him to Sir Charles Wilkins.

*Āsīrgadh*¹ is a hill-fort, which formerly belonged to Scindia, about eleven miles to the north-east of Burhānpur,² the chief town of the Burhānpur Tahsīl or Sub-Division of the Nimār³ District in the Central Provinces. As is shewn by the Sōnpat seal of Harshavardhana, No. 52 below, Plate xxxiiB., and the seal attached to the spurious Gayā plate of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii., the original of the inscription is evidently the seal, presumably of copper, of a copper-plate grant. The grant itself appears never to have been found. As regards the seal, it is not quite clear from the published accounts whether the original was ever found, or only impressions of it. But, at any rate, I have not been able to find out what became either of the seal, or of the impressions of it. My lithograph is a full-size reproduction of the lithograph published with Professor H. H. Wilson's paper.

In the absence of the original seal and impressions, I am unable to give any details as to its measurements, weight, state of preservation, &c. But, if the original lithograph is full-size, it represents a seal, roughly oval in shape, measuring about $4\frac{3}{4}$ " by $5\frac{1}{8}$ ". The upper part is occupied by emblems, which are—in the centre, a bull, walking to the proper right, decorated with a garland; beyond it, or perhaps attached to its off-side, there is an umbrella, the staff of which is decorated with two streamers; on the proper right side, in front of the bull, there is a man, walking, who carries in his right hand a curved double axe on a short transverse handle, and in his left hand, either a standard, with a wheel or sun-emblem on the top of it, or perhaps an *abdāgīr* or 'sunshade'; and on the proper left, behind the bull, there follows another man, who carries in his left hand an ordinary long-handled double axe, and in his right either a *chauri*-brush or a stick, with which he is driving the bullock.—The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, though rather florid, especially in respect of the representation of the superscript vowels, they are of a perceptibly older type than those of the inscriptions of the Guptas of

¹ The 'Asirgarh and Asseer Gurh' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 54. Lat. $21^{\circ} 28' N.$; Long. $76^{\circ} 20' E.$

² The 'Burhanpur and Boorhanpoor' of maps, &c.

³ The 'Nimār' of maps, &c.

Magadha, Nos. 42, 43, and 46, Plates xxviii. and xxixA. and B.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhmāñya*, in *utpannaḥ=parama*, line 7; (2) the doubling throughout of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*; e.g. in *utikkṛānta*, line 1, and *puttra*, line 3; and (3) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuuddhyāta*, lines 3, 4, 5, and 6.

The seal is one of the Maukhari king Śarvavarman, whose approximate date is fixed very closely by the mention of his father Īśānavarman, as the contemporary of Kumāragupta of Magadha, in line 7 of the Aphaṣ inscription of Ādityasēna, No. 42 above, page 200. The mere finding of the inscription at Aśīrgaḍh of course does not suffice in any way to connect the members of this family of Maukharis with that locality. Their territory probably lay some hundreds of miles more to the east. Its real position, however, is a point that, with the definite date of Śarvavarman, can only be cleared up by the discovery, if it is still in existence, of the plate itself, to which the seal belongs.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Chatus-samudr-ātikkṛānta-kirttiḥ pratāp-ānurāg-ōpanat-ānya-rājā(jō)² varṇ-
āśrama-vyavasthā-
- 2 pana-pravṛitta-chakkraś=Chakkradhara iva prajānām=artti-hara[h*] śrī(śrī)-
mahārāja-Harivarmma [II*] Tasya
- 3 puttras=tat-pād-ānuddhy[ā*]tō Jayasvāminī-bhaṭṭārikā-dēvy[ā*]m=utpannaḥ
śrī-mahārāj-Ādityava-
- 4 rmmā [II*] Tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānuddhyātō Harshaguptā-bhaṭṭārikā-
dēvyām=utpannaḥ śrī-mah[ā*]rā-
- 5 j-Ēśvaravarmma [II*] Tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānuddhyāta Upaguptā³-
bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām=utpannō
- 6 mah[ā*]rājādhirāja-śrī(śrī)-Īśāna⁴varmma [II*] Tasya puttras=tat-pād-
ānuddhyātō La(?)ksh[m]iva-
- 7 [t]i⁵-bhaṭṭārikā-mah[ā*]dēvyām=utpannaḥ=paramamahēśvarā(rō) ma-
- 8 hārājādhirāja-śrī-Śarvavarmma Maukhariḥ [II*]

¹ From the lithograph published with Sir Charles Wilkins and Prof. Wilson's paper; so also the present lithograph.

² In the absence of the original seal, which possibly was not properly cleaned before it was copied, I can only treat this, and a few other instances, as mistakes of the original, though they may be only defects in the lithograph.

³ Sir Charles Wilkins read *urāguptā*. As regards the second syllable, *r* and *p* are very much alike in the lithograph. But the letter here seems to be *p*, rather than *r*; and there is certainly no *ā* over it.—In support of my reading, the name Upaguptā occurs in the masculine form, Upagupta, as the name of the fourth or fifth Buddhist Patriarch (e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. pp. 149, 315; *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 182, and Vol. II. pp. 88, 93, 273).

⁴ Read *śr-īśāna*.

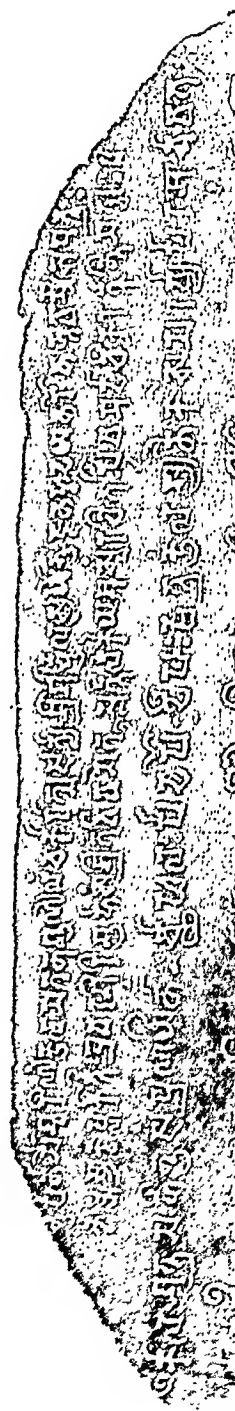
⁵ Sir Charles Wilkins read *harshīṇī*; but there are four *akṣaras* to be accounted for, not three. The first *akṣara* is very doubtful; the second is certainly not *rshī*, but seems to be *ksh[m]ī*, rather imperfectly copied; the third is *ra*; in the fourth, the superscript *ī* is distinctly visible, and the consonant, which is almost entirely illegible, naturally suggests itself as *t*.

A.—Asirgadh Seal of Sarvavarman.



FULL SIZE

B.—Barabar Hill Cave Inscription of Anantavarman.



TRANSLATION.

(There was) the illustrious *Mahārāja* Harivarman, whose fame stretched out beyond the four oceans; who had other kings brought into subjection by (*his*) prowess and by affection (*for him*); who was like (the god) Chakradhara, in employing (*his*) sovereignty¹ for regulating the different castes and stages of religious life; (*and*) who was the remover of the afflictions of (*his*) subjects. His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the illustrious *Mahārāja* Ādityavarman, begotten on the *Bhaṭṭārikā*² and *Dēvī*³ Jayasvāminī. His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the illustrious *Mahārāja* Īśvaravarman, begotten on the *Bhaṭṭārikā* and *Dēvī* Harshaguptā. His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious Īśānavarman, begotten on the *Bhaṭṭārikā* and *Dēvī* Upaguptā.⁴ His son, who meditates on his feet, (*is*) the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara, the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śarvavarman, the Maukhari, begotten on the *Bhaṭṭārikā* and *Mahādēvī* Lakshmīvatī.⁵

No. 48; PLATE XXX B.

BARABAR HILL CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered, about 1785, by Mr. J. H. Harington, and was first brought to notice, in 1790, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II. p. 167 f., where Sir Charles Wilkins published his translation of it, apparently from a copy made under the direction of Mr. Harington.⁶—In 1837, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 674 ff., Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxxvi. Nos. 15, 16, and 17) reduced from an ink-impression taken under the direction of Mr. Hathorne.—And in 1884, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 428, note 55, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji has incidentally published his own reading of the text.

The Barâbar Hill, the ancient Pravaragiri of this inscription, stands about a mile and a half away on the north side of the village of Panâri,⁷ which is about fourteen miles to the north by east of Gayâ,⁸ the chief town of the Gayâ District in the Bengal Presidency. In the south part of the hill there is a cave-temple, which it has become the custom to call the "Lômaśa Rishi Cave,"⁹ and the original construction of which is allotted by

¹Typified by the *chakra*, or 'wheel (of his chariot).'*—chakra* means also the discus of Vishṇu, and hence the point of the comparison.

²*Bhaṭṭārikā*, *lit.* 'she who is entitled to reverence or homage,' is the feminine form of *bhaṭṭāraka* (see page 17 above, note 1). It is used here as a technical title of a wife of a *Mahārāja*; but, in line 7 below, it occurs also as the title of a wife of a *Mahārājādhirāja*.

³*Dēvī*, *lit.* 'goddess,' is another technical title of a wife of a *Mahārāja*.

⁴See page 220 above, note 3.

⁵See page 220 above, note 5.

⁶See also the Calcutta reprint of the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II. p. 128.

⁷The 'Punarec-Ferozpoor' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 24° 59' N.; Long. 85° 7' E. The hill itself is entered under the name of 'Baraber Hill,' and is a Trigonometrical Survey Station.

⁸The 'Gya' of maps, &c.

⁹Marked C. in Gen. Cunningham's sketch given in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 40, Plate xviii.

General Cunningham to the Aśoka period, though the entrance-porch was enlarged and decorated with a sculptured façade at a later time, probably when the present inscription was engraved. The inscription is on a smooth polished surface of the granite rock, over the entrance to the cave.¹

The writing, which covers a space of about 3' 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 1' 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high, is in a state of excellent preservation throughout.—The size of the letters varies from $\frac{5}{8}$ " to 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and exhibit very markedly the fully developed *mātrās*, or horizontal top-strokes of the letters, that have already been noticed at pages 43 and 140 above.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening symbol representing the word *ōm*, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling throughout of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*; e.g. in *puttra*, line 1, and *yattra*, line 5; and (2) the use of *ṇ* for *b*, in *vabhūṇa*, line 4.

The inscription is one of a Maukhari chieftain named Anantavarman; but, from the way in which his father Śārdūla or Śārdūlavarman is mentioned in line 5, it seems to have been engraved while the latter was still alive. It is not dated. It is a Vaishṇava inscription; the object of it being to record the installation in the cave, by Anantavarman, of an image of the god Viṣṇu, in his incarnation as Kṛiṣṇa.

The hill itself is mentioned in line 2, under the name of Pravaragiri. The word, of course, is capable of being taken simply as an epithet, to be rendered by " (this) excellent hill." But, on the analogy of the town of Pravarapura, which is mentioned in the first line of the Chammak grant of the *Mahārāja* Pravaraśeṇa II., No. 55 below, Plate xxxiv., it seems to me to be clearly intended as the actual name of the hill. And we have possibly a reminiscence of it in the modern name Barābar, for which, at any rate, General Cunningham's proposed etymology of *barā āvara*, 'the great enclosure,' does not suffice to account.

TEXT.²

- 1 Ōm³ [11*] Bhūpānā[m*]⁴ Maukharinām kulam=atanu-guṇô=laṁ-chakār=ātma-jātyā⁵ 1⁶ śrī-Śārdūlasya yô=bhūj=jana-hṛdaya-harô=Nantavarmma⁷ su-puttraḥ [1*]
- 2 Kṛiṣṇasy=ākṛiṣṇa-kīrtiḥ Pravaragiri-guhā-samśritam viṁvam=état mūrta'm lōkê yaśa[h*] svam rachitam=iva mud=āchikarat=kāntimat=sah 11

¹ Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 47) speaks of it as "two distinct inscriptions, the upper one, of two lines, being somewhat later in date than the lower one, of four lines, in rather larger characters." But the six lines are all one and the same inscription; and the rather smaller size of the letters in the first two lines is simply due to the lateral space available being less, in consequence of the turning over of the upper part of the façade, within the limits of which the inscription is engraved.

² *id.* p. 43.

³ From the original stone.

⁴ In the original, the symbol for this word, *ōm*, stands in the margin, opposite the commencement of line 3.

⁵ Metre, Sragdhara.

⁶ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁷ The engraver first formed *rtti*, and then partially cancelled the *i*.

- 3 Kalah¹ ſattru-mahibhujām prañayinām ichchhā-phalaḥ pādapō² dīpaḥ
kshattra-kulasya naika-samara-vyāpāra-śōbhāvataḥ [I³]
4 kāntā-chitta-haraḥ Smara-pratisamaḥ pātā va(ba)bhūva kshītēḥ śrī-Śārdūla
iti pratishṭhita-yaśā[h⁴] sāmanta-chūḍāmaṇiḥ ||
5 Utpakshm-āntavilōhit-ōru-tarala-spasht-āshṭa-tārām rushā⁵ śrī-Śārdūla-nripaḥ
karōti vishamām yatra sva-dṛishṭim ripō(pau) |
6 tattr=ākarnṇa-vikṛishṭa-śārṅga-śaradhi-vyastaś=śarō=tt(nt)-āvahah tat-puttrasya
pataty=ananta-sukha-dasy=Ānantavarmma-śrūtēḥ ||

TRANSLATION.

Om! He, Anantavarman, who was the excellent son, captivating the hearts of mankind, of the illustrious Śārdūla,⁴ (and) who, possessed of very great virtues, adorned by his own (high) birth the family of the Maukhari kings,—he, of unsullied fame, with joy caused to be made, as if it were his own fame represented in bodily form in the world, this beautiful image, placed in (this) cave of the mountain Pravaragiri, of (the god) Kṛishṇa.

(Line 3.)—The illustrious Śārdūla, of firmly established fame, the best among chieftains,⁵ became the ruler of the earth;—he who was a very Death to hostile kings; who was a tree, the fruits of which were the (fulfilled) wishes of (his) favourites; who was the torch of the family of the warrior caste, that is glorious through waging many battles; (and) who, charming the thoughts of lovely women, resembled (the god) Smara.

(L. 5.)—On whatsoever enemy the illustrious king Śārdūla casts in anger his scowling eye, the expanded and tremulous and clear and beloved pupil of which is red at the corners between the up-lifted brows,—on him there falls the death-dealing arrow, discharged from the bowstring⁶ drawn up to (his) ear, of his son, the giver of endless pleasure, who has the name⁷ of Anantavarman.

No. 49; PLATE XXXIA.

NAGARJUNI HILL CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN.

THIS inscription, again, appears to have been discovered, about 1785, by Mr. J. H. Harington, and was first brought to notice, in 1790, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II. p. 168 f., where Sir Charles Wilkins published his translation of it, apparently from a copy made under the direction of Mr. Harington.⁸—In 1847, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 401 ff., Major Markham Kittoe published a lithograph of it

¹ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita; and in the following verse.

² and ³ These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.

⁴ As regards this abbreviated form of his name, see page 8 above, note 3.

⁵ *Sāmanta*; see page 148 above, note 1. The use of the word here perhaps indicates the exact status of these Maukhari chiefs.

⁶ *śaradhi*, *lit.* 'the arrow-holder,' is usually explained by 'quiver.' But here it plainly means the string of the bow.

⁷ *lit.* 'the hearing, the sound.'

⁸ See also the Calcutta reprint of the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II. p. 129.

(*id.* Plate x.) reduced from a copy made apparently by himself, to accompany his "Notes on the Caves of Barabar."—And this was followed, in the same volume, p. 594 ff. by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's reading of the text, accompanied by a reprint of Sir Charles Wilkins' translation.

The **Nâgârjunî Hill**, which, in line 8^{ri} of the following inscription of the same chieftain, No. 50 below, is spoken of as (a part of) the Vindhya range, is about a mile away on the north side of the village of **Jâphra**,¹ which is about fifteen miles to the north by east of Gayâ, the chief town of the Gayâ District in the Bengal Presidency. It is the most eastern part of the group of hills that includes the Barabar Hill, mentioned in connection with the preceding inscription, page 221 above. On the north side of the hill, there is a cave-temple, which is shewn to belong to the Aśoka period by an inscription, in four lines, of Dasalatha-Dêvânâmpiya on the rock over the entrance, and which, from the first two words of that inscription, has been named the "Vadathi Cave."² The present inscription is on the smooth and polished surface of the granite rock, on the right hand in the entrance to the cave.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 4' 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ " broad by 1' 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ " high, is in a state of excellent preservation throughout.—The average size of the letters is about 1". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of the preceding inscription of the same chieftain, No. 48 above, Plate xxxB., exhibiting, in the same way, the fully developed *mâtrās*.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening symbol representing the word *ōm*, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *s*, in *ansa*, line 5; and (2) the customary doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *kshattrā*, line 1, and *nēttā*, line 2.

The **inscription** is another record of the **Maukhari** chieftain **Anantavarman**. It is not dated. It is a Śaiva inscription; the object of it being to record the installation in the cave, by **Anantavarman**, of an image representing Śiva, in the form of Bhûtapati or "the lord of beings," and his wife Pârvatî, under the name of Dêvî. The image was probably of the kind called Ardhanârîśvara, combining Śiva and Pârvatî in one body; the right half being the male god, and the left the female.

TEXT.³

- 1 Ōm⁴ [11*] Âsît⁵=sarvva-mahîkshîtâm=Anur⁶=iva kshattrā-sthitêr=ddêśikah
śrîmân=matta-gajendra-khêla-gamanah śrî-Yajñavarmma nripah [1*]
- 2 yasy=âhûta-sahasranēttā-viraha-kshâmā sad=aiv=âdhvaraiḥ Paulōmi chiram=
aśru-pāta-malinām dhā(dha)ttē kapōla-śriyam 11

¹The 'Kootbunpoor-Jafra' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103. Lat. 25° 0' N.; Long. 95° 8' E.—The name of the hill is not shewn in the map.

²Marked G. in Gen. Cunningham's sketch given in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol I. p. 40 Pl. xviii.

³From the original stone.

⁴In the original, the symbol for this word, *ōm*, stands in the margin, opposite the commencement of line 3.

⁵Metre, Śârdḍjavikrîḍita; and in the following verse.

⁶Sir Charles Wilkins and Dr. R. Mitra both read *mahîkshîtâm Manur=iva*; but there is no *anusvāra* over the *lā*.

- 3 Śrī-Śārdûla-nrip-Ātmajaḥ para-hitaḥ śrī-pauruṣaḥ śrūyatê 1^a lōkê chandra-
marichī-nirmīnala-guṇô yô=Nantavarman-ābhīdhā(dha)ḥ [1*]
4 dṛiṣṭ-Ādṛiṣṭa-vibhūti kartṛi-varadām tēn=ādbhutam kārītam 1^a vimvaṁ
Bhūtapatēr=guh-Āśritam=idam DēvyĀś=cha pāyāj=jagat 11
5 An³-Ant-Ākṛiṣṭa-Śārṅga-pravitata-saśara-jyā-sphuran-maṇḍal-ānta- 1 -vyakta⁴-
bhṛūbhaṅga-lakṣma-vyatikara-saval-ākhaṇḍa-vaktreṇdu-vimva[h*] 1
6 antāy=Ānantavarmanā Smara-sadṛiṣa-vapur=jjivītē ni[h*]sprihābhīḥ dṛiṣṭa[h*]
sthitvā mṛigibhīḥ suchiram=animiṣa-snigdha-mugdh-ēkṣhaṇābhīḥ 11
7 AtyĀkṛiṣṭāt⁵=kurara-viruta-sparddhinaḥ Śārṅga-yantrā- 1 -d⁶=vēg-āviddhaḥ
pravitata-guṇād=īritāḥ saushṭhavēna 1
8 dūra-prāpī vimathita-gaj-ōdbhrānta-vāji pravīrō 1⁶ vāṇō=ri-strī-vyasanā-padāvi-
dēśikō-Nanta-nāmnā(inna)ḥ⁷ 11

TRANSLATION.

Om! There was a glorious king, the illustrious Yajñavarman,—who, as if he were Anu,¹⁰ instructed all rulers of the earth in the duty of those who belong to the warrior caste;—whose gait was like the play of a rutting elephant;—(and) through whose sacrifices (the goddess) Paulōmī, always emaciated by separation from (the god Indra) who has a thousand eyes, invoked (*by this king so constantly as to be perpetually absent from her*), has had the beauty of (*her*) cheeks for a long time sullied by the falling of tears.

(Line 3.)—He, the son of the illustrious king Śārdûla, who has the name of Anantavarman; who is reputed in the world to be benevolent to others, (and) to be possessed of fortune and manliness, (and) to be full of virtues that are as spotless as the rays of the moon,—by him was caused to be made this wondrous image, placed in (*this*) cave, of (the god) Bhūtapati and (the goddess) Dēvī, which is possessed of excellencies (*of icorkmanship*) some of them (*previously*) beheld (*in other images*) but others not so; (and) which confers boons upon the maker (*of it*). May it protect the world!

(L. 5.)—Having the surface of the full-moon that is (*his*) face made grey through being scattered over with spots that are (*his*) frowns displayed at the ends of the bent arc, glistening with (*his*) string pulled tight and fitted with an arrow, of the bow drawn up to the extremities of (*his*) shoulders, Anantavarman, whose body is like (*that of*) (the god) Smara,—having stood, gazed upon for a very long time by the does, indifferent to life, whose moist and tender eyes omit to blink (*through the intentness with*

¹ and ² These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.

³ Metre, Sragdharā.

⁴ Read *ānta-vyakta*, omitting the mark of punctuation.

⁵ Metre, Mandākrantā.

⁶ Read *yantrād*, omitting the mark of punctuation.

⁷ This *akshara* is partly mixed up with the *ē* of *dē* in *vidēśavasū*, which was subsequently engraved below this inscription, but has no connection with it.

⁸ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁹ This *visarga* was at first omitted, and then was inserted partially on the first stroke of the following mark of punctuation, when the text was altered from *nāmnā* to *nāmnah*.

¹⁰ See page 224 above, note 6.—Anu, one of the sons of Yayāti, was the progenitor of the Ānavas, who are identified by Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 14 ff.) with the 'Janjūhas,' who now occupy 'Makhyāla' and other places in the Sālt Range, in the Panjāb.

which they regard him),—(lives only) for (the purpose of dealing out) death. The far-reaching (and) powerful arrow, scattering the elephants and driving horses wild with fear, of him who has the name of **Ananta**,¹—impelled with speed (and) skilfully discharged from the machine of (his) bow, fitted with a well-stretched string, that is drawn very tight (and) rivals the screams of an osprey (with the noise of its twanging),—teaches to the wives of (his) enemies the condition of the sorrows (of widowhood).

No. 50; PLATE XXXIB.

NAGARJUNI HILL CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN.

THIS inscription, again, appears to have been discovered, about 1785, by Mr. J. H. Harington, and was first brought to notice in 1788, in the *Asiatic Researches* Vol. I. p. 276 ff., where Sir Charles Wilkins published his translation of it, from a copy made under the direction of Mr. Harington, and, with it, a lithograph from the same materials.²—And in 1837, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 672 ff., Mr. James Prinsep published another reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxxiv.), reduced from an ink-impression taken under the direction of Mr. Hathorne.

This is another inscription from the **Nâgârjunî Hill**³ in the lands of **Jâphra**, in the Gayâ District of the Bengal Presidency. On the south side of the hill, there is another cave-temple, which also is shewn to belong to the Aśoka period by another inscription, in four lines, of Dasalatha-Dêvânâmpiya on the rock over the entrance, and which, from the first two words of that inscription, has come to be called the "Gôpî Cave."⁴ The inscription now published is on the smooth and polished surface of the granite rock, on the left hand in the entrance to the cave.

The writing, which covers a space of about 4' 11" broad by 1 11½" high, is in a state of excellent preservation throughout; except that, in the last line, the name of the village that was granted has been intentionally obliterated.—The average size of the letters is about 1". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of the preceding two inscriptions of the same chieftain, Nos. 48 and 49 above, Plates xxxB. and xxxiA., exhibiting, in the same way, the fully developed *mātrās*.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening symbol representing the word *ôm*, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *añsu*, line 2, and before *h*, in *añhas*, line 9; (2) the customary doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *vikkrāma*, line 4, and *puttrēna*, line 7; and (3) the use throughout of *v* for *h*, in *lavdham*, line 5; *vandhu*, line 6; and *amvubhih*, line 9.

The inscription is another record of the **Maukharî** chieftain **Anantavarman**. It is not dated. It is either a Śaiva, or a Śakta, inscription; the object of it being to record the installation in the cave, by **Anantavarman**, of an image of the goddess **Pārvatî**, the wife of **Śiva**, under the name of **Kātyāyanî**, and also the grant to the same goddess, under the name of **Bhavanî**, of a village, the name of which has been destroyed.

¹ As regards this abbreviated form of his name, see page 8 above, note

² See also the Calcutta reprint of the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I. p. 236 ff.

³ See page 224 above, and note 1.

⁴ Marked E. in Gen. Cunningham's sketch in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 40, Pl. xviii.

B.3.—Nagarjuni Hill Cave Inscription of Anantavarman.

[The text in this section is extremely faint and illegible due to severe fading or damage to the original manuscript.]

TEXT:

- TRANSLATION.

* Peter, Charles & David, 1992, 1993, 1994

'Red' machine.

²A case was made out from various forms but particularly those of 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

who, in the form of J. A. Dwyer, attacked him, on a bench and c. a. p.

(L. 5.)—His son (*was*) the king **Sârdûlavarman**, who stretched out over the faces of the points of the compass, (*as*) an emblem of sovereignty, the renown that he had acquired in the occupation of war resembling (*in its extensiveness*) the great swollen ocean; who conquered (*the states of*) this present age with (*his*) fame; who was illustrious; (*and*) who acquired, as it were, the glory of the *âṣṭa*-tree, by satisfying with rewards the wishes of (*his*) relatives and friends.

(L. 7.)—Of him, who was always possessed of infinite fame and renown, the son (*is*) he, pure of soul, (*and*) possessed of intellect animated with innate piety, who is known by the appellation of **Varman** commencing with **Ananta**;¹—by whom, desiring a shrine of religious merit that should endure as long as the sun, the earth, the moon, and the stars, this (*image of*) (the goddess) **Kâtyâvânî** has been placed in (*this*) wonderful cave of the **Vindhya** mountains.

(L. 9.)—He has given to (the goddess) **Bhavânî**, to be enjoyed up to the time of the destruction of all things, the charming village of, possessed of a great wealth of enjoyment,—the sin, impurity, mud, and blemishes of which are washed away by the pure waters of a great river;²—which is filled with perfume by the breezes that agitate the *priyamgu*³ and *raṭnâ*-trees⁴ in (*its*) groves;—(*and*) from which the radiance of the sun is screened off by (*this*) lofty mountain.

No. 51; PLATE XXXIIA.

JAUNPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF ISVARAVARMAN.

THIS inscription,—which was discovered by General Cunningham in 1875-76 or 1877-78, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XI. p. 124 f., where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxxvii. No. 1),—is from a stone built in as one of the lower voussoirs of the outer arch of the south gate of the **Jâmi Masjid** at **Jaunpur**,⁵ the chief town of the Jaunpur District in the North-West Provinces.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 3½" broad by 1' 1½" high, is, so far as it goes, in a state of very good preservation, except for the marks by which it has been disfigured a little above the centre of the stone. But it is only a fragment of a very much larger inscription. Nothing has been lost at the top, and at the ends of the lines. But from thirty-eight to seventy-two *akṣaras*,—probably the larger number,—are lost at the beginning of each line; and also an indefinite number of lines below the last line that is extant.—The average size of the letters is about ⅙". The characters belong to the

¹ *i.e.* Anantavarman.

² We might find in this verse a reference to "the pure waters of (the river) **Mahānadī**." But the **Mahānadī**, which rises in the **Râypur** District, flows into the Bay of Bengal, without coming anywhere within two hundred and fifty miles of the **Nâgâjñal** hill. The small river that runs past this hill, is named the **Phalgu**; and it flows into the **Ganges**, not into the **Mahānadī**. Under the name of **Phalgu**, it is mentioned in an inscription, belonging to about the twelfth century A.D., of a prince named **Yakṣapāla**, at the **Satī Ghāt**; at **Gaya** (*J. A. S.* Vol. XVI. p. 64. line 2).

³ *priyamgu*; the **Panicum Italicum**; a medicinal plant, and perfume.

⁴ *raṭnâ*; the **Mimusops Elengi**.

⁵ The 'Jaunpoor' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 58. Lat. 25° 41' N.; Long. 82° 45' E.

northern class of alphabets, and are radically of much the same type as those of the Aśirgaḍh seal of Śarvavarman, No. 47 above, Plate xxxA; but the execution is, in some details, still more florid. In *dōrbhyan*, line 1, *kirttir*, line 4, *karatir-guṇaḥ guṇavattir*, line 5, and other places, we have to note that the superscript *r* is formed on the top line of the writing, instead of above it.—The language is Sanskrit; and the extant portion of the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of *k*, *t*, and *d*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *kkṛūra*, line 5; *kshattrēna*, line 1; and *upaddravair*, line 5; and (2) the use of *v* for *b*, in *lavdha*, line 1.

The inscription mentions, in line 4, a 'king' named Śavaravarman, of the Maukhari, or as it is here called the Mukhara family, who is evidently the Mahādīpa Śīvaravarman, the grandfather of Śarvavarman, who is mentioned in line 5, of the Aśirgaḍh seal, No. 47 above, page 219. But the lacunae in the following line are so extensive, that it is impossible to say whether the historical information given in them refers to Śīvaravarman, or to one of his descendants. It is much to be wished that the first half of the stone could be recovered; since, in addition to clearing up this point, it would probably give the name of a king in connection with the city of Dhārā that is mentioned in line 6, and also the name of a king in connection with the Andhras who are spoken of in lines 7 and 8; and the latter information might afford the much-wanted starting-point for settling the chronology of the Andhra family. It would probably give us also the name of a king of Saurāshtra or Kāthiāwād, in connection with the mountain Pratyakha that is mentioned in line 7. The extant portion of the inscription contains no date, and nothing to indicate a sectarian character.

TEXT.

- 1 r(?) . ksh(?) . l(?) . gaṇaḥ¹ || *Ḍārbhāyān-karatir-guṇavattir* *dharmat*
 saha-bhuvā kshattrēna *īśvaravarmān* *śarvavarmān*
 2 [ū]dayini² *Mukharāṇṣa* *dharmat* *śarvavarmān*
 purusha-śakti-vyakta-*śarvavarmān*
 3 karmīnaṁ³ *gṛhīṣṭu* *śarvavarmān* *śarvavarmān*
 vitēnē divi ||⁴
 4 laka-*śarvavarmān* *śarvavarmān* *śarvavarmān*
 āmala-kirttir-*śarvavarmān* *śarvavarmān*

¹ From the int-impresion.

² If since we have a half-mark of punctuation after the fourth character of the word, and if the first character of the word is a vowel, then only three characters of the word are visible. In order to determine the first character, we have to look at the first character of each line, but without being able to read it. The first character of each line has been lost at the top of the stone.

³ *śarvavarmān*.

⁴ *śarvavarmān*.

⁵ *śarvavarmān*.

⁶ The word of punctuation is followed by the word *śarvavarmān*.

⁷ *śarvavarmān*.

śarvavarmān.

- 5 [kri]p¹-ānurāga-śamita-kkrûr-âgam(?)-ôpaddravair=lôk - ānanda - karair=
 guṇair=guṇavatām kô nâma
- 6 [a]dhishṭhitam kshitibhujām simhēna simhâsanam || **Dhârâ-**
 mârgha-vinirgat-âgni-kaṇikâ
- 7 dam || **Vindhy**-âdrêḥ prati-randhram=**Andhra**-patinâ śamkâ-
 parêṇ=âsitam yâtô **Raivatak**-âchalam
- 8 sām² vâraṇânām ghaṭâsu vyâptêṣh=ûtkhâta-khadga-dyuti-
 khachita-bhujêṣhv=**Andhra**-sênâ-bhaṭêṣhu
- 9 ra³-prapâta-salilaiḥ snâtam śilâ-gandhibhiḥ prâlêy-âddri-
 bhuvâṣ=cha śita-payasaḥ prakshâ-
- 10 rêṇubhir=giri-sarit-pûr-ôrmmi-bhaṅg-âkulair=utsarppadbhir=anupragê=
 pi divasô yasy=âp.
- 11 h ya.....

TRANSLATION.

..... [Wielding]
 with (*his*) arms the bow of (the god) Âtmabhû,⁴ by means of (*his*) innate warriors' skill
 that pervaded (*his very*) soul in the flourishing lineage
 of the **Mukhara** kings; whose prowess with the bow was displayed with all the energy of
 a man; by the rite; (*and his*) religious
 merit, arising from sacrifices, spread out over the sky (*in the form of*) the mass of the
 clouds of the canopy of the smoke (*of his oblations*)
 having the ends of (*their*) curls fallen down by the families

(Line 4.)—Of him, whose spotless fame spread far and wide over the regions, the
 son (*was*) king **Îśvaravarman**, with virtues which by
 means of compassion and affection allayed the troubles (*caused*) by the approach of cruel
 people, and which effected the happiness of mankind; who, indeed, of virtuous people
; by him, a very lion to (*hostile*) kings, the throne
 was occupied. A spark of fire that had come by the road from (the city of) **Dhârâ**
 the lord of the **Andhras**, wholly given over to fear,
 took up (*his*) abode in the crevices of the **Vindhya** mountains; went to
 the **Raivataka** mountain among the warriors of the
Andhra army, who were spread out among the troops of elephants (*and*) whose arms were
 studded with the lustre of (*their*) swords drawn out (*from the scabbards*),
 bathed with the waters, fragrant with benzoin, of the torrents of
 and cleansing the lands, full of cool waters, of (Himālaya) the moun-
 tain of snow with the pollen
 disordered by the breaking of the waves of the swollen mountain-streams, (*and*) flowing
 onwards, whose day, even in the hours that come next after daybreak

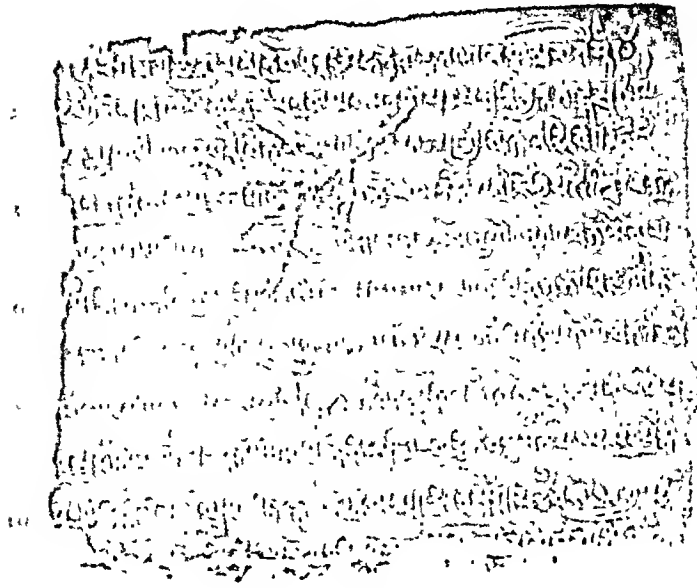
¹ Metre, Śārdûlavikrîḍita, and in the next three lines.

² Metre, Sragdharâ.

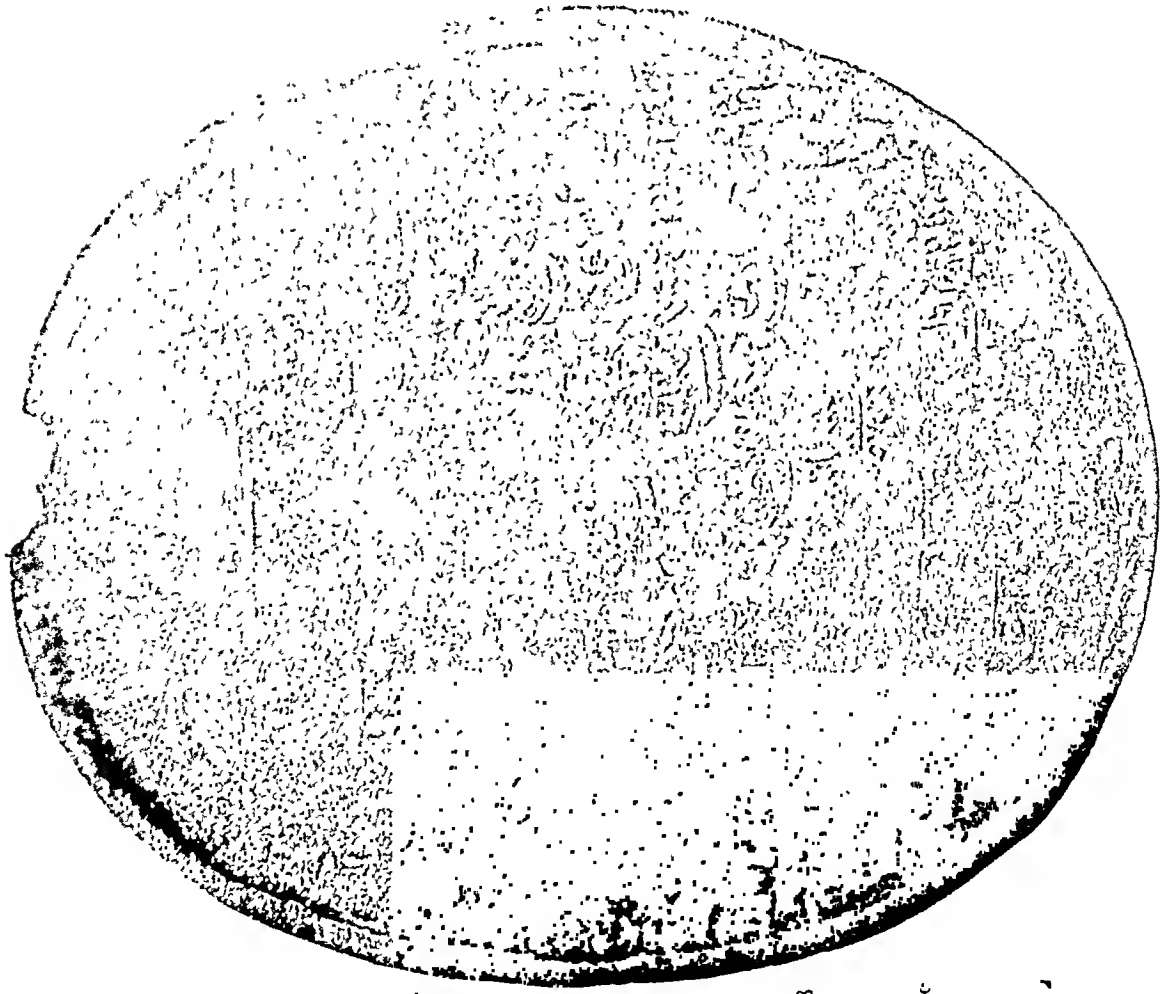
³ Metre, Śārdûlavikrîḍita, and in the next line.

⁴ *lit.* 'the self-existent one;' an epithet of Brahman, Vishṇu, and Śiva. From the mention of a bow, it must here denote Vishṇu, who carries the bow of horn named Śārngâ.

A.—Jaunpur Inscription of Ivaravarman



SCALE 1/2"



B. Soutat Seal of Harshavardhana.

No. 52; PLATE XXXII B.

SONPAT COPPER SEAL INSCRIPTION OF HARSHAVARDHANA.

THIS inscription, which is now brought to notice for the first time, is from a copper seal in the possession of Moharsingh Ramratan Mahajan, a merchant at **Sônpat**¹ or **Sônîpat**,² the chief town of the Sônpat Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Dehli District in the Pañjâb. I obtained the seal for examination through the kindness of Mr. J. D. Tremlett, B.C.S., who, in fact, had the first information of it, and brought it to my notice.

The seal is oval, measuring about $5\frac{7}{8}$ " by $6\frac{7}{8}$ ". All round it there runs a rim, about $\frac{1}{4}$ " broad; and inside this there are, in rather shallow relief on a slightly countersunk surface,—at the top, a bull, recumbent to the proper right; and below this, the inscription that is given below. That it is only a seal, belonging to a copper-plate from which it has been detached, is shewn by plain indications of soldering on the back of it, and also by the spurious Gayâ plate of Samudragupta, No. 60 below, Plate xxxvii., which has a similar seal attached to it. The letters of the inscription are worn down so much, that in many places they can only be read by getting the light to fall on the surface at different angles; and in some places they are entirely illegible. The only historical information, however, that seems to be lost, is the completion of the name of Prabhâkaravardhana's father, in line 4. I have to acknowledge some assistance from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in reading this inscription; but, of course, without binding him to any of the details of it, as here published.—The weight of the seal is 3 lbs. 6 oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of much the same type as those of the Aśirgaḍh seal of Śarvavarman, No. 47 above, Plate xxxA.; but the forms are rather more conservative in details.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *puttra*, lines 2 and 7.

The seal is one of **Harshavardhana**, king of **Kanauj**, who began to reign³ A.D. 606 or 607; and it is of peculiar interest, as being the first of his own epigraphical records that has ever come to light. I have made every effort to discover the plate to which it belongs; as the inscription on the plate would make the genealogy perfect, and also, if belonging to the early years of Harshavardhana's reign, would probably shew what era was used by him prior to the establishment of his own. But I have not succeeded in obtaining any information about it; and it seems to have been hopelessly lost sight of. The present owner of the seal states that there is no record of the plate itself having ever been in the possession of his family; so it is very doubtful whether it is now in existence.

¹ The 'Sonipat, Soonput, and Sunput,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49. Lat. $28^{\circ} 59' N.$: Long. $77^{\circ} 3' E.$

² Other forms of the name are **Sônêpat**, and **Sunpat**.

³ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 420, note 37.

TEXT.¹

- 1 y ... śrīma(?)hā(?)dā) ..
 2 paramādityabha[ktô mahārā]ja-śrī-Rājyavarddhanah [II*]
 Tasya puttras=tat-p[ā]-
 3 [d-ānudhyātaḥ] śrī(?) -Ma(?)hā(?)dēvyām=[utpannah paramā]dityabhaktô
 mahārāja-śrīmad-Āditya-
 4 [varddhanah²] [II*] [Ta]sya [puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ śrī]-Mahā³-
 sēnaguptā-dēvyām=utpanna
 5 y . sarv[v]a-varṇa-āśrama-vyavasthāpana-
 pravṛi-
 6 [ttah] y...va(?) prava[r]ddh paramādityabhaktaḥ
 paramabhaṭṭāraka-
 7 mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Prabhākaravarddhanah [II*] Tasya puttras=tat-pād-
 ānudhyā[ta]
 8 i śr[i]matyā[m] Yaś[ô]maty[ām=utpannah]
 paramasô(sau)gata
 9 [paramabhaṭṭāraka]-mahārājādhi[rāja]-śrī-Rājyava[rddhanah] [II*]
 10 [Tasy=ānujas=tat-pād-ānu]dhyātô mahādēvyā[m] Yaśômatyā-
 11 [m=utpannah] [pa]-
 12 [ramabhaṭṭāraka-ma]hārājā[dhi]rāja-śrī-Harsha-
 13 varddhanah⁴ [II*]

TRANSLATION.

(There was) the most devout worshipper of the Sun, the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Rājyavardhana* (I.) His son, [who meditated on] his feet, (was) the [most devout] worshipper of the Sun, the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Ādityavardhana*,⁵ [begotten] on the illustrious *Mahādēvi*(?). His [son, who meditated on his feet], (was) the most devout worshipper of the Sun, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Prabhākaravardhana*, begotten on the *Dēvi*, [the illustrious] *Mahāsēnaguptā*, (and) who was employed in regulating all the castes and stages of religious life. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the most devout follower of *Sugata*,⁶ the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Rājyavardhana* (II.), begotten on the glorious *Yaśômatī*. [His younger brother], who meditated on [his feet], (is) the [*Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and] *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Harshavardhana*, [begotten] on the *Mahādēvi*, *Yaśômatī*.

¹ From the original seal.

² This part of the name is quite illegible; but the analogy of the other names seems to indicate that the termination here was the same, viz. *vardhana*.

³ These two *aksharas*, *mahā*, are very indistinct; but I think they may be accepted as certain.

⁴ These three *aksharas*, *varddhanah*, are rather small and cramped, in the centre of the bottom of the seal.

⁵ See note 2 above.

⁶ *paramasaugata* is a Buddhist sectarian title. *Sugata*, *lit.* 'well-gone; well-bestowed; one who has attained a good state,' was one of the names or titles of Buddha.

Nos. 53 & 54; PLATE XXXIII A & B.

NACHNE-KI-TALAI STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE
MAHARAJA PRITHIVISHENA.

THESE two inscriptions were discovered by General Cunningham in 1883-84, and were brought to notice by him in 1885, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XXI. p. 97 f., where he published his reading of the text of the complete one, No. 54, accompanied by lithographs of both of them (*id.* Plate xxvii.)

Nachnê-kî-talâi,¹ meaning literally the "tank of Nachna," is a small village or collection of huts, about seven miles south-west of Jasô,² the chief town of the Jasô State in the Bundêlkhand division of Central India. When I drafted the title of the Plate, I understood that the inscriptions were on a boulder lying in the jungle; whereas it now appears, from General Cunningham's published account, that they are on a loose slab which was found lying at 'Lakhura, Lakhuria, or Lakhâwara,' which is the name of the ground outside the fort of 'Kûthara or Kûtharagarh,' which again is given as an older name of the site on part of which the village of Nachna or Nachnê-kî-talâi now stands. The inscription of four lines, No. 54, is on the face of the slab; and the incomplete inscription, No. 53, on the side or edge of it. The explanation of No. 53 probably is, that this side was intended to be the front of the stone; but that the stone was then found to be too rough, and this face was made the side of it, and the inscription was commenced again and finished on what is now the front of it. And I am extremely doubtful whether the inscription on the side, No. 53, really consists of more than one line. Some signs resembling the syllables *vyâghra* are pencilled-in on the impressions that were sent to me; but I was unable to depute my own copyists to Nachnê-kî-talâi for the purpose of taking fresh impressions to settle this point, or to go there myself.

The writing of No. 53 covers a space of about 1' 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " broad by 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high; and of No. 54, about 1' 9" broad by 1' 1" high. The imperfections of some of the letters appear to be due to incomplete engraving, owing to irregularities of the stone, rather than to subsequent injury. In the centre of No. 54 there is a **sculpture** which may be either a Buddhist wheel, or the sun-symbol.—The size of the letters varies from $\frac{2}{3}$ " to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets, and give another specimen of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, which I have noticed at page 18 f. above.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and both the inscriptions are in prose.—In respect of **orthography**, the only point calling for remark is the doubling of *dh*, before *y*, in *anuddhyâta*, in line 2 of No. 54.

As regards the contents of the inscriptions, No. 53 gives simply the name of the *Mahârâja Prithivishêna* of the *Vâkâtaka* tribe or dynasty. No. 54 repeats this, and adds the name of a feudatory of his, *Vyâghradêva*. No date is given; and nothing to shew any sectarian purpose. And the record simply refers to *Vyâghradêva* having made something or other, which must have been either a temple, or a well or tank, of which this slab evidently formed a part.

¹ The 'Nachna, Nâchna, and Narhua,' of maps, &c. It should be in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 70, but is not entered there. Lat. 24° 24' N.; Long. 86° 30' E.

² The 'Jasso, Jusso, and Jussou,' of maps, &c.

As regards the name of this family, **Vākātaka**, General Cunningham¹ has proposed its identification with the modern **Bhândak**,² a place evidently of considerable antiquity, the chief town of the Bhândak Parganā in the Chândā District in the Central Provinces, fifteen miles north-west of Chândā,³ and eleven miles south-east of Warôḍā.⁴ It is possible that Bhândak may have been the Vākātaka capital. But the identity of the two names cannot be upheld. In the first place, there is the difficulty of accounting for the disappearance of the *k* in the second syllable of Vākātaka, and for the change of the lingual *t* into the dental *d*, with a nasal before it. In the second place, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler,⁵ there is an insuperable obstacle, in the suggested change of *v* into *bh*. And, in the third place, I have to point out that the name Vākātaka must be derived from an original *vakāṭa*; like, for instance, Māhākāntāraka from Mahākāntāra, Kausalaka from Kôsala, Kairāṭaka from Kēraṭa, and Paishṭapuraka from Pishtapura, in line 19 of the Allahābād posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above; and like Traikūṭaka from Trikūṭa, in line 1 of the 'Pardi' grant⁶ of the Traikūṭaka *Mahārāja* Dahrasēna of the year 207. If any trace of the name is to be found in the maps of the present day, we must look for some such place as Wakāt, Bakāt, Bakaṭ, Bakṭōr, or Bakṭauli; and it might possibly be found in 'Waktapur,' in the Rēwā-Kānṭhā Agency.

TEXT.⁷

No. 53.

- 1 Vākātakânām mahārāja-śrī(śrī)-Prithivishēṇa
- 2 Vyâ(?)ghra(?)⁸

No. 54.

- 1 Vākātakāna[m⁹] mahārāja-śrī(śrī)-
- 2 Prithivishēṇa - pād - ā¹⁰nuddhyātō
- 3 Vyâghradêvō mâtâpitrô[h*] puny-
[ā*]rttham
- 4 kṛitam¹¹=iti [lī*]

¹ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX, p. 121 f.

² The 'Bhanduk' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 73. Lat. 20° 6' N.; Long. 79° 9' E.

³ The 'Chandah' of maps.

⁴ The 'Warorā and Wurroda' of maps, &c.

⁵ *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 117 f.; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII, p. 239 f.—Dr. Bühler speaks of Vākātaka as being the name of a country, as well as of the tribe governing it. It probably did, in the usual way, denote the country, as well as the tribe or dynasty. But it does not occur in the compound quoted by him, 'Pavarajja-Vākātaka,' which exists only in the original misreading, for Pavarajjavātaka, in line 22 of the Siwanī grant, No. 56 below, page 246.—Vākātaka has also been supposed to occur as the name of a place or country in line 161 of the Anamkoṇḍ inscription of the Kākatiya chieftain Rudradêva; but this, again, is only due to the original misreading (*Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII, pp. 903, 908); the place that is really mentioned is Kaṭaka, as is shewn by the lithograph published with my own reading of this inscription (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI, pp. 11, 16, 20).

⁶ *Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI, p. 347.

⁷ From Gen. Cunningham's ink-impressions; so also the lithographs.

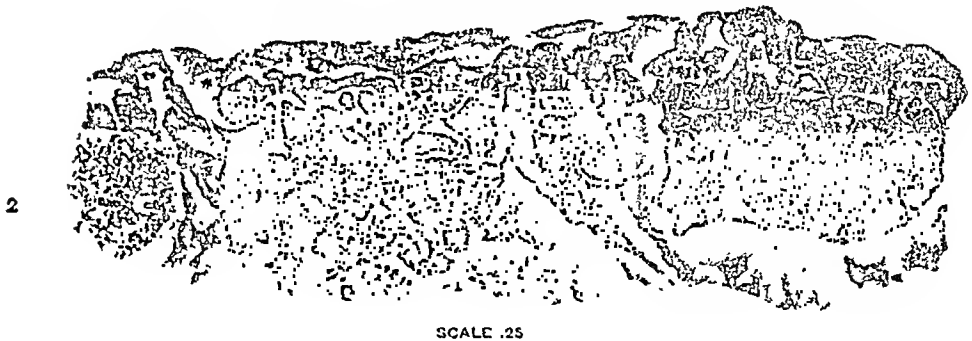
⁸ This *hā* was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.

⁹ These two *akṣaras* are very doubtful; they are pencilled-in on the ink-impression, and there may be some traces of them; but the impression is not deep enough for them to shew in relief on the back of it

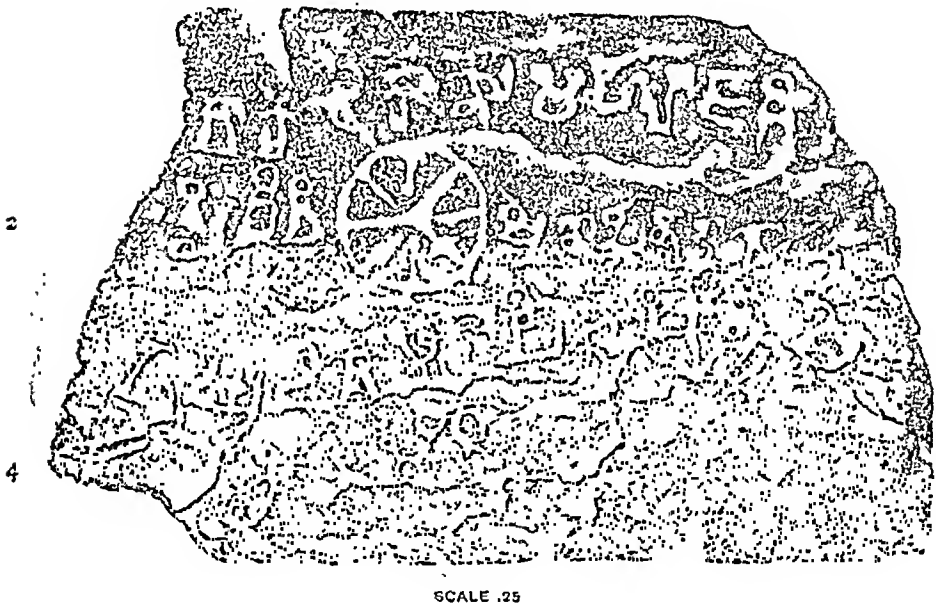
¹⁰ This *dā* was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.

¹¹ Read *kṛitāvan*.

A.—Nachne-ki-talai Rock Inscription of the Maharaja Prithivishena.



B.—Nachne-ki-talai Rock Inscription of the Maharaja Prithivishena.



C.—Seal of the
Chammak Plates of
the Maharaja Pravarasena II.



D.—Seal of the
Siwani Plates of
the Maharaja Pravarasena II.



TRANSLATION.

Vyāghradēva, who meditates on the feet of the *Jitīśvara* of the *Vāṇīśvara*, the illustrious Prithivishēṇa, has made (this) for the sake of the religious merit of (his) sons.

No. 55; PLATE XXXIV.

CHAMMAK COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE
MAHARAJA PRAVARASENA II.

THIS inscription was discovered about 1868, and—the original plates having been obtained by Major H. Szczepanski, and forwarded by him to Dr. John Wilson, of Bombay,—was first brought to notice in 1879, by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's reading of the text, published in *Notes on the Bauddha Rock-Temples of Ajanta*,¹ p. 54 ff.—And in 1883, Dr. G. Bühler, C.I.E., published his own reading of the text, and a translation of it, in the *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 116 ff., and also, accompanied by a lithograph of the plates, but not of the seal, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 239 ff.

The inscription is on some copper-plates that were found in ploughing a field at Chammak,² the ancient Charmāṅka of the inscription, a village about four miles south-west of Illichpur,³ the chief town of the Illichpur District in the Commissioner-ship of East Berar, in the Haidarābād Assigned Districts. The original plates, which I obtained for examination from Dr. Burgess, are now, I understand, again in the possession of Major Szczepanski.

The plates, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are seven in number, each measuring from $7\frac{1}{2}''$ to $7\frac{3}{4}''$ by from $3\frac{1}{4}''$ to $3\frac{3}{4}''$. They are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. A few of the letters on the first and last plates have been damaged by rust; but the rest of the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. The plates are fairly thick and substantial; and the letters, which are not very deep, do not shew through on the reverse sides at all. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew here and there marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—Towards the top of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is circular, about $\frac{1}{4}''$ thick and $3\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter. It was not soldered into the socket of a seal; but the ends of it were flattened off, as if to overlap and fasten with a pin or bolt; there is, however, no hole in them to shew that they were ever actually secured in this way. The seal⁴ is a flat disc of copper, rising slightly towards the centre, about $\frac{1}{4}''$ thick and $2\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter. To the centre of the back of it, there is soldered a small ring, by which it slides on the larger ring mentioned above. Across the surface of the seal, there is the legend, in four lines, of

¹ No. 9 of the separate pamphlets of the Archaeological Survey of Western India.

² The 'Chamuck' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 54. Lat. $21^{\circ} 13' N.$; Long. $77^{\circ} 31' E.$ —An *Notes on the Bauddha Rock-Temples of Ajanta*, p. 54, the plates are said to have been obtained from Sāgar in the Central Provinces. And in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 234, they are called the Illichpur grant. But in *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 116, it is stated explicitly that they were found in a ploughed field at Chammak.

³ The 'Ellichpur' of maps, &c.

⁴ See Plate xxxiiiC.

which the text and translation are given below.—The **weight** of the seven plates is about 6 lbs. 14 oz., and of the two rings and the seal, about 14½ oz.; total 7 lbs. 12½ oz.—The average **size** of the letters is about 1½". The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets, and are of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, on which I have commented at page 18f. above. But, whether intentionally or accidentally, the heads of the letters were scooped out hollow through nearly the whole of this inscription; and the true box-shaped tops are discernible in only a few places; *e.g.* in lines 58 and 59. The characters include forms of the **numerical symbols** for 8 and 10, in line 60, and for 8,000, in line 19.—The **language** is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal is in verse; but the inscription itself, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 36 to 39, is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the *upadhmanīya*, in *rājñah=pravara*, line *c*; *pāñēh=prasāda*, line 13; *sambhōh=prasāda*, line 16; and *rakshitavyah=pari*, line 32; but not in *kālīyah putra*, line 30; (2) the occasional doubling of *k* and *d*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.* in *kkrama*, line *b*; *kkriyābhis*, line 31; and *ddrōha*, line 4; (3) the doubling of *th* and *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *bhāgīratthy-amala*, line 6, and *sarvāddhyaksha*, line 21; and (4) the doubling of *v* after the *anusvara*, in *samvatsarē*, line 60.

The **inscription** is one of the *Mahārāja Pravarasēna II.*, of the *Vākātaka* tribe or dynasty; and the charter recorded in it, is issued from the town of *Pravarapura*. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, in the eighteenth year (of his government), on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month *Jyēsthā* (May-June). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by *Pravarasēna II.*, to a thousand *Brāhman*s, of the village of *Charmāṅka*, *i.e.* the modern *Chammak* itself, in the *Bhōjakata* kingdom.

TEXT.¹

The Seal.

- a* *Vākātaka²-lalāmasya*
- b* *kkrama-prāpta-nṛipa-śriyah*
- c* *rājñah=Pravarasēnasya*
- d* *śāsanam ripu-śāsanam [II*]*

First Plate.

- 1 *Dṛishtaṁ³ [II*] Svasti Pravarapurād=agnishṭōm-āptōryyām-ōkthya-shōḍaśy-ātirātra-⁴*
- 2 *vājapēya - bṛihaspatisava - sādyaakra - chaturaśvamēdha - yājinaḥ*
- 3 *Rvi(vi)shṇ[u]v[ri]ddha-sagōtrasya samrād Vākātakānām⁶*
mahārāja-śri(śri)-Pravarasēnasya
- 4 *sūnōḥ sūnōḥ atyanta-[S]vāmi-Mahābhairava-bhaktasya a[m*]sa-⁵*
bhāra-santi(nni)vēśi-
- 5 *ta-Śiva-liṅg-[ō]dvahana-Śiva-suparitusṭa-samutpādi[ta]-rājava[m*]śa-*

¹ From the original plates.

² Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

³ See page 240 below, note 2.

⁴ See page 241 below, note 6.

⁵ Read *samrād-Vākātakānām*, in composition.—The final *d* of *samrād* (or possibly *l* of *samrāl*), rather small and faint, stands below the line, and just above the *mi* of *sāmī* in the next line.

Second Plate; First Side.

- 6 nām=parākramādhigata-Bhāgīratthy-ā(a)mala-jala-mūrdhna(rddh)-ābhi-
shiktānān=daś-ā-
7 svamēdh-āvabhṛitha-snānānām=Bhāraśivānām mahārāja-śrī-Bhava-
nāga-dau-
8 hitrasya Gautamī'putrasya putrasya Vākātakānām mahā-
rāja-śrī-Rudrasē-
9 nasya sūnōr=atyatna(nta)māhēśvarasya saty-ārjjava-kārunya-
śaurya-vikrama-na-
10 ya - vinaya - māhātmy - ādhima(ka)tva - hā'(pā)tr - āgata - bhakti(kti)tva-
dharmmavi(vi)jayi(yi)tva-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 11 manōnairmmā(rmma)ly-ādi-guṇais=samupētasya varsha-śatam=abhi-
varddhamāna-kōśa-
12 daṇḍasādhana-sannā(ntā)na-putra-pautriṇaḥ Yudhishṭhira-vṛitné(ttē)r-
Vākātakā-
13 nām mahārāja-śrī-Prithivishēṇasya sūnōr=bbhagavataś=Chakra
pāṇēḥ=prasā-
14 d-ōpārjji'ta-śrī-samudayasya Vākātakānām mahārāja-śrī-Rudra-
sēna-
15 [sya^o] sūnōr=mmahārājādhirāja-śrī-Dēvagupta-sutāyām Prabhāva-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 16 tiguptāyām=utpaunasya Śambhōḥ=prasāda-dhṛiti-kārttayugasya
17 Vākātakānām = paramamāhēśvara - mahārāja - śrī - Pravarasēnasya
vachanā[t^e]
18 Bhōjakata-rājyē Madhunadi(di)-tatē Charmmānka⁴-nāma-
gr[ā^{*}]mah rājamānika-bhu(bhū)mī-
19 sahasrair=ashṭābhīh⁵ 8000 Śatr[u^{*}]ghnarāja-putra-Koṇḍarāja-
vijñāptyā nānā-gō-
20 tra-charaṇēbhyō brāhmaṇēbhyāḥ sahasrāya dattaḥ [II^{*}]

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 21 Yatō=smat-santakā[h^{*}] sarvāddhyaksh-ādhiyōga-niyuktā ājñā-
sañch[ā^{*}]ri-kulaputr-ādhikṛitā

¹ The form of superscript *i* that we have here, is somewhat different from that which occurs throughout the rest of this inscription.—In line 7 of the next inscription, page 245 below, this syllable has the short vowel *i*, as is optionally allowable.

² The engraver first formed *hi*, and then partially cancelled the *i*. Probably the man who wrote the copy from which he engraved, had hesitated between *hi-āgata* and *pātr-āgata*.—The form of superscript *i* used here, was not of general use till somewhat later times. But, in the present inscription, it occurs again distinctly twice in *ti*, in line 16, in *ni*, line 21, and twice in *vi*, line 23; and in other places; and, in many other instances throughout the inscription, there is a tendency to form it in the same way.

³ The engraver first formed *jji*, and then corrected it into *rjji*.

⁴ The engraver first formed *nkā*, and then partially cancelled the *ā*.

⁵ We have to supply *parimāṭaḥ*, or some similar word, after this instrumental

- 22 bhaṭāch(ś)=chhātrās=cha viśruta-pūrvvay=ājñay=ājñāpayitavyā Viditam=
astu vō yath=ē-
- 23 h=āsmākam=manō¹ dharmm-āyur-bva(bba)la-vijay-aīśvaryya-vivṛiddhayē
ih-āmutra-hit-ā-
- 24 rttham=ātm-ānugrahāya vaijaikē² dharmmasthānē apūrvva-dat[t*]yā
udaka-purvva-
- 25 m=atisiṣṭaḥ [I] ath=āsy=ōchitām pūrvva-rāj-ānumatām chātur-
vvaīdya-grāma-ma-
- 26 ryyādān(m)=vitarāmas=tad=yathā a-karādāyī³ a-bhaṭa-chhchha-
(chchhā)tra-prāvēśya[h*]

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 27 a-pārampara-gō-balivardda[h*] a-pushpa-kshīra-satdō(ndō)ha[h*] a-
ch[ā*]rā-
- 28 sana-charmm-āṅgāra[h*] a-lavaṇa-kinna-kkrēṇi-khanaka[h*] sarvva-
vē(vi)śṭi-pari-
- 29 hāra-parīrṣṭaḥ⁴ sa-nidhis=s-ōpanidhiḥ sa-kli(klṛi)pt-ōpakli(klṛi)ptaḥ
30 ā-chandr-āditya-kālīyaḥ putra-pautr-[ā*]nugamakāḥ [I*] bhu[m*]jatām
na kē-
- 31 nachi[d*]=vyāghātām(h) karttavayas=sarvva-kkriyābhis=sa[m*]rakshi-
tavyaḥ=par[i*]varddhayi-
- 32 tav[y*]aś=cha [I*] yaś=ch=āyam⁵ śāsanam=a-gaṇayamānō(naḥ)
svalp[ā*]m=api [pa*]ribādhām⁶

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 33 n(n)=kuryyāt=kārayitā vā tasya brāhmaṇair=vvēditasya sa-
va(da)ṇḍa-nigrahām kuryyā-
- 34 ma || Asmi[m*]ś=cha dharmm-āvara-karaṇē ati(tī)t-ānēka-rāja-
datna(tta)-sañchitna(nta)na-
- 35 paripālanām kṛita-puṇy-ānukīrtana-parīhār-ārttham na
kīrttayāmāḥ [II*]
- 36 Vyāsa-gītau ch=ātra ślōkau pra⁷māni(nī)karttavayau [I*] Sva⁸-
datnā(ttā)m=para-datnā(ttā)m
- 37 vvā(vā) yō harēta vasundharām gavām śata-sahasrasya
hantu-

Fifth Plate ; First Side.

- 38 r=harati dushkṛitām [II*] Shasṭīm varsha-sahasrāni(nī) svarggē
mōdati bhū-

¹ Read *yath=aisha ātmanō*.

² Read *vaijayikē*.

³ The engraver first formed *yai*, and then corrected it into *yī*.

⁴ Read *parīrṣṭaḥ*.

⁵ Read *yaś=ch=ēdam*. The *cha* of *ścha* closed up again, almost entirely, after the engraving.

⁶ After this word, *kuryyā* was engraved and then cancelled.—The *anusvōra* is not required; since, in the next line, we have *n*, by mistake for *ṇ*, connecting *paribādhām* in *sam̐dhi* with *kuryyāt*.

⁷ The engraver first formed *h=pra*, and then cancelled the *h*.

⁸ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh) ; and in the following verse.

- 39 mi-daḥ āchchhêtâ ch=ānumantâ cha¹ tâny=êva narakê vasêd=
iti [II*] Śśâ(śâ)sana-
40 sthitiś=ch=êyam brâhmaṇair=iśvaraiś=ch=ānupālaniyâ tad=yathâ
rājñâm sa-
41 ptângê rājyê a-ddrôha-pravṛintâ(ttâ)nâm [a*]-brahmaghna-cha²-
pâradârîka-rājâ-
42 pathyakâri-prabhṛiti(tî)nâm [a*]-saṅgr[â*]ma-kurvvatâm anya-
grāmêshv=an-a- II

Fifth Plate; Second Side.

- 43 par[â*]ddhânâm³ â-chandr-âditya-kâliyaḥ [I*] atô=nyathâ kurvvatâm=
anumôdatâm vâ⁴
44 rājñah bhu(bhû)mi-chchhêdam kurvvataḥ a-stêyam=iti [II*]
Prâ(pra)tigrâ⁵hiṇaś=ch=âtra
45 vâra-niyuktâḥ [I*] Śâtyâyanah Gaṇâryyah Vâtsya-Dêvâryyah
Bhâradvâja-
46 Kumâraśarmmâryya[h*] Pârâsaryya-Guhaśarmmâ Kâśyapa-
Dêv[â*]ryyah Mahêśvarâryya⁶[h*]
47 Mâtrâryya[h*] Kauṇḍinya-Rudrâryya[h*] Sômâryya[h*]
Hariśarmmâryya[h*]

Sixth Plate; First Side.

- 48 Bhâradvâja-Kumâraśa[r]mm[â]ryya[h*] Kauṇḍinya(nya)-Mâtrî(tri)-
śarmmâ Varaśarmm[â*]
49 Gôṇḍasarmmâ Nâgaśarmmâ Bhâradvâ[ja*]-Śântisarmmâ Rudra-
śarmmâ Vâtsyah
50 Bhôjakad[ê*]vâryya[h*] Maghaśarmmâ Dêvaśarmmâ Bhâradvâja-
Môkshaśarmm[â*]
51 [Nâ]gaśarmmâ Rêvatiśarmmâ Dharmmâryya[h*] Bhâradvâja-
Śarmmâryya[h*]
52 Nandanâryya[h*] Mûlaśarmmâ I Iśvaraśarmmâ I Varaśarmmâ

Sixth Plate; Second Side.

- 53 Chânsya⁷-Skandâryya[h]* Bhâradvâja-Bappâryya[h*] Dharm-
mâryya[h*] Âtrêya-Skandâryya[h*]
54 Gautama-Sômaśarmmâryya[h*] Bha[r*]trîśarmmâ Rudraśa[rmmâ*]-
ryya[h*] Maghâryya[h*] Mâtrî-
55 śarmmâryya[h*] Iśvaraśarmmâryya[h*] Gautama-sagôtra-Mâtrî-
śarmmâ-
56 ryya[h*] Kauṇḍinya(nya)-Dêvaśarmmâryya[h*] Varaśarmmâryya[h*]
Rôhâryya[h*]

¹ The engraver first formed *chcha* or *chchha*, and then cancelled the lower *ch*, or the *chha*.

² The engraver first formed *râ*, and then cancelled the *â*.

³ Read *an-apar[â*]ddhânâm*, omitting the mark of punctuation.

⁴ The engraver first formed *vvâ*, and then cancelled the lower *v*.

⁵ The engraver first formed *gvâ*, and then corrected it into *grâ*.

⁶ This *ryya* stands at the end of the line, below the *râ* of *mahêśvarâ*; but this is evidently the place to which it properly belongs.

⁷ Read *vâtsya*.

Seventh Plate

- 57 Gautama-sagòtra-Svâmidê[vâ*]ryya[h*] Rêvatisarmmâryya[h*]
 58 Jyêshṭhaśarmmâryya[h*] Śāṇḍilya-Kumâraśarmmâryya[h*] Svāti-
 śarmmâ-
 59 ryya[h*] Ś[â*]tyāyana(na)-Kāṇḍ[â*]ryya-prabhṛitayah [II*] Sēnāpatau
 60 Chitravarmmaṇi samvatsarê=sṣṭādaśa[mê*] 10 8 Jyêshṭha-
 mâsa-śukla-
 61 paksha-trayôdaśyâ[m*] śāsanam likhitam=itiḥ¹ [II*]

TRANSLATION.

The Seal.

A charter of king Pravarasêna, the ornament of the Vâkâtakas, who has attained royal dignity by inheritance, (is) a charter for (the observance of even his) enemies!

The Plates.

Sight has been attained!² Hail! From the town of Pravarapura;—(Line 17.)—At the command of the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara, the *Mahârāja* of the Vâkâtakas, the illustrious Pravarasêna (II.),³ who was begotten on Prabhâvati-guptâ, the daughter of the *Mahârâjâdhîrâja*, the glorious Dêvagupta; who, through possessing the favour of (the god) Śambhu, is (as virtuous as) one belonging to the Kṛita age;—

(Line 13.)—(And) who is the son of the *Mahârâja* of the Vâkâtakas, the illustrious Rudrasêna (II.), who acquired an abundance of good fortune through the favour of the divine (god) Chakrapâni;—

(L. 9.)—Who⁴ was the son of the *Mahârâja* of the Vâkâtakas, the illustrious Prithivishêna, who was an excessively devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara; who was endowed with an excess of truthfulness, straightforwardness, tenderness, heroism, prowess, political wisdom, modesty, and high-mindedness, and with devotion to worthy people and guests, and with the condition of being victorious through religion, and with

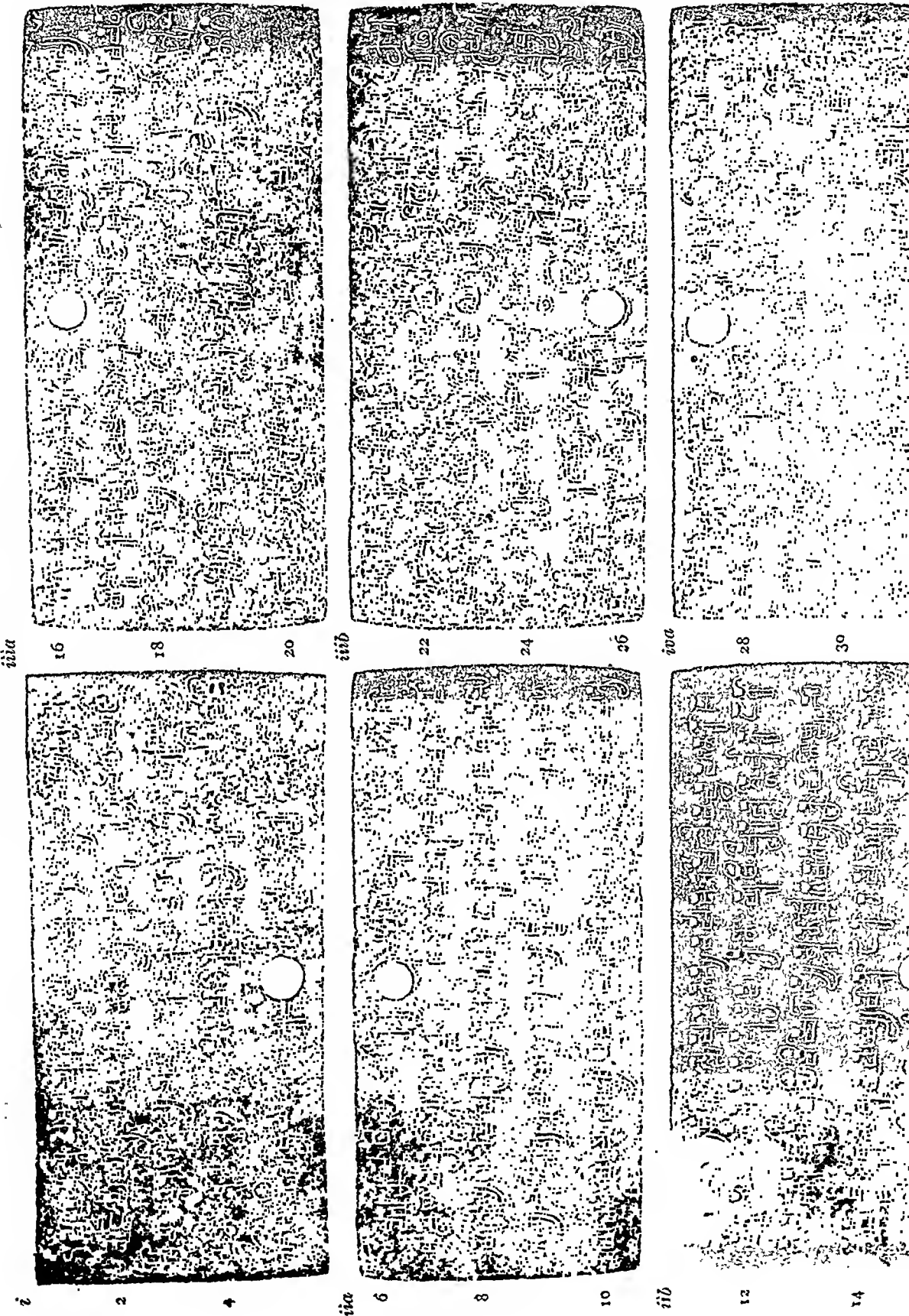
¹ Read *iti*.—Two forms of the double mark of punctuation are used in this inscription; the upright form, after *anyagrâmêshv=ana* in line 42; and the horizontal form, after *kuryyâma* in line 33-34. The latter rather resembles the *visarga*. And thus the engraver came to form a *visarga*, instead of a double mark of punctuation, after the word *iti*.

² As regards the Text and my Translation here, Dr. Bühler, while admitting that the opening *aksharas* looked like *drishṭam* or *driṣṭam*, interpreted them as *ôm ôṁ*.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji read them as *drishṭam*.—The mark over the *dri* is not an *anusvâra*, but only a rust-mark. And the reading is as indisputably *drishṭam* here, as it is *drishṭam* at the commencement of the next inscription.—The same word occurs, if possible still more clearly, in the margin of the first plate of the Goa grant of Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X, p. 348 ff.), where Mr. K. T. Telang (*id.* p. 360, note) suggested that it might mean 'sanctioned.' But it is of course the remnant of some such expression as *drishṭam bhagavatâ*, "sight (*i.e.* clearness of perception in religious matters; a thorough insight into the nature of the universe and everything connected with it) has been attained by the Divine One;" see my remarks on *siddham*, page 25 above, note 4.

³ The context is "the village named Charmânka" &c., in line 18 ff. below.

⁴ *i.e.* Rudrasêna II.

Channak Plates of the Maharaja Pravarsena II.



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purity of mind, and with other meritorious qualities; who belonged to an uninterrupted succession of sons and sons' sons, whose treasure and means of government had been accumulating for a hundred years; who behaved like Yudhishtira;—

(L. 4.)—Who¹ was the son of the *Mahārāja* of the *Vākātakas*, the illustrious Rudrasēna (I.), who was an excessively devout devotee of (the god) Svāmi-Mahābhairava; who was the daughter's son of the illustrious Bhavanāga, the *Mahārāja* of the Bhārasīvas, whose royal line owed its origin to the great satisfaction of (the god) Śiva, (caused) by (their) carrying a *linga* of Śiva placed as a load upon (their) shoulders, (and) who were besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of (the river) Bhāgirathī that had been obtained by (their) valour, (and) who performed ablutions after the celebration of ten *asvamedha*-sacrifices;—who² was the son of Gautamīputra;—

(L. 1.)—(And) who⁴ was the son of the son of the *Mahārāja* of the sovereign Vākātakas, the illustrious Pravarasēna (I.), who celebrated the *agnishōma*,⁵ *aptōryāma*, *ukthya*, *shōdaśin*, *ātirātra*,⁶ *vājapēya*, *brihaspatisava*,⁷ and *sādyaskra*⁸ sacrifices and four *asvamedha*-sacrifices, (and) was of the Vishṇuvṛiddha *gōtra*;—

(L. 18.)—The village named Charmāṅka, on the bank of the river Madhunadī, in the Bhōjakata kingdom, (measured) by eight thousand *bhūmīs*,⁹ (or in figures) 8000, according to the royal measure, is, at the request of Kondaṛāja, the son of Śatrughna-rāja, given to one thousand Brāhmaṇs of various *gōtras* and *charaṇas*.

(L. 21.)—Wherefore Our¹⁰ obedient and high-born¹¹ officers, employed in the office of general superintendents,¹² (and Our) regular soldiers and umbrella-bearers, should be (thus) directed with a command preceded by (the words) 'O illustrious one':— "Be it known to you, that, in order to increase Our religion and life and strength and victory and dominion, (and) for the sake of (Our) welfare in this world and in the next, (and

¹ i.e. Prithivishēṇa.

² i.e. Rudrasēna I.

³ See page 237 above, note 1.

⁴ i.e. Rudrasēna I.

⁵ The *agnishōma*, lit. 'praise of the god Agni, or fire,' was a protracted sacrifice, extending over five days in spring, and forming one of the parts of the Jyōtishōma, which was one of the principal sacrifices connected with the sacred Sōma plant and juice. Other parts of the Jyōtishōma sacrifice were the *aptōryāma*, *ukthya*, *shōdaśin*, *ātirātra*, and *vājapēya* ceremonies, which are mentioned in the text here; the seventh, and last, part being the *atyagnishōma*, which is not here mentioned.

⁶ Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, gives only the form *ātirātra*, with the short vowel *a* in the first syllable; so also Max Müller in his *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 177, note. But the Text here distinctly gives the long vowel *ā*. And, though in line 1 of the next inscription, page 245 below, the vowel is rather imperfectly formed, yet a comparison with *bhāgiratthy-āmala*, in line 5 of the same, shews that there also the vowel *ā* is intended.

⁷ The *brihaspatisava* was another sacrifice, lasting a day, apparently connected with Brihaspati, the priest and preceptor of the gods.

⁸ The *sādyaskra* was another sacrifice, of which I have not been able to find any explanation in the books of reference available.

⁹ *bhūmī*, lit. 'land, the earth,' is evidently used here as some technical land-measure, the value of which is not known.

¹⁰ *asmat-santaka*, lit. 'belonging to Us;' see Childers' Pāli Dictionary, s. v. *santaka*.

¹¹ *kulaputra*.

¹² *Sarvādhyaksha*.

generally) for Our benefit, this (village) is granted, in (Our) victorious office of justice, as a grant not previously made, with libations of water.

(L. 25.)—"Now We grant the fixed usage, such as befits this (village), (and) such as has been approved of by former kings, of a village which belongs to a community of *Chaturvedīsins*; namely, it is not to pay taxes; it is not to be entered by the regular troops or by the umbrella-bearers; it does not carry with it (the right to) cows and bulls in succession of production,¹ or to the abundance of flowers and milk, or to the pasturage, hides, and charcoal, or to the mines for the purchase of salt in a moist state; it is entirely free from (all obligation of) forced labour; it carries with it the hidden treasures and deposits, and the *khṛīṭa* and *upakṛīṭa*;² it is (to be enjoyed) for the same time with the moon and the sun; (and) it is to follow (the succession of) sons and sons' sons. No hindrance should be caused by any one to those who enjoy it. It should be protected and increased by all (possible) means. And whosoever, disregarding this charter, shall give, or cause to be given, even slight vexation, We will inflict on him punishment, together with a fine, when he is denounced by the Brāhmanas."

(L. 34.)—And in this document, which has at least (the merit of) religion,³—in order to avoid boasting of (other) meritorious actions performed (by Us),—We do not recite (Our) care and protection of grants made by various kings who are dead and gone.

(L. 36.)—And two verses, sung by Vyāsa, are to be cited as an authority on this point:—Whosoever confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another, he incurs the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!

(L. 39.)—And this condition of the charter should be maintained by the Brāhmanas and by (future) lords; namely (the enjoyment of this grant is to belong to the Brāhmanas) for the same time with the moon and the sun, provided that they commit no treason against the kingdom, consisting of seven constituent parts,⁴ of (successive) kings; that they are not slayers of Brāhmanas, and are not thieves, adulterers, poisoners of kings, &c.; that they do not wage war; (and) that they do no wrong to other villages. But, if they act otherwise, or assent (to such acts), the king will commit no theft in taking the land away.

(L. 44.)—And the recipients, appointed for the occasion in this matter, (are):—Gaṇārya, of the Śātyāyana (gōtra). Dēvārya, of the Vātsya (gōtra). Kumāraśarmārya, of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra). Guhaśarman, of the Pārāśarya (gōtra). Dēvārya, of the

¹ The interpretation here is not quite certain. But this and the next three expressions seem to reserve certain rights for the villagers against the grantees.

² These are technical fiscal expressions, the meaning of which is not known.

³ This is in accordance with Dr. Bühler's rendering (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 123, note 8).—As regards *karana* in the sense of 'a document,' it is borne out by *Karanika*, which is of constant occurrence in evidently the meaning of 'one who has to do with documents, a writer, a scribe,' e.g. in the passage from the 'Dewal' inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 1029, referred to at page 201 above.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji proposed to correct the text into *dharma-ādara*, probably meaning "in this act of respect for religion."

⁴ The *saptāṅga*, or 'aggregate of the seven constituent elements (of a kingdom),' consists of the king, and his ministers, ally, territory, fortress, army, and treasury.

Kāśyapa (*gōtra*); Mahāśvarāya, (*and*) Mātrāya. Rudrāya, of the Kauṇḍinya (*gōtra*); (*and*) Somaśya, (*and*) Hariśarmāya. Kumāraśarmāya, of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*). Mātrīśarman, of the Kauṇḍinya (*gōtra*); (*and*) Varāśarman, Gōṇḍaśarman, (*and*) Nāgaśarman. Śāntīśarman, of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*); (*and*) Rudraśarman. Bhōjakadēvāya, of the Vātsya (*gōtra*); (*and*) Maghaśarman, (*and*) Dēvaśarman. Mōkshaśarman, of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*); (*and*) Nāgaśarman, Rēvaśarman, (*and*) Dharmāya. Śarmāya, of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*); (*and*) Nandanāya, Mūlaśarman, Śvaraśarman, (*and*) Varāśarman. Skandāya, of the Vātsya (*gōtra*). Bappāya, of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*); (*and*) Dharmāya. Skandāya, of the Ātrēya (*gōtra*). Somaśarmāya, of the Gautama (*gōtra*); (*and*) Bhartīśarman, Rudraśarmāya, Maghāya, Mātrīśarmāya, (*and*) Śvaraśarmāya. Mātrīśarmāya, of the Gautama *gōtra*. Dēvaśarmāya, of the Kauṇḍinya (*gōtra*); (*and*) Varāśarmāya, (*and*) Rōhāya. Svāmidēvāya, of the Gautama *gōtra*; (*and*) Rēvaśarmāya, (*and*) Jyēsthāśarmāya. Kumāraśarmāya, of the Śāṇḍilya (*gōtra*); (*and*) Svātīśarmāya. (*And*) Kāṇḍāya, of the Śātyāyana (*gōtra*); and so forth.

(L. 59).—(*This*) charter has been written, while Chitravarman is the *Sēnāpati*, in the eighteenth year, (*or in figures*) 10 (*and*) 8, on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyēsthā.

No. 56; PLATE XXXV.

SIWANI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA PRAVARASENA II.

THIS inscription was first brought to notice in 1836, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. V. p. 726 ff., where, the original plates having been forwarded by Mr. D. M. McLeod, Mr. James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxxiii. Nos. 1 and 2).

The inscription is on some copper-plates which were obtained by me for examination from the possession of a Zamindār or land-holder named Hazari Gond Malguzar, living at the village of Piṇḍarāi, in the Siwanī Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Siwanī-Chhaparā District¹ in the Central Provinces. I have no information as to where the plates were originally found; and, as they have always been known as the Siwanī grant, it seems desirable to continue that name; though, of course, in the absence of any local identification of the places mentioned in the inscription, this name indicates only in a general way the part of the country to which the grant belongs.

The plates, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are five in number, each measuring about $8\frac{3}{8}$ " by $4\frac{1}{2}$ " at the ends and somewhat less in the middle. They are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. The inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The plates are rather thin, and the letters shew through on the reverse sides, so clearly that many of them can be read there; in a very exceptional manner, this is noticeable even on the intermediate plates; though, of course, not to such an extent as to make the letters of one side of a plate legible on the other in the lithograph. The engraving is very

¹ The chief town is Siwanī; the 'Seoni and Seonee' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 79. Lat. $22^{\circ} 5' N.$; Long. $79^{\circ} 35' E.$

good ; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew in a few places marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is circular, about $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick and $3\frac{7}{8}$ " in diameter. The ends of it were flattened off, so as to overlap, and were fastened with a pin or bolt ; they were still secured in this manner, when the grant came into my hands. The seal¹ is a thin flat disc of copper, about $3\frac{3}{16}$ " in diameter. A bolt in the centre of it secures it to a thin band of copper, about $\frac{5}{8}$ " broad and $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in circumference, by which it slides on the ring mentioned above. Across the surface of the seal, there is the legend, in four lines, of which the text and translation are given below.—The weight of the five plates is about 3 lbs. $4\frac{1}{4}$ oz., and of the ring and seal, $5\frac{1}{4}$ oz. ; total 3 lbs. $9\frac{1}{2}$ oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " ; except on the seal and on the last plate, where they are rather larger. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and give a very perfect and beautiful illustration of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central India alphabet, on which I have commented at page 18 f. above. They include two forms of *b* ; one, the customary form of this alphabet, occurs in *bṛihaspati*, line 1, and in other places in this and the preceding inscription ; the other, a square and more antique form, occurs only in *beṇṇā*, line 17 ; in the lower *b* in *āyur-bbala*, line 26 ; and in *bāpṭa*, line 36.—The language is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal is in verse ; but the inscription itself, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 39 to 42, is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the *upa-dhmānīya*, once, in *rājñah=pravara*, line c ; (2) the use of the dental *n*, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś* and *s*, in *vanśa*, lines 5 and 17, and *ansa*, line 4 ; (3) the doubling of *th* and *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *ṇkṭṭhya*, line 1, and *bhāgīratthy-amala*, line 5, and in *sarvāddhyaksha*, line 24 ; (4) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *v*, in *addhvaryavē*, line 19-20 ; and (5) the doubling of *v* after the *anusvāra* (which, however, was omitted in the actual engraving), in *samvutsarē*, line 18.

The inscription is another record of the *Mahārāja Pravarasēna II.*, of the *Vākātaka* tribe or dynasty. The place whence the charter was issued, is not recorded. It is dated, in words, in the eighteenth year of his government, on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month *Phālguna* (February-March). It is a non-sectarian inscription ; the object of it being simply to record the grant to a *Brāhmaṇ*, by *Pravarasēna II.*, of the village of *Brahmapūraka*, in the *Beṇṇākārpara bhāga*.²

Of the villages mentioned in defining the position and boundaries of the village that was granted, *Kollapūraka* is possibly the modern 'Kolapoor' of the map,³ twenty-one miles south of Ilichpur.

¹ See Plate xxxiiiD.

² *bhāga*, *lit.* 'a part, share, division, allotment,' is a technical territorial term, of rare occurrence, the exact purport of which is not apparent.

³ Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 54. Lat. $20^{\circ} 56' N.$; Long. $77^{\circ} 34' E.$ —The same name, in a slightly different form, occurs in the Kollāpura of the southern inscriptions (e.g. line 48 of the Tērdāl inscription ; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 18 ; see also *id.* p. 23, note 22), as the ancient name of the modern Kollāpur, the chief town of the Kollāpur State in the Bombay Presidency.

TEXT.¹*The Seal.*

- a Vākātaka²-lalāmasya
 b krama-prāpta-nripa-śriyaḥ
 c rājāḥ-Pravarasēnasya
 d śāsana[³ri⁴] ripu-śāsanam [11⁵]

First Plate.

- 1 Drishṭam Siddham⁶ 11 Agnishtōm-āptōryāṁ-ōktthya-shōḍaśy-
 ātirātra⁴-vājayē(pe)ya-brīhaspatisava-
 2 śādyaskra-va(cha)turaśvamēdha-yājinaḥ Vishṇuvṛiddha-sagōtrasya
 saśrat Vākātakānā-
 3 m¹-mahārāja-śri-Pravarasēnasya sūnōḥ sūnōḥ atyanta-
 Svāmi-Mahā-
 4 bhairava-bhaktasya ausa-bhāta-sanniv[⁷t⁸]śita-Śiva-līng-ōdvaḥana-Śiva-
 superitushta-
 5 samutpādita-rājavanśānām parākram-ādhiḡgata-Bhāḡratthy-ā(a)mala-
 jala-mūrdh-ābhi-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 6 shikṭānām daś-śvamēdh-āvabhṛitha-snānānam-Bhārasivānām-mahā-
 rāja-śri-Bhavanā-
 7 ga-dauhitrasya 1⁶ Gautami⁷putrasya putrasya 1 Vākātakānām-
 mahārāja-śri-
 8 Rudrasēnasya sūnōḥ atyantamāhēśvarasya 1 satv-ārjjava-
 kārण्या-sau-
 9 ryya - vikrama - naya - vinaya - mātātmy⁸ - [A⁹]dhima(ka)tva-pātr-[A¹⁰]gata-
 bhaktitva-dharmnavijayi-
 10 tva-manōnairmmaly-ādi-guṇa-samuditasya 1 varsha-śatam-abhivarddha-
 māna-kōśa-
 11 daṇḍasādhana-santāna-putra-pautriṇaḥ Yudhishtīra-vṛittē-Vvākāṭa-
 kānām-mahārāja-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 12 śri-Prithivishēṇasya sūnō[h¹¹] bhagavataś=Chakrapāṇēḥ prasād-
 ōpārjjita-
 13 śri-samudayasya 1 Vākātakānām-mahārāja-śri(śri)-Rudrasēnasya
 sūnōḥ

¹ From the original plates.² Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh)³ In the original, this word, *siddham*, stands between the lines, below *drishṭam*.—As regards *drishṭam*, see page 240 above, note 2.⁴ See page 241 above, note 6.⁵ Read *samrād-vākātakānām*.⁶ This and the following marks of punctuation, down to line 23 are unnecessary.⁷ See page 237 above, note 1.⁸ In this compound, the *t* is formed very anomalously; but the character cannot stand for any-thing else.

- 14 pûrvva-râj-ânuvṛitta-mârgg-ânuśāriṇaḥ sunaya-bala-parākkram-ô-
 15 chchhinna-sarvva-dvishaḥ mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Dêvagupta-sutâyām=
 Prabhâvati-
 16 guptâyâm=utpannasya Śambhō[h*] prasâda-dhṛiti-kārttayugasya¹
 Vākâtaka-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 17 vanś-ālaṅkāra-bhûtasya I mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasênasya vachanât
 Benṇâ-
 18 kârppara-bhâgê pravarddhamâna-râjya-sa[m*]vvatsarê I ashtâ-
 daśamê I Phâlgu-
 19 ṇa(na)-śukla-dvâdaśyâm Maudgalya-sagôtrâya I Taittiri(ri)yây=
 âddhvaryya-
 20 vē Dêvaśarmma-âchâryyây=ôdaka-pûrvvam sa-koraṭaḥ sa-
 pañchâsatkaḥ
 21 Brahmapûrakan=nâma grāmô=tisṛishṭaḥ Vaṭapûrakasy=
 ôttarêṇa I Kiṇihikhê-
 22 ṭakasy=âparêṇa I Pavarajjavâṭakasya dakshinêta(na) I
 Kollapûrakasya

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 23 purvvêṇa I sva-simâ-par[i*]chchh[ê*]dêna Karāñjavi(?chi)raka-
 tatê I(II) Atr=âsmat-santakâḥ
 24 sarvvâddhyaksha-n[i*]yôga-n[i*]yuktâḥ ājñāsañchâri-kulaputr-âdhi-
 kṛitâḥ bhaṭaḥ-
 25 ś²=chhâtrâś=cha viśruta-pûrvvayâ ājñayâ ājñāpayitavyâḥ [i*]
 Vidita-
 26 m=astu ta(va)ḥ yath=aishô=smâbhiḥ Atmanô dharmma-âyur-
 bbala-vijay-aishvarya-vi³vri[d*]dhayê
 27 ih-[â*]mutra-hit-ârttham=âtv(tm)-ânugrahâya I⁴ vaijayikê dharmma-
 sthânê⁵ I a-bhaṭa-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 28 chchh[â*]tra-prâvēśyaḥ a-pârampara-gô-balivarddaḥ a-pushpa-
 kshira-sandôha[h*] a-châ-
 29 rāsana-charmm-ângārah a-la⁶vaṇa-tlinva⁷-krêṇi-khanakaḥ I⁸ sarvva-
 viṣṭi-parihâra-
 30 parihṛitaḥ sa-nidhiḥ s-ôpanidhiḥ sa-klī(klṛi)pt-ôpakli(klṛi)ptaḥ
 A-chandr-âditya-

¹ Read *kārttayugasya*.

² Read *bhaṭāś*.

³ First *vri* was engraved here, and then, it was corrected into *vi*, by adding the *i* and partially erasing the *ri*.

⁴ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁵ After this word, we require *atisṛishṭaḥ*, or some similar word, as in line 24 f., of the preceding inscription, page 238 above.

⁶ First *li* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *la* by partial erasure of the *i*.

⁷ Read *klinna*.

⁸ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

31. ...
32. ...
33. ...

... ..

34. ...
35. ...
36. ...
37. ...
38. jāpoyāmah || Vyasa-gītā ch-ātra śikṣā pramāṇa(m)
kartavya(m) ||

... ..

39. Shashī¹-varsha-sahasāpi svagge² mādāti bhūm-āśa³ āchokhata⁴
ch-ānumatta(m)
40. cha tāny-ēva narakā⁵ vasāta(t) || Sva-dattam-paradātch(m)
vā yō harē-
41. ta vasundharāma(m) gāva(m) sata-sahasasya⁶ hantū-harati⁷
dushkṛitam-iti ||

TRANSLATION.

The Seal.

A charter of king Pravaraśeṇa, the ornament of the Vākātaka, who has attained royal dignity by inheritance, (is) a charter for (the observance of even his) enemies !

The Plates.

Sight has been attained ! Perfection has been attained ! - (Line 17.) At the command of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Pravaraśeṇa (II.), who follows the path of imitating the behaviour of previous kings ; who has extirpated all enemies by (his) excellent policy and strength and prowess ; who was begotten on Prabhāvatīguptā, the daughter of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious Dēvagupta ; who, through possessing the favour of (the

¹ Read *kārayitā*, as in line 33 of No. 55 above, page 236 ; or *kārayitā*.

² This mark of punctuation is unnecessary ; also that in the next line.

³ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁴ Read *datta*.

⁵ Read *kṛita-puṇy-ānukīrtana-parīkṣā-dṛṣṭam* as *Pratigṛhītā*, 2^a ed. No. 47, of the inscription, page 238 above.

⁶ Read *śhyatāla-prabhavishṇuśeṇa*.

⁷ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh) ; and in the next line.

god) Śambhu, is (*as virtuous as*) one belonging to the Kṛita age; who is the ornament of the lineage of the Vākātakas;—

(Line 12.)—(*And*) who is the son of the *Mahārāja* of the Vākātakas, the illustrious Rudrasēna (II.), who acquired an abundance of good fortune through the favour of the divine (god) Chakrapāṇi;—

(L. 8.)—Who¹ was the son of the *Mahārāja* of the Vākātakas, the illustrious Prithivishēṇa, who was an excessively devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara; who was possessed of an excess of truthfulness, straightforwardness, tenderness, heroism, prowess, political wisdom, modesty, and high-mindedness, and with devotion to worthy people and guests, and with the condition of being victorious through religion, and with purity of mind, and with other meritorious qualities; who belonged to an uninterrupted succession of sons and sons' sons, whose treasure and means of government had been accumulating for a hundred years; who behaved like Yudhisṭhira;—

(L. 3.)—Who² was the son of the *Mahārāja* of the Vākātakas, the illustrious Rudrasēna (I.), who was an excessively devout devotee of (the god) Svāmi-Mahābhairava, who was the daughter's son of the illustrious Bhavanāga, the *Mahārāja* of the Bhārasīvas, whose royal line owed its origin to the great satisfaction of (the god) Śiva. (*caused*) by (*their*) carrying a *liṅga* of Śiva placed as a load upon (*their*) shoulders, (*and*) who were besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of (the river) Bhāgīrathī that had been obtained by (*their*) valour, (*and*) who performed ablutions after the celebration of ten *aśvamēdha*-sacrifices;—who³ was the son of Gautamiputra;—

(L. 1.)—(*And*) who⁴ was the son of the son of the *Mahārāja* of the sovereign Vākātakas, the illustrious Pravarasēna (I.), who celebrated the *agnishtōma*, *aptōryāma*, *ukṭhya*, *śhōḍaśin*, *ātirātra*, *vājapēya*, *bṛihaspatisava*, and *sādyaskra* sacrifices, and four *aśvamēdha*-sacrifices, (*and*) was of the Vishṇuvṛiddha *gōtra*;—

(L. 17.)—In the Benṇākārpara *bhāga*,—in the eighteenth year of the augmenting reign; on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Phālguna,—the village named Brahmapūraka,—(*which*), according to the specification of its boundaries (is) on the bank of the (river) Karañjaviraka,⁵ on the north of (the village of) Vaṭapuraka, on the west of (the village of) Kiṇihikhēṭaka, on the south of (the village of) Pavarajjavāṭaka, (*and*) on the east of (the village of) Kollapūraka,—is given, with libations of water, together with the *korāṭa*⁶ and the fifty (*hamlets*?), to the *Adhvaryu*, the *Āchārya* Dēvaśarman, of the Maudgalya *gōtra*, (*and*) of the Taittirīya (*śākhā*).

(L. 23.)—In this matter, Our obedient and high-born officers, employed in the office of general superintendents, and (*Our*) regular soldiers and umbrella-bearers, should be

¹ i.e. Rudrasēna II.

² i.e. Prithivishēṇa.

³ i.e. Rudrasēna I.

⁴ See page 237 above, note 1.

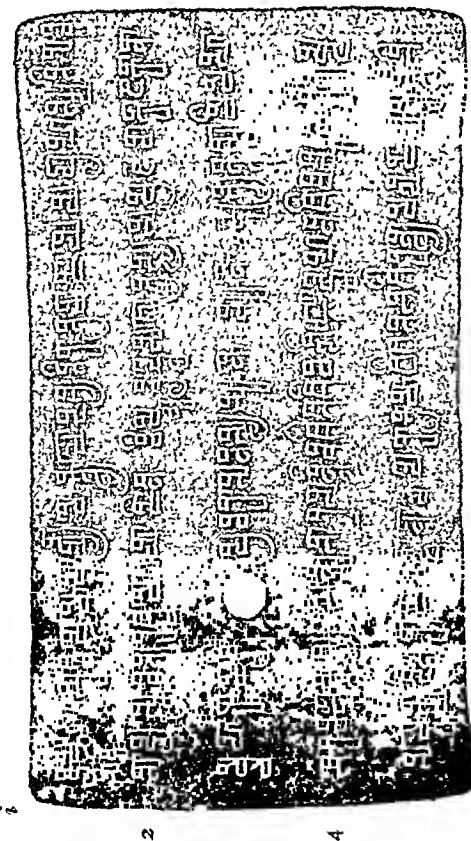
⁵ i.e. Rudrasēna I.

⁶ Or, perhaps, Karañjachiraka.

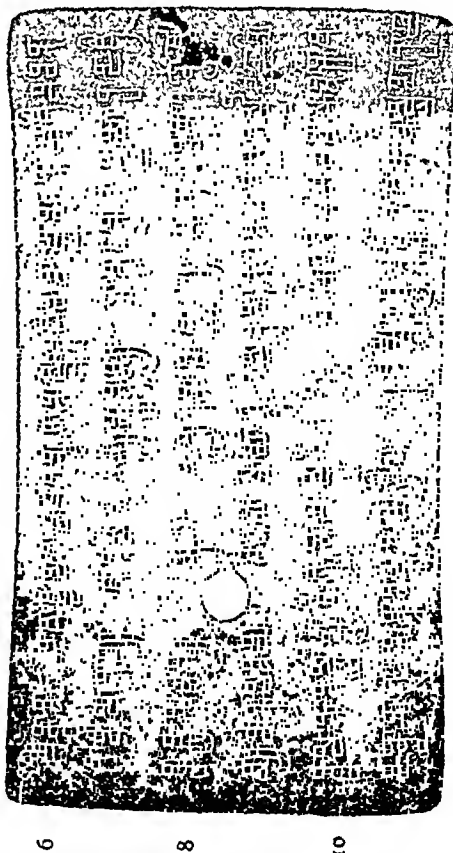
⁷ *sa-korāṭa* is a technical fiscal term, the meaning of which is not known. But *korāṭa* has a Drāviḍian appearance and sound, and is perhaps an old form of the Kanarese *koradu*, *korandu*, *korāju*, 'a pollard, the trunk of a lopped tree; a log, stump, short stick.'—In Marāṭhi we have, *kōraṭ*, 'spun silk, while still raw or unboiled'; *kōraṇṭā*, *kōraṇṭā*, Barleria or Amaranth, and *kōraḍā*, 'dry, empty, yielding no returns or profit.'

Sivān Plates of the Mahārāja Pravarasena II.

ii b



iii a



J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

SCALE .60

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

31
 36
 38

39
 40

39
 40

39
 40

(*thus*) directed with a command preceded by (*the words*) 'O illustrious one:—“Be it known to you, that, in order to increase Our own religion and life and strength and victory and dominion, (*and*) for the sake of (*Our*) welfare in this world and in the next, (*and generally*) for Our benefit, this (*village*) [is granted*] in (*Our*) victorious office of justice.

(L. 27.)—“It is not to be entered by the regular troops or by the umbrella-bearers; it does not carry with it (*the right to*) cows and bulls in succession (*of production*), or to the abundance of flowers and milk, or to the pasturage, hides, and charcoal, or to the mines for the purchase of salt in a moist state; it is entirely free from all (*obligation of*) forced labour; it carries with it the hidden treasures and deposits, and the *klṛipta* and *upaklṛipta*; it is (*to be enjoyed*) for the same time with the moon and the sun; (*and*) it is to follow (*the succession of*) sons and sons' sons. The enjoyment of it should not be obstructed by any one. It should be protected and increased by all (*possible*) means. And whosoever, disregarding Our charter, shall give, or cause to be given, even slight vexation, We will inflict on him, or will cause to be inflicted, punishment, together with a fine, when he is denounced by the Brāhmanas.”

(L. 35.)—(*This charter*) has been written by the *Āchārya*, while *Bāppadēva* is the *Sēnāpati*.

(L. 35.)—And in this subject-matter of religion,—in order to avoid boasting of (*other*) meritorious actions performed (*by Us*),—We do not recite the religious merit acquired by (*Our*) care and protection of grants made by various kings who are dead and gone. (*But*), out of respect for those who shall be pre-eminent in times to come, We make a request (*for protection of the grant*) to future (*kings*).

(L. 38.)—And two verses, sung by Vyāsa, are to be taken as an authority on this point:—The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Whosoever confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another, he incurs the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows!

No. 57; PLATE XXXVIA.

PAHLADPUR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription was discovered by Captain T. S. Burt, of the Engineers, and was first brought to notice in 1838, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 1055, where Mr. James Prinsep published the text of it, as read by Pandit Kamalakanta from Captain Burt's facsimile, and, with the text, his own translation.

Pahlādpur¹ is a village near the right bank of the Ganges, six miles east by south of Dhānāpur, the chief town of the Mahālich Parganā in the Zamāniyā² Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Ghāzipur District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on a sandstone monolith column,—about three feet in diameter; polished and rounded for a

¹ The 'Palladpur and Puhladpoor' of maps, &c. Lat. 25° 26' N.; Long. 83° 31' E.—It should be in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103, almost opposite the village of 'Puharpoor' on the other river; but it is not entered there.

² The 'Zamania, Zamiana, Zamnana, and Zumaniah' of maps, &c.

length of twenty-seven feet; with a rough base of nine feet; the total length being thirty-six feet,—which was found lying here, more than half buried in the ground, and was afterwards, in or about 1853, removed to Benares and set up in the grounds of the Sanskrit College there, on the north side, where it still stands. At the village of 'Lathiya,' one and a half miles east of Zamāniyā, there stands another sandstone column, rather smaller in its dimensions, which is supposed to be the sister-column of the Pahlādpur pillar; but it is not inscribed.

The writing, which covers a space of about 4' 11" broad by 4" high, is about ten feet above the place where the column starts from its present pedestal; and, commencing on the north-west, it runs a little more than half-way round the column. The greater part of it is in a state of very good preservation; but a few letters in the third *pāda* of the verse, containing the name of the king, if it was recorded, have unfortunately quite peeled off, and are entirely illegible. There are several inscriptions in the so-called "shell-characters" on this column; but, apparently, no sculptures connected with the inscription now published.—The size of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{2}$ " to $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the so-called Indo-Scythic form of *m*, which disappeared in Northern India very soon after the commencement of the Early Gupta period; and its appearance here is sufficient to stamp this record as being at least as early as any other inscription in this volume.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription consists only of one verse, preceded by the word *iha*, 'here.'—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription is not dated, and is non-sectarian. It only commemorates the fame of a king whose name, if it was recorded, is unfortunately peeled away and lost. Mr. Prinsep suggested, from the comparison in the last *pāda* of the verse, that his name was Lōkapāla. From the rhyming ends of the four *pādas*, it seems that his name must have ended in *pāla*. But, in the third *pāda* of the verse, we have certainly the well-known name of Śīsupāla; and,—whether the name as it stands here is that of the king himself, or is that of the Purāṇic king Śīsupāla of Chēdi, with whom he is compared,—the inference seems to be that the name of the king, whose inscription is on the pillar, was Śīsupāla. The chief interest of the inscription, however, is in the early date of it, as shewn by the characters; and in there being the possibility that it is a record of the Pallavas in Northern India. The king is called *pārthiv-ānīka-pālaḥ*. This might be rendered by simply "the protector of the armies of kings." But *pārthiva* has so much the appearance of standing as a proper name here,¹ that I think the correct translation is "the protector of the army of the Pārthivas." And, if Dr. Oldhausen's derivation of the name Pallava, through the form Pahlava, from Parthava, *i.e.* Parthian,² can be upheld, there will be no objection to considering that we have in this record a fuller and more completely Sanskritised form of the early name of this tribe.

TEXT.*

- 1 Iha [1*] Vipula⁴-vijaya-kirt[t*]iḥ kshatra-saddharma-pālaḥ satata-dda(da)yitap[ā*]rtthah P[ā*]rthiv-āni(ni)ka-pālaḥ diśi-diś[i] Śīsupāla[—]timā[—]pau(?)laḥ vihita iva Vidhātrā pañchamō lō[kapā]laḥ [11*]

¹ As a Hindu name, it denotes one of the families of the Kausikas, descended through Viśvāmitra from Kuśika who was brought up among the Pahlavas (see Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I. p. 351 ff.).

² See Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 188, note 201.

³ From the original pillar.

* Metre, Mālinī.

SCALE .17

B.—Bijayagadh Inscription of the Yaudheyas.

SCALE .30

C.—Bijayagadh Pillar Inscription of Vishnuvardhana.—The Year 428.

SCALE .03

J. P. FLEET. SO. C. 18.

W. BRIGGS PHOTO-LITH.

TRANSLATION.

Here, he,—who is possessed of extensive victory and fame; who is the protector of the true religion of the warrior caste; who always cherishes princes; who is the protector of the army of the Pârthivas;¹ who day after day Śisupâla
—was created, as if he were a fifth *Lôkapâla*,² by (the god) Vidhâtri.

No. 58; PLATE XXXVI B.

BIJAYAGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE YAUDHEYAS.

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by myself in 1885, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 8, and is now edited for the first time. It is from a stone that was found by my copyists, built into the inside of the Fort wall, near the pillar which has on it the following inscription of the Varika Vishṇuvardhana, of the year 428, No. 59, Plate xxxviC., in the hill-fort of Bijayagadh or Bêjêgadh, about two miles to the south-west of Byânâ,³ the chief town of the Byânâ Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Bharatpur⁴ State in Râjputânâ.

The writing, which covers the whole front of the stone, about 1' 5½" broad by 2½" high, except for a margin of about an inch at the beginning of each line, is in a state of fairly good preservation, as far as it goes. But it is only a fragment of the original inscription. An indefinite amount is lost at the end of each line; and also an indefinite number of lines below line 2. Every effort was made to discover the rest of the inscription, but without success.—The average size of the letters is about ½". The characters must be considered as belonging to the northern class of alphabets; and the so-called Indo-Scythic form of the *m* stamps them at once as of decidedly early date. But they are of such a peculiarly ornate type, that, having no inscription of known date with which to compare them, it is not possible at present to suggest any definite period for them.—The language is Sanskrit; and the extant portion of the inscription is entirely in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

All the historical contents of the inscription, including the name, except perhaps the first syllable and part of the second, of the *Mahârâja* and *Mahâsêṇâpati* whose titles occur in line 1, are lost. The interest of the inscription lies in its being a record of the tribe of the Yaudhêyas, who are mentioned elsewhere in this volume only in line 22 of the Allahâbâd pillar inscription, No. 1 above, where they are included among the tribes subjugated by the Early Gupta king Samudragupta.

¹ See the introductory remarks.

² The four *Lôkapâlas*, or regents of the quarters of the world, are—Indra, of the east; Yama, of the south; Varuṇa, of the west; and Kuvêra, of the north.—The number is sometimes increased to eight, by the addition of Agni at the south-east, Sûrya at the south-west, Vâyu at the north-west, and Chandra at the north-east.

³ The 'Byana' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 50. Lat. 26° 57' N.; Long. 77° 20' E.—Other writers give the name as 'Baianâ, Bayâna, Biâna, and Biânâh;' but this is wrong; the name, of which the mediæval form is said to have been Bêhayânâ, is dissyllabic.—As regards Mr. A. C. L. Carlley's utterly untenable derivation of Byânâ from the name of the demon Bânâsura, see my remarks in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 9.—The ancient Sanskrit name of the place was Śrîpathâ; see *id.* pp. 8 f., and 10; and Vol. XV. p. 239.

⁴ The 'Bhurtpoor' of maps, &c.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Siddham [H*] Yaudh[é]ya-gaṇa-puraskṛitasya mahārāja-mahāsēnāpatēh
 pu
 2 brāhmaṇa-purōgam ch-ādhishṭhānam śarir-ādi-kuśalam prishṭvā likhaty=
 Asti Rasmā
 3
 3
 3

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! Of the *Mahārāja* and *Mahāsēnāpati*, who has been made the leader of the Yaudhēya tribe,
 and having asked the settlement, headed by the Brāhmanas, as to the health of (*their*) bodies &c., writes—
 "There is

No. 59; PLATE XXXVI C.

BIJAYAGADH STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF
VISHNUVARDHANA.

THE YEAR 428.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1871-72 by Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle, and was first brought to notice by him in 1878, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 59 ff., where he published Dr. G. Bühler's reading of the text and translation,¹ from an ink-impression supplied by himself, with a lithograph (Pl. Plate viii). It is on a monolith red-sandstone pillar that stands in a conspicuous position, near the south wall of the Fort, inside the hill-fort of Bijayagadh or Bējēgadh near Byānā,² the chief town of the Byānā Sub-Division of the Bharatpur State in Rājputānā. The pillar stands on a rubble masonry platform, which is about 13' 6" high and 9' 2" square at the top. The height of the pillar above the plinth is 25' 3". The base is square, to the height of 3' 8"; each face measuring 1' 6". Above this, the pillar is octagonal, for a length of 22' 7"; and it then tapers off to a point. The extreme top, however, is broken; and a metal spike, which projects from it, indicates that it was originally surmounted by a capital. The inscription is towards the south side of the pillar; it runs vertically down the pillar, and is read from the top downwards;³ and the lowest letter of line 3, the longest line, is about 7' 0" above the level of the plinth. The platform, on which the pillar stands, is plainly of much more recent construc-

¹ From the ink-impression.

² Several superscript vowels are legible along this line; but the consonants are all broken away and lost.

³ Both more or less mutilated in publication.

⁴ See page 351 above, and note 3.

⁵ On this point Mr. Carlleyle's account is exactly the opposite; but he is wrong; as is, in fact, shown by his further statement that line 2 is on the left of line 1, and so on; this could not be the case, if the inscription ran from the bottom upwards.

tion than the pillar itself; and this suggests that possibly the present position of the pillar is not its original one. On the south side of the pillar, towards the top of the square base, there is engraved, in two lines of rather rough Dēvanāgarī characters of about the tenth to the twelfth century A.D., *Śrī-yōgī Vra(bra)hmasāgara*, "the holy ascetic, Brahmasāgara;" with perhaps an imperfect date below, of (Vikrama-Saṁvat) 1008 (A.D. 951-52). And this may possibly indicate the period when the pillar was placed in its present position.

The writing, which covers a space of about 9' 4" broad by 2' 6½" high, is in a state of almost perfect preservation throughout.—The size of the letters varies from 1⅝" to 2". The characters must be regarded as belonging to the northern class of alphabets. They include the so-called Indo-Scythic form of *m*, quite in accordance with the date of the record. They also include, in line 1, forms of the numerical symbols for 8, 20, and 400.—The language is Sanskrit; and the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the *jihvāmūliya* in *yaśali-kula*, line 4; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, in *viñśēshu*, line 1, and *vañsa*, line 4; (3) the doubling throughout of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *puttrēṇa*, line 2; (4) the doubling of *p*, once, under the same circumstances, in *suppratishṭhita*, line 2; (5) the very exceptional doubling of *ś*, in conjunction with a following *r* and *y*, in *śśrēyō*, line 4, and *pañchadaśśyām*, line 2; (6) the doubling of *bh* in conjunction with a following *y*, in *abbhyudaya*, line 4; and (7) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *v*, in *puttrattva*, line 4.

The inscription is one of a *Rāja* named Vishṇuvardhana, of the Varika tribe. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, when the year four hundred and twenty-eight had expired; on the fifteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month Phālguna (February-March). The era is not stated; but the type of the characters indicates, with the locality of the inscription, that we must refer the date to the Mālava or Vikrama era, with the result of A.D. 371-72 expired, and A.D. 372-73 current. And this shews that the Varika Vishṇuvardhana was in all probability a feudatory of the Early Gupta king Samudragupta.¹ The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it only being to record the erection, by Vishṇuvardhana, of this pillar, which is called a *yūpa* or 'sacrificial post,' on the completion of a *puṇḍarikā*-sacrifice.

TEXT:

- 1 Siddham [1*] Kṛitēshu chaturshu varsha-satēshv=ashtāviñśēshu 400 20 8
- 2 Phālguna(na)-bahulasya pañchadaśśyām=ētasyām=pūrvvāyām² [1*]
- 3 Kṛitau puṇḍarikē yūpō=yam=pratishṭhāpitas=suppratishṭhita-rājya-nāmadhēyēna
śrī-Vishṇuvarddhanēna Varikēṇa Yaśōvarddhanā-sat-puttrēṇa
Yaśōrāta-sat-pauttrēṇa Vyāghrarāta-sat-prāpauttrēṇa⁴

¹ If we refer the date to the Śaka era, the result, A.D. 506-7, might perhaps be used to identify this Vishṇuvardhana with the king of the same name mentioned in the Mandasōr inscription of Mālava-Saṁvat 589 (A.D. 532-33). But there is nothing to justify us in assuming that the Śaka era was ever used in early times in this part of the country. Also, the form of *m*, as a northern letter, is too early for that period. And, as is shewn by his titles of *Rājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, as well as by the general tenor of his inscription, the Vishṇuvardhana of the Mandasōr record was a far greater person than this Vishṇuvardhana, the Varika.

² From the original stone.

³ Supply *tithau*.

⁴ The form of *ṇa* that occurs here differs from the form used in the other instances throughout this inscription, in the distinct loop on the right hand of the bottom of the letter.

- 4 śrīyājñā - dharmma - śśrēyô - bbhyudaya - yaśaḥ - kula - vaṇṣa - bhāga - bhôg - ābhivri-
ddhayê [11*] Siddhir=astu pushtir=astu śântir=astu jīvaputtrattvam=
astv=ishṭa-kām-āvāptir=astu śrā(śra)ddhā-vittê syâtām=iti¹ [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained ! Four centuries of years, together with the twenty-eighth (*year*), (*or in figures*) 400 (*ana*) 20 (*ana*) 8, having been accomplished ;² on the fifteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of (the month) Phālguna ;—on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as aforesaid :—

(Line 3.)—On the ceremony of the *puṇḍarīka*-sacrifice (*having been performed*), this sacrificial post has been caused to be set up by the *Varika*, the illustrious *Vishṇu-vardhana*, whose royalty³ and name are well established,—who is the excellent son of *Yaśôvardhana* ; (*and*) the excellent son's son of *Yaśôrâta* ; (*and*) the excellent son of the son's son of *Vyâghrarâta*,—for the purpose of increasing (*his*) splendour, sacrifices, religion, welfare (*in the other world*), prosperity, fame, family, lineage, good fortune, and enjoyment.⁴

(L. 4.)—Let there be success ! Let there be increase ! Let there be tranquillity ! Let there be the condition of (*his*) having a son who shall live ! Let there be the attainment of desires that are wished for ! May there be faith and wealth !

No. 60; PLATE XXXVII.

SPURIOUS GAYA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA.

THE YEAR 9.

THIS inscription, which is now published for the first time, is from a copper-plate that was obtained a few years ago by General Cunningham at *Gayâ*,⁵ the chief town of the *Gayâ* District in the Bengal Presidency, and was, I think, first brought to notice by him in 1883, in his *Book of Indian Eras*, page 53, where it is entered as being dated in the year 40. I obtained the original plate, for examination, from General Cunningham.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 8" by 7½". It is quite smooth, the edges having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. About half-way down the proper left side, the plate has laminated rather seriously ; and there is also a small crack just below this place, and another in the top of the plate, in the

¹ As is seen in the lithograph, there is no foundation whatever for the additional letter *yô* which, in Mr. Carlleyle's published lithograph, follows this *tī*, or, rather, the *kā* into which the *tī* was so gratuitously converted by him. The result was naturally such as to puzzle Dr. Bühler as to the close of the inscription.

² *kṛitēshu* ; see page 73 above, note 1.

³ Or, more technically, 'condition of being a *Rāja*.'

⁴ Or perhaps *bhāgabhōga* should be taken as one word, meaning 'enjoyment of taxes ; lordship, royalty ;' see Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v. *bhāgabhuja*, which is explained by 'enjoying taxes ; a king, a sovereign.'

⁵ The 'Gya' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 104 Lat. 24° 48' N. ; Long. 85° 3' E.

word *vāsakāt*; but, except at these places, the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. The plate is fairly thick and substantial; and the letters, which are shallow, do not shew through on the reverse side of it at all. The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool throughout.—Onto the proper right side of the plate, there is fused a seal, oval in shape, about $2\frac{7}{8}$ " by $3\frac{3}{8}$ ". It has, in relief on a countersunk surface,—at the top, Garuḍa, represented as a bird, standing to the front, with outstretched wings; and, below this, a legend in five lines, which, being also in relief, is so worn, that nothing of it can be read except a few disconnected letters here and there, and *Sam[u]drag[u]p[tah]*, very faintly, at the end of line 5. It must have contained a succinct recital of the genealogy, after the fashion of the Aśirgaḍh seal of Sarvavarman, No. 47 above, page 219, and the Sônpat seal of Harshavardhana, No. 52 above, page 231.—The weight of the plate, with the seal, is 2 lbs. 10 oz.—The average size of the letters is $\frac{3}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 14, forms of the numerical symbols¹ for 9 and 10.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout. In line 3-4, we have, instead of the usual expression *utsanna*, the word *uchchanna*, which, as used here, is, according to Sir Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, a Prākṛit corruption of the Sanskrit *utsanna*.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the doubling of *t* throughout, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *prapauttrasya*, line 4; *pittrôr*, line 8; and *sagôṭtrāya*, line 9; (2) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *ayôddhyâ*, line 1; (3) the occasional use of *b* for *v*, in *bô*, line 8, and *sambat*, line 14; and (4) the use of *v* for *b*, in *vrâhmaṇa*, lines 7 and 10; *vahṛichâya*, line 9; and *savralmachârîṇē*, line 9-10.

The inscription purports to be one of the Early Gupta king Samudragupta, and to record a charter issued from his camp at the city of Ayôdhyâ.² It purports to be dated, in numerical symbols,³ in the year nine (A.D. 328-29), on the tenth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Vaiśākha (April-May). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it simply being to record the grant to a Brâhmaṇ, ostensibly by Samudragupta, of the village of Rêvatikâ in the Gayâ *vishaya*.

The legend on the seal of this grant is in characters which present a very different appearance to those of the body of the inscription; as also does the copper of the seal, as compared with the substance of the plate; and the seal is in all probability a genuine one of Samudragupta, detached from some other plate. The inscription itself, however, is undoubtedly spurious. This is shewn conclusively, if by nothing else, by the fact that from *uchchhêttuh*, line 1, to *dauhittṛasya*, line 5, the epithets of Samudragupta are uniformly in the genitive case; the drafter of the inscription was copying from a grant of Chandragupta II. or some other descendant of Samudragupta;⁴ he only then recognised

¹ The symbol which I take to be meant for 9, was interpreted by Gen. Cunningham as 40. But it certainly is not 40. It resembles most the decimal figure 2. But the day of the month is distinctly marked by a form of the numerical symbol for 10. This shews that the sign here also is intended for a numerical symbol; and the only symbol to which it approximates, is that for 9.

² The modern Ajôdhyâ or Ajûdhyâ (the 'Oudh or Ajoodhia' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 87). Lat. 26° 48' N.; Long. 82° 14' E., on the south bank of the river 'Ghâgra or Ghôgra,' about four miles north-east of Faizâbad, the chief town of the Faizâbâd Division of Oudh in the North-West Provinces.

³ See note 1 above.

⁴ Compare the construction in the Mathurâ inscription of Chandragupta II., No. 4 above, page 25, and in the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 13 above, page 52.

that this construction would not suit a supposed inscription of Samudragupta himself which was required in accordance with the seal that was to be attached; and he promptly then adopted the nominative construction, *utpannah* *Samudragupta* without taking the trouble to correct the preceding passages. It is difficult to suggest any definite time for the fabrication of this grant; on the one side, some of the characters are antique, e.g. the forms of *k*, *p*, *m*, and *r*, and particularly *h*; on the other side others are comparatively modern, especially the *sh* in *valatkaushabhyām*, line 7-8. But it has the general appearance of having been made somewhere about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. Points which may hereafter serve to fix its date more definitely are (1) the use of the Prākṛit corruption *uchchhanna*, in line 3-4; and (2) the opening expression *mahā-nau-hasty-aśva &c.*, in line 1; the only other instances of similar expressions being in line 1 of the Dêô-Baraṇārka inscription of Jīvitagupta II., No. 46 above, page 215 and in line 1 of the Dighwā-Dubauli grant¹ of the *Mahā-ājā* Mahēndrapāla, of A.D. 761-62, and of the Bengal Asiatic Society's grant² of the *Mahārāja* Vināyakapāla, of A.D. 794-95.

TEXT.³

- 1 Ōm Svasti Mahā-nau-hasty-aśva-jayaskandhāvārāj(d)=Ā(a)yōddhyā-vāsakāt-sarvva-rāj-ōchchhēttu[h*] pri-
- 2 thivyām=a-pratirathasya chatur-udadhi-salil-aśvādita-yaśa[sô*] Dhanada-Varuṇ-Ēndr-Ā-
- 3 ntaka-samasya Kṛitānta-paraśōr=nyāy-āgat-ānēka-gô-hiranya-kôṭi-pradasya chir-ōchchha-
- 4 nn⁴-āśvamēdh-āharttu[h*] mahārāja-srī-Gupta-prapauttrasya⁵ mahārāja-srī-Ghaṭōtkacha-pauttrasya⁷
- 5 mahārājādhirāja-srī-Chandragupta-puttrasya⁸ Lichchhivi-dauhitrasya⁹ mahā-dēvyā[m*] Ku-
- 6 mā¹⁰radēvyām=utpanna[h*] paramabhāgavatô mahārājādhirāja-srī-Samudra-
- 7 gupṭaḥ Gayā-vaishayika-Rēvatikā-grāmē vrā(brā)hmaṇa-purōga-grāma-vala-
- 8 tkaushabhyām=āha I Ēva ch=ārtha[m*] viditam=bô(vô) bhavatv=ēśa(sha) grāmô mayā mātāpitrôr=ā-
- 9 tmanas=cha puṇy-ābhivṛddhayē Bhāradvāja-sagôṭtrāya Va(ba)hvṛichāya sav[r]ja(bra)hmachā-
- 10 riṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇa-Gôpadēvasvāminē s-ôparīkar-ôddēśēn=āgrahāratvēn=āti-

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV, p. 112.

² *id.* p. 140.

³ From the original plate.

⁴ There is a mark over the *śa*, which may be only a rust-mark, but which renders it a little doubtful whether *yaśō-dhanada* was engraved, or *yaśa dhanada* with an omission of *sō*. The other inscriptions, however, shew that the correct reading is *yaśasō dhanada &c.*

⁵ The other inscriptions all read *utsanna*.—Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, suggests that *uchchhanna*,—which, in the sense of 'uncovered,' is a regular derivative from *ud* + *chhad*,—is, in the sense of 'destroyed, fallen into disuse,' a Prākṛit corruption of *utsanna*, from *ud* + *sad*.

⁶ In order to render the inscription capable of translation, read *prapauttraḥ*. And, at the same time, correct all the preceding genitives into nominatives.

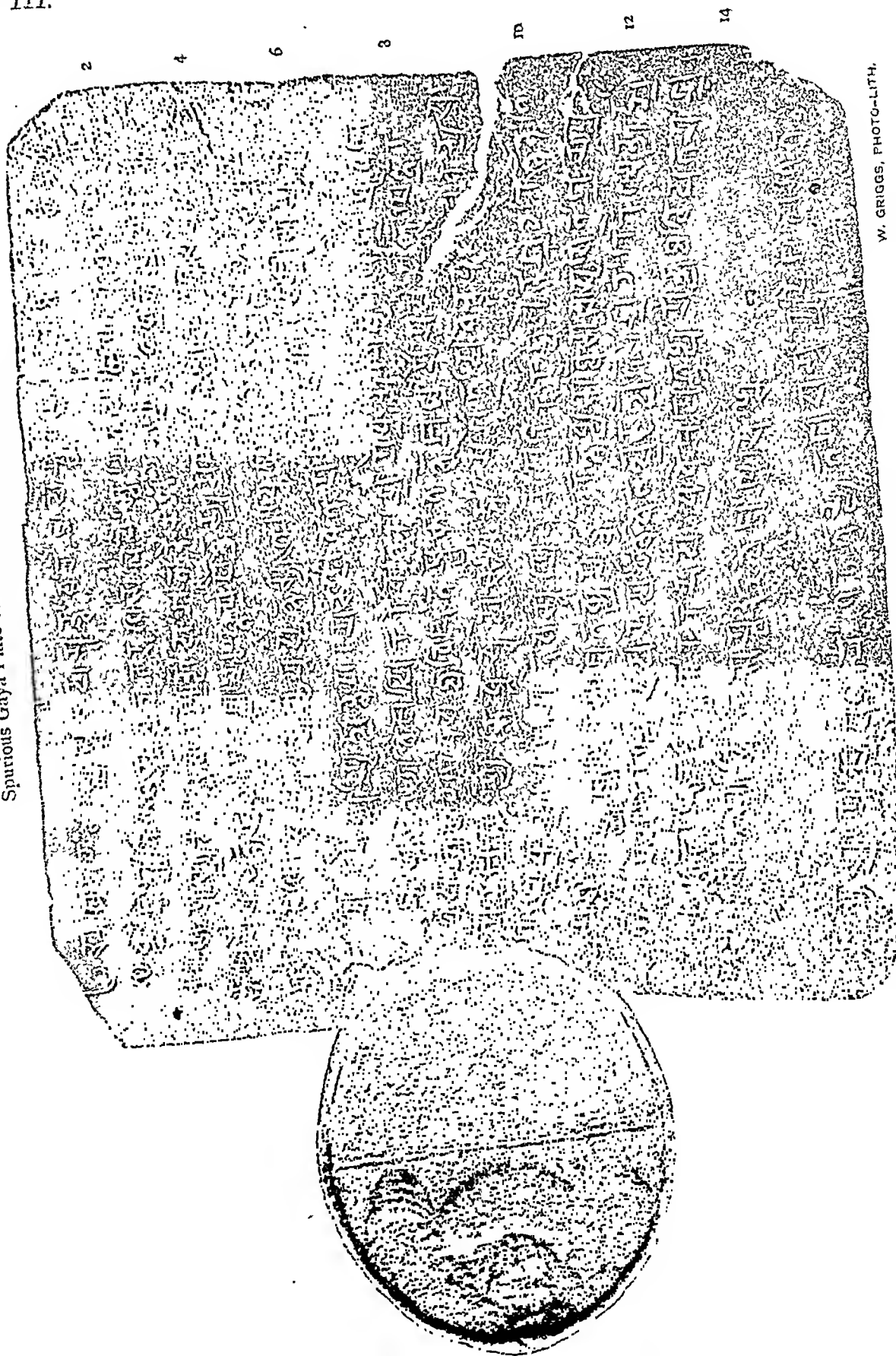
⁷ Read *pauttraḥ*.

⁸ Read *puttraḥ*.

⁹ Read *dauhitrāḥ*.

¹⁰ This *rā* was first engraved closer to the margin of the plate, and then, being indistinct there, was repeated.

Spurious Gaya Plate of Samudragupta.—The Year 9.



- 11 sṛiṣṭhaḥ [I*] tad=yushmābhīr=asya śrōtavyam=ājñā cha karttavyā sarvvē
 cha¹ sa²muchitā grāma-pra-
 12 tyayā mēya-hirany-ādayō dēyāḥ [I*] na ch=ē(ai)tat-prabhṛity=ētat-āgrahārikēṇ=
 [A*]nyad³-grā-
 13 m-ādi-karada-kuṭumbi-kāruk-ādayaḥ pravēśayita.yā ma(a)nyathā niyatam=ā(a)gra-
 14 hār-ākshēpa[h*] syād=iti [II*] .Samba(mva)t⁴ 9 Vaiśākha di 10 [II*]
 15 Anya-grām-ākshapaṭalādhikṛita-Dyūta-Gōpasvāmy-ādēśa-likhitāḥ⁵ [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From the victorious camp, full of great ships and elephants and horses, situated at (the city of) **Ayôdhyâ**,—the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the **Mahārājādhirāja**, the glorious **Samudragupta**,—who is the exterminator of all kings; who has no antagonist (*of equal power*) in the world; whose fame is tasted by the waters of the four oceans; who is equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka; who is the very axe of (the god) Kṛitānta; who is the giver of many millions of lawfully acquired cows and gold; who is the restorer of the *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice, that has been long in abeyance; who is the son of the son's son of the **Mahārāja**, the illustrious **Gupta**; who is the son's son of the **Mahārāja**, the illustrious **Ghaṭôtakha**; (*and*) who is the son of the **Mahārājādhirāja**, the glorious **Chandragupta (I.)**, (*and*) the daughter's son of **Lichchhivi**, begotten on the **Mahādēvi Kumâradēvi**,—says to the two village **Valatkaushans**,⁶ together with the Brāhmaṇs, at the village of **Rêvatikâ** belonging to the **Gayâ vishaya**;—

(Line 8.)—"Be it known to you! For the sake of increasing the religious merit of (*my*) parents and of myself, this village is granted by me, as an *agrahâra*, with the assignment of the *uparikara*, to the religious student, the Brāhmaṇ **Gōpasvāmin**, of the Bhârada-
 vāja *gôtra* (*and*) the Bahvricha (*śâkhâ*).

(L. 11.)—"Therefore attention should be paid to him by you; and (*his*) commands should be obeyed; and all the customary tributes of the village, consisting of that which is to be measured, gold, &c., should be given. And, from this time forth, the tax-paying cultivators, artizans, &c., of other villages, &c., should not be introduced by the *Āgrahârika* of this (*village*) (*for the purpose of settling in it and carrying on their occupations*); (*for*) otherwise there would certainly be a violation of (*the privileges of*) an *agrahâra*." The year⁷ 9; (the month) Vaiśākha; the day 10.

(L. 15.)—(*This deed*) has been written by the order of **Dyūta-Gōpasvāmin**, the **Akshapaṭalādhikṛita**⁸ of another village.

¹ *sa* was engraved here, and then corrected into *cha*.

² *cha* was engraved here, and then corrected into *sa*.

³ Read *ānya*.

⁴ As regards the interpretation of the first symbol, see page 255 above, note 1.

⁵ Supply *ullêkhô=yam*, or any similar words.

⁶ *Valatkaushan* is evidently a technical official title; but it occurs nowhere else; and I am not able to suggest an explanation of its meaning.

⁷ As regards the interpretation of the symbol, see page 255 above, note 1.

⁸ *Akshapaṭalādhikṛita*, meaning *lit.* 'he who is appointed to (the duties of) a depository of legal documents,' is an official title that is evidently synonymous with *Ākshapatalika* (see page 190 above, note 2).

No. 61; PLATE XXXVIII A.

UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 106.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 53 f., where he published his reading of the text, and a translation of it by Rājā Siva Prasad, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xix).—And in 1882, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 309 f., Dr. E. Hultsch, working from General Cunningham's facsimile, published his own revised reading of the text, and translation of it.

This is another inscription from Udayagiri,¹ in the Bhēlsā Sub-Division of the Īśāgaḍh District of Scindia's Dominions in Central India. It is inside a cave-temple, which General Cunningham has named "No. 10, the Jain Cave." The cave, which is about a hundred yards beyond "No. 9, the Amṛita Cave," is readily discernible from the plain, by means of the rough stone wall which forms the front of the main part of it; it is high up in the north-western end of the hill, and is not very easy of access, in consequence of its having to be entered by a narrow and steep flight of steps on the very edge of the cliff. The inscription is on the smoothed face of the rock, on a partly natural and partly artificial low arch, leading from the principal room of the cave to the next room towards the east.

The writing, which covers an irregular space of about 1' 3½" broad by 7¾" high, has suffered a little damage at the beginning and end of some of the lines, owing to the chipping of the angular edges of the rock; but the readings here can be completed without any doubt; and the rest of the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation. Below the last line, there is a row of five roughly cut modern numerals, reading 31245, the tops of which can be seen in the lithograph; but they have no connection with the inscription.—The average size of the letters is about ⅔". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening invocation of the saints or perfect ones, the inscription is in verse throughout.—The orthography presents nothing calling for special remark.

The inscription refers itself to the period of the Early Gupta kings; but not to the reign of any particular sovereign. The recorded date, however, shews that it belongs to the time of Kumārāgupta. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and six (A.D. 425-26), on the fifth solar day of the dark fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November). It is a Jain inscription; and the object of it is to record the installation of an image of the *Tīrthaṅkara* Pārśva, or Pārśvanātha, at the mouth of the cave.

TEXT:

1 Namah siddhēbhyaḥ [11*] Śrī-saṃyutānām guṇa-tōyadhīnām Gupt-
ānvayānām nṛipa-sattamānām

¹ See page 22 above, and note 1.² From the original stone.³ Metre Indravajrā.

- 2 rājyē kulasy=ābhivivarddhamānē shadbhir=yyutē varsha-śatē=tha māsē [11*]
 Su¹-Kārttikē bahula-dinē=tha pañchamē
- 3 guhā-mukhā sphatā-vikaṭ-ōtkatām=imām jita-dvishō Jina-vara-Pārśva-
 samjñikām Jin-ākṛitīm sama-damavān=a-
- 4 chīkarat [11*] Āchāryya²-Bhadr-ānvaya-bhūshaṇasya śishyō hy=asāv=āryya-
 kul-ōdgatasya āchāryya-Gōśa-
- 5 rmma-munēs=sutas=tu Padmāvatā³=aśvapātēr=bbhaṭasya [11*] Parair⁴=a-
 jēyasya Ripughna-māninas=sa Sañghi-
- 6 lasy=ēty=abhivīśrutō bhuvī sva-samjñayā Śaṅkara-nāma-śabditō vidhāna-
 yuktām yati-mā-
- 7 rggam=Asthitaḥ [11*] Sa⁵ uttarāṇām sadṛśē Kurūṇām udag-diśā-dēśa-varē
 prasūtaḥ
- 8 kshayāya karm-āri-gaṇasya dhīmān yad=atra puṇyam tad=
 apāśasarjja [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Reverence to the Perfect Ones!¹ In the augmenting reign of the family of the best of kings, belonging to the **Gupta lineage**, who are endowed with glory (*and*) are oceans of virtuous qualities;—in a century of years, coupled with six; and in the excellent month of Kārttika; and on the fifth day of the dark fortnight;—

(Line 3.)—He⁷ who has conquered the enemies⁸ (*of religion*), (*and*) is possessed of tranquillity and self-command, caused to be made (*and set up*) in the mouth of (*this*) cave, this image of a Jina, richly endowed with (*the embellishments of*) the expanded hoods of a snake⁹ and an attendant female divinity, (*and*) having the name of Pārśva, the best of the Jinas.

(L. 4.)—He is, indeed, the disciple of the saint, the *Āchārya* Gōśarman, who was the ornament of the lineage of the *Āchārya* Bhadra (*and*) sprang from a noble family; but he

¹ Metre, Ruchirā.

² Metre, Indravajrā.

³ We have here the locative case of a base *padmāvatī*, which, to suit the metre, is substituted for the proper base *padmāvatī*, the locative of which would be *padmāvatyām*.

⁴ Metre, Vamśastha.

⁵ Metre, Upēndravajrā.

⁶ *siddhēbhyaḥ*. These Siddhas are not to be confused with the mythical semi-divine Siddhas who are mentioned, *e.g.*, in line 1 of No. 18 above, page 81. They are saints, who by austere practices have attained *siddhi* or 'perfection or final beatitude' (see the remarks on *siddham*, page 25 above, note 4) in the shape of some or all of the five states of *śalōkatā*, 'residence in the same heaven with any particular deity'; *sarāpatā*, 'identity of form with the deity, or assimilation to him'; *sāmīpya*, 'nearness to the deity'; *sāyujya*, 'absorption into the deity'; and *sārshṭitā* or *samānaiśvaryatva*, 'equality with the supreme being in power and all the divine attributes.'—The Jain term *siddha* corresponds pretty closely to the Buddhist *samyak-sambuddha*, which occurs in line 1 of No. 11 above, page 46.

⁷ *i. e.* Śaṅkara, whose name occurs in line 6 below.

⁸ The allusion is to the *ari-śaṭka* or *ari-śaḍ-varga*; see page 156 above, note 5.

⁹ Dr. Hultsch wrongly read *sphuṭa*, and thus missed the meaning of this passage.—For *vikaṭā*, which I have translated by 'an attendant female divinity,' see Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, *s.v.*, where he explains it by 'a kind of female divinity, peculiar to Buddhists.'—The image referred to in this inscription, is not now in the cave. But, in support of my explanation of the passage, we may refer to a precisely similar image, in the Jain cave at Bādāmi, described in *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 25. It represents the same Jina, Pārśvanātha, with a five-hooded snake over him as a kind of nimbus, and a female on the right side, with a serpent's hood, holding up the rod of the umbrella that shades him

is more widely renowned on the earth (*as being*) the son, (*begotten*) on Padmāvati,¹ of the *Aśvapati*,² the soldier Saṅghila, who, unconquerable by (*his*) enemies, took himself to be a very Ripughna;³—by his own appellation, he is spoken of under the name of *Śaṅkara*;—(*and*) he has adhered to the path of ascetics, conformable to the sacred precepts.

(L. 7.)—Born in the region of the north, the best of countries, which resembles (*in beatitude*) the land of the Northern Kurus,⁴—he, the wise one, has set aside whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), for the purpose of destroying the band of the enemies⁵ of religious actions.

No. 62; PLATE XXXVIII B.

SANCHI STONE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 131.

THIS inscription was first brought to notice in 1837, in the *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 451 ff., where Mr. James Prinsep published a very fair lithograph of it (*id.* Plate xxvi.), reduced from copies on cloth and paper made by Captain Edward Smith, of the Engineers, and, with it, his own reading of the text, and a translation of it.

This is another inscription from *Sāñchi*,⁶ in the Diwāṅgañj Sub-Division of the Bhôpāl State in Central India. It is on the outer side of the centre rail in the fourth row outside and on the south side of the eastern gateway, and in a re-entering angle of the railing, of the Great *Stāpa*.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2 5" broad by 2' 0" high, is in a very fair state of preservation, every letter being, with care, legible from beginning to end; but, owing to the discolouration of the stone from lapse of time, it is much easier to read in the ink-impression and lithograph, than on the original stone.—The size of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{3}$ " to 1". As in the case of the *Sāñchi* inscription of Chandragupta II. of the year 93, No. 5 above, page 29, Plate iiiB., the characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; they are not so carefully formed as the characters of that inscription: but,

¹ See page 259 above, note 3.

² *Aśvapati*, *lit.* 'lord of horses,' appears to be a technical official title.—See Prof. F. Kiellhorn's note on the analogous term *Gajapati*, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 9, note 52.

³ Or we may translate "took himself to be the slayer of (*all his*) foes."—But Ripughna seems to be intended as a proper name, and as a synonym for Ripunjaya, which was the name of three or four Purāṇic kings and heroes; or for Śatrughna, which was the name of one of the brothers of Rāma. We may also compare the name of Śatrughnarāja, in No. 55 above, lin. 19. page 237.

⁴ The Kurus, one of the tribes of India, were divided into two branches, the northern and the southern. Uttarakuru, or the country of the Northern Kurus, is supposed to be a region beyond the most northern range of the Himālaya mountains, and is described as a country of everlasting happiness.

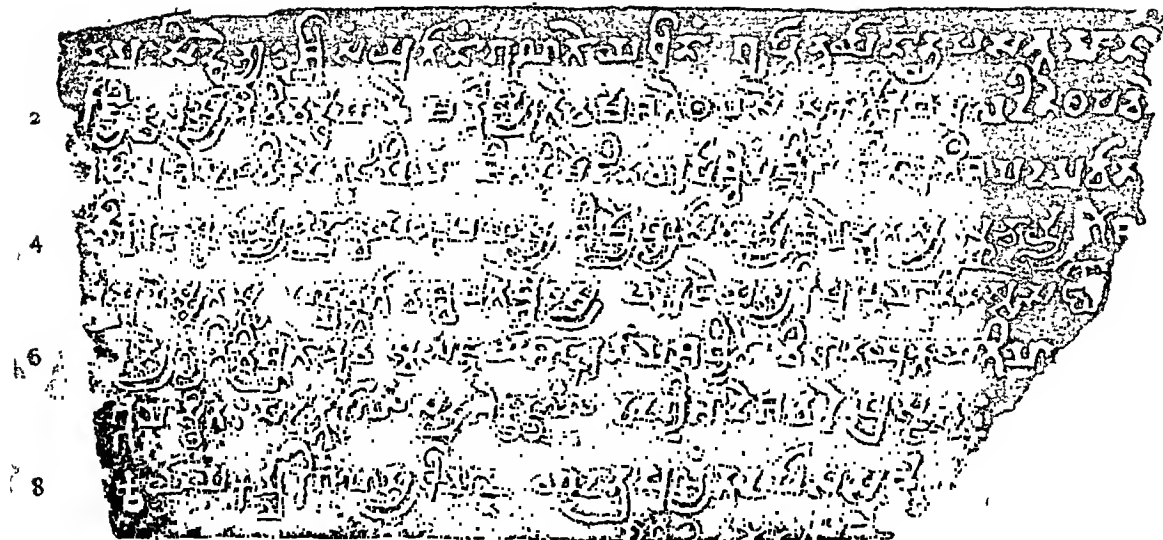
⁵ Here, again, the allusion is to the *ari-shaḍ-varga*; see page 156 above, note 5.

⁶ See page 29 above, and note 2.—In connection with what I have said there, regarding the origin of the name *Sāñchi*, I would add that we should compare, with *Sāñchi* or *Sāchi* and *Kāchi*, such instances as *Tōṇḍal* and *Bōṇḍal*, two villages next to each other, separated only by a stream, in the Mālsiras Tāluka or Sub-Division of the Shōlāpur District; and *Histrē* and *Phistrē*, two contiguous villages in the Karmājēni Tāluka of the same District. Similar rhyming names may be found all over the country.

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM.

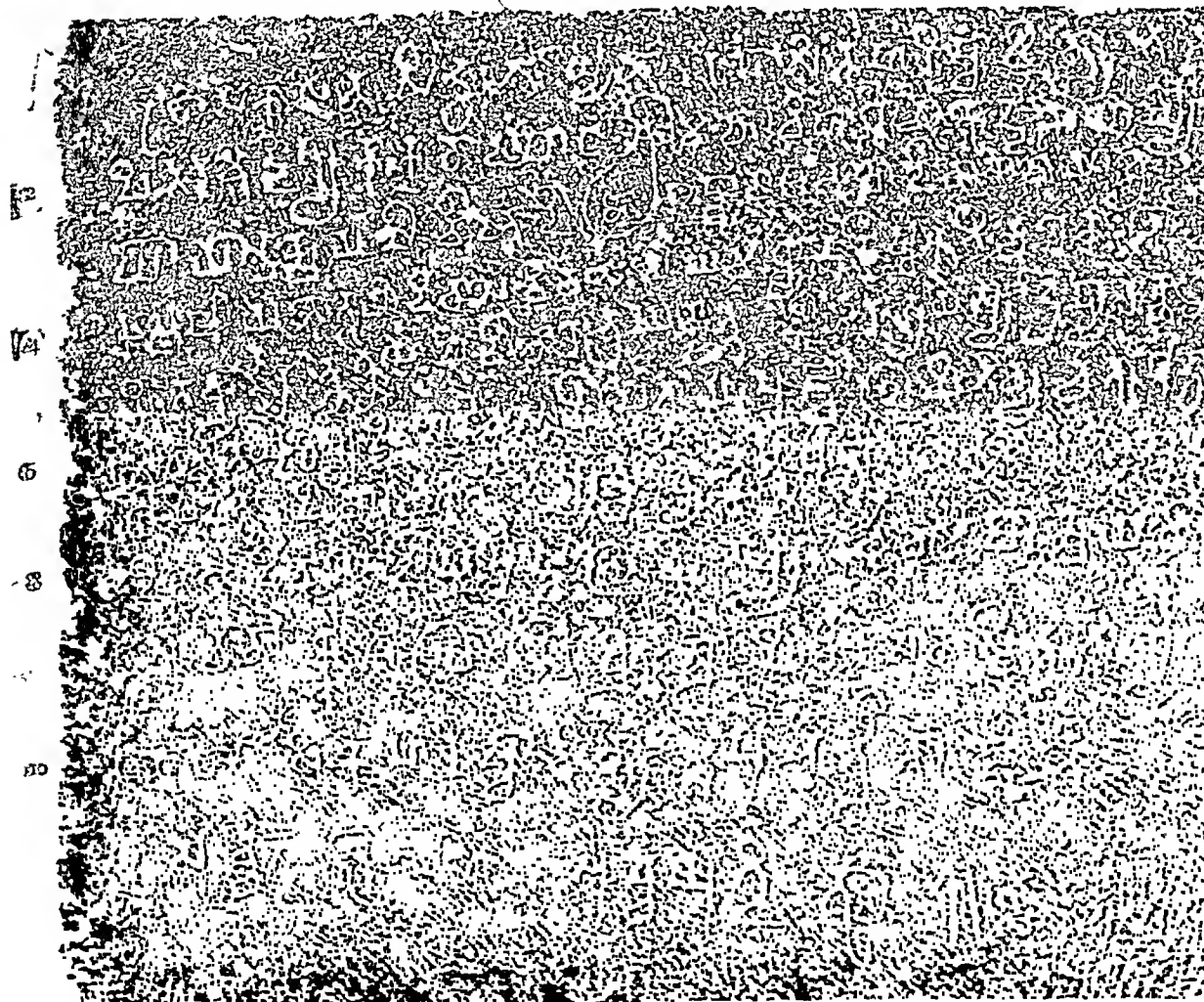
Pla

A.—Udayagiri Cave Inscription.—The Year 106.



SCALE .40

B.—Sanchi Inscription.—The Year 131.



allowing for this, the details shew no particular development. In line 11, they include forms of the **numerical symbols** for 1, 5, 30, and 100.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout. In *pravishṭaka*, line 4, we have to notice the affix *ka* which I have commented on at page 69 above.—In respect of **orthograpny**, the only point that calls for remark, is the doubling of *v*, after the *anusvāra*, in *saṃvvat*, line 11.

The **inscription** does not refer itself to the reign of any king; but the date recorded in it, allots it to the time of either **Kumāragupta**, of the **Early Gupta** dynasty, or his son and successor **Skandagupta**. It is dated, in numerical symbols,¹ in the year one hundred and thirty-one (A.D. 450-51), on the fifth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Aśvayuj (September-October). It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record the grant, by the *Upāsikā* or lay-worshipper **Harisvāminī**, the wife of the *Upāsaka* Sanasiddha, of certain sums of money to the *Ārya-Saṃgha*, or community of the faithful, at the great *vihāra* or Buddhist convent of **Kākanādabōṭa**,—i.e. the great *Stūpa* at Sāñchi,²—for the purpose of feeding one *Bhikshu* day by day, and of maintaining lamps in the shrines of Buddha.

TEXT.³

- 1 S[iddha]m⁴ [11*] Upāsaka-Sanasiddha-bhāryayā upāsik[ā*]-Harisvāminyā
mātā-
- 2 pitaram⁵=uddiśya **Kākanādabōṭa**-śrī-mahā-vihārē chāturddiśāy=āryya-saṃ-
- 3 ghāya akshaya⁶-nivī dattā dīnārā dvādaśa [1*] ēśhām dīnārāṇām
yā vṛiddhi-
- 4 r=upajāyatē tayā divasē-divasē saṃgha-madhya-praviṣṭaka-bhikshur=ēkaḥ
bhōja-
- 5 yitavyaḥ [11*] Ratna-grihē=pi dīnāra-trayaṃ dattaṃ [1*] [ta]d-dīnāra-
trayaśya vṛi[d*]dhyā ratna-grihē
- 6 bhagavatō Buddhasya divasē-divasē dīpa-trayaṃ prajvālayitavyaṃ [11*]
Chatur-Buddh-āsa-
- 7 nē=pi dattaḥ dīnāra ēkaḥ [1*] tasya vṛiddhyā chatur-Buddh-āsanē
bhagavatō Buddhasya
- 8 divasē-divasē dīpaḥ prajvālayitavyaḥ [11*] Ēvam=ēsh=ākshaya-nivī
- 9 ā-chandr-ārka-sīlā-lēkhyā svāminī-Sanasiddha-bhāryayā
- 10 upāsik[ā*]-Harisvāminyā pravartitā iti [11*]
- 11 Saṃvvat⁷ 100 30 1 Aśvayug=di 5 11

¹ Gen. Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 193) read the first symbol as 300. But the two marks on the right side, required to convert 100 into 300, are entirely wanting; and he must have been misled by the natural marks of the stone becoming exaggerated in an imperfect ink-impression.

² See page 31 above.

³ From the original stone.

⁴ This word is in the margin, before *upāsaka*. The traces that remain of it are very faint.

⁵ Read *mātāpitarāv*.

⁶ The initial *a* of this word is badly formed, and is partly run into the *ya* of *saṃghāya*. Perhaps *saṃghāy=ākshaya* was being engraved, as required by *saṃdhi*, and then the initial *a* was inserted.

⁷ As regards the reading of the first symbol, see note 1 above.

TRANSLATION.

Perfection has been attained! By the *Upāsikā* Harisvâminî, the wife of the *Upāsaka* Sanasiddha, for the sake of (*her*) parents, twelve *dînâras* are given, (*as*) a permanent endowment, to the community of the faithful, collected from the four quarters of the world, at the holy great *vihâra* of Kâkanâdabôṭa. With the interest that accrues of these *dînâras*, day by day one *Bhikshu*, who has been introduced into the community, should be fed.

(Line 5.)—Also three *dînâras* are given in the jewel-house.¹ With the interest of these three *dînâras*, day by day three lamps of the divine Buddha should be lit in the jewel-house.

(L. 6.)—Also, one *dînâra* is given in the place where (*the images of*) the four Buddhas are seated.² With the interest of this, day by day a lamp of the divine Buddha should be lit in the place where (*the images of*) the four Buddhas are seated.

(L. 8.)—Thus this permanent endowment,—written upon stone (*so as to endure*) for the same time with the moon and the sun,—has been accomplished by the *Upāsikā* Harisvâminî, the noble lady,³ the wife of Sanasiddha.

(L. 11.)—The year⁴ 100 (*and*) 30 (*and*) 1 ; (the month) Āsvayuj ; the day 5.

No. 63; PLATE XXXIXA.

MATHURA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 135.

THIS inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice in 1871, in the *Four. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 184 f.*, where Professor J. Dowson published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate ii. No. 8) reduced from General Cunningham's ink-impression.—And this rendering of the inscription was reprinted, with a few corrections, in 1873, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. p. 36 f.*, accompanied by a fresh lithograph (*id.* Plate xvi. No. 22).

The inscription is on the pedestal of a broken standing statue that was found in the Jail Mound at Mathurâ,⁵ the chief town of the Mathurâ District in the North-West Pro-

¹ *ratna-griha* ; see page 33 above, note 5.

² *chatur-Buddh-āsana*.—As pointed out by Gen. Cunningham in his *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 191 f., this is explained by four statues of Buddha, seated, one opposite each entrance, which are in the circular enclosure that runs round the *Stūpa*, inside the railing. Owing, I suppose, to alterations made in the course of the restorations that have been carried out at Sāñchi, the statue at the south entrance is now a seated statue, similar in general design to the statues at the north, east, and west entrances ; it is evidently the original statue, which had somehow been shifted, now restored to its proper place ; and the standing statue, which was opposite the southern entrance when Gen. Cunningham wrote his description, now stands a little to the west of it.

³ *svâminî*.—Or perhaps the word stands here for the fuller title, *Vihârasvâminî*, which occurs in the next inscription ; see page 263 below, note 7.

⁴ As regards the reading of the first symbol, see page 261 above, note 1.

⁵ See page 26 above, and note 2.

vinces. When I examined it, it was in the Government Museum at Allahâbâd ; but it has now, I understand, been transferred to the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. Of the statue itself, all that remains is the feet, with part of a small kneeling figure at each side ; and there is thus nothing to shew its nature ; but, from the tenour of the inscription, it must have been a standing image of Buddha.

At the commencement of the inscription, in the margin, there is engraved a Buddhist *dharmachakra*, or 'wheel of religion,' an emblem the object of which appears to be to denote the way in which religion encompasses and envelops everything.—The writing covers a space of about 1' 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high ; and is in a state of very good preservation, except in the last line, of which almost the whole of the last part is broken away and lost.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 1, forms of the numerical symbols for 5, 20, 30, and 100.—The language is Sanskrit. The first two lines are in prose, and the rest in verse.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of *v*, after the *anusvâra*, in *saṃvatsara*, line 1.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king ; but, from its date, it appears to belong to the time of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta ; since his father, Kumâragupta, having commenced to reign in at least the year 96, can hardly have continued on the throne up to the present date. It is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, in the year one hundred and thirty-five (A.D. 454-55), and on the twentieth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Pushya (December-January). From the expressions used, as well as from the emblem on the margin of the stone, it is evidently a Buddhist inscription ; and the object of it is to record the gift of the statue, on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Saṃvatsara-śatê pañcha-strīś²-ôttaratamê 100 30 5 Pushya-mâsê
divasê vi[m̃]ś[ê] di 20 [1*] Dêya-dharm[ô]=yaṃ vihârasvâminy[â]
2 Dêvatâyâ³ [11*] Yad=atra puṇyaṃ tad=bhavatu mâtâpitrôḥ sarvva-
sat[t*]vânâñ=cha anuttara-jñân⁴-âptayê⁵ ||
3 Saubhâgyaṃ⁶ pratiru(rû)patâ guṇavatî kîrtis=sapatna-kshayaḥ śrîman[t]ô
vibhavâ bhavâ[ḥ*] sukha-phalâ nirvâṇam=aṃtê śivam
4 a-stabdhâ(?)ni bhavanti dâna-niratau chittam niyôjy=aikadâ [—] î [— — ∪]
vichâ(?)râṇa[∪ ∪]dhiyâṃ [— — ∪ — —] i [∪] yâṃ [11*]

TRANSLATION.

In a century of years, increased by the thirty-fifth (year), (or in figures) 100 (and) 30 (and) 5 ; in the month Pushya ; on the twentieth day, (or in figures) the day 20 ;—this is the appropriate religious gift of the *Vihârasvâminî*⁷ Dêvatâ. Whatever religious

¹ From the original stone.

² Read *trīṃś*.

³ Read *dêvatâyâḥ*.

⁴ This *n* is rather an anomalous one ; but the character cannot stand for anything else.

⁵ There is no objection to the present reading ; but we usually have *avâptayê*.

⁶ Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

⁷ *Vihârasvâminî*, lit. 'mistress (lady-superintendent) of a *vihâra*,' seems, not to be a technical religious title denoting an office held by females, but to mean simply 'the wife of a *Vihârasvâmin*;' see page 279 below, note 5.—We may compare *Daṇḍanâyakîti*, in line 40-41 of the Kargudari in-

merit (*there is*) in this (*act*),—let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by (*her*) parents and by all sentient beings !

(Line 3.)—Good fortune; the condition of being a model (*worthy of imitation*), abounding in virtuous qualities; fame; the destruction of the enemies (*of religion*);¹ riches abounding in prosperity, births that result in happiness; (*and*) finally, an auspicious *nirvāṇa*;—(*all these*) are not permanent (?) ;² having once fixed the thoughts upon the happiness of making gifts,

No. 64: PLATE XXXIX B.

GADHWA INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription was discovered by General Cunningham in 1874-75 or 1876-77, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 10 f., where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate v. Nos. 2 and 3).

It is another inscription from Gadhwā,³ in the Karchhanā Sub-Division of the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. It was found on pulling down a ruined wall; and is on two faces of a fragment of a square sandstone pillar which had been cut into four beams by splitting it down the middle of each face, in order to adapt it to some later building purposes. The other pieces were not found. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The writing includes the remains of two separate records, which, however, seem to refer to one and the same object of donation. On that face of the stone which is represented in the left part of the lithograph, we have the remains of fourteen lines, covering a space of about $3\frac{3}{4}$ " broad by $1' 2\frac{3}{4}"$ high; and, on the other side, the remains of eight lines, covering a space of about $6\frac{1}{2}"$ broad by $11\frac{1}{2}"$ high. Such of the writing as remains, is fairly well preserved; but of course some of the letters are doubtful from want of the context to explain them.—The size of the letters varies from $\frac{3}{8}"$ to $\frac{1}{2}"$. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of precisely the same type as those of Nos. 7, 8, and 9 above, Plate ivB. C. and D. They include, in lines 18 and 19, forms of the numerical symbols for 1 and 2.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anustāra*, before *ś*, in *viśatī*, line 16.

From the letters visible at the end of line 1, the inscription may belong to the time of the Early Gupta king Kumāragupta. The details of the date, however, have been

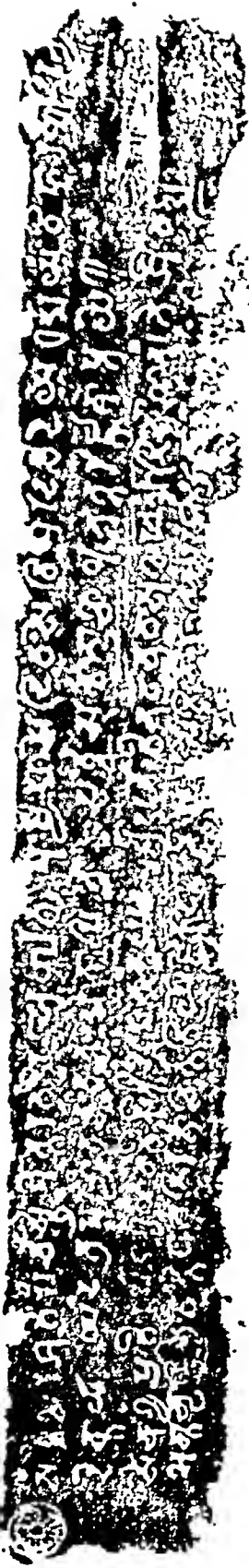
scription of Śaka-Saṁvāt 1030 (*Jrd. Art.* Vol. X. p. 252, and note 20); it means, not 'a female Leader of the Forces,' but 'the wife of a *Dandanāyaka*.' Modern instances of finding appellations for women in the official titles of their husbands, are afforded by the Kanarese *Grādashālī*, and the Marāṭhī *Pāṭīlī*, as used to designate the wife of the *Grāda* or *Pāṭīl*, the village-headman.

¹ The allusion is to the *arīśatā-varga* or *arīśatā*; see page 156 above, note .

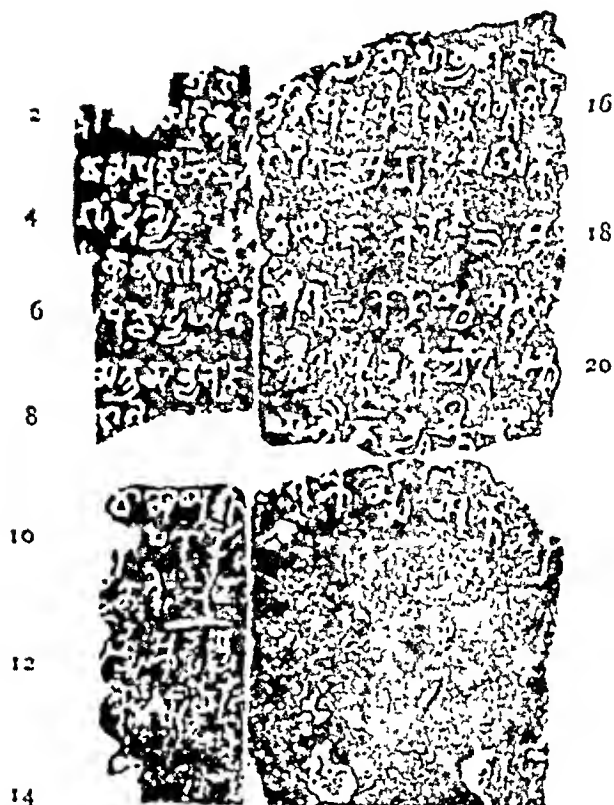
² According to the Buddhist doctrine, it would appear that even *nirvāṇa*, or the extinction of existence, is not a permanent state, and does not free the individual who attains it from the liability of future births, unless it is followed by *parinirvāṇa*, or absolute destruction of identity by complete absorption into the divine essence.

³ See page 26 above, and note 1.

B.—Gadhwa Inscription.



SCALE .30



SCALE .25

C.—Kosam Image Inscription
of the Maharaja Bhimavarman.—The Year 139.



SCALE .33

D.—Gadhwa Inscription.—The Year 148



entirely destroyed. The remnant of the inscription does not display any sectarian character. The object of it was to record certain grants to a *sattrā*, or charitable hall or almshouse.

TEXT.¹*First Part.*

- 1 śr. ku.²
 2 r. sattrā yā(?) 9(?)
 3 [di]vasa-pūrvāyām ma-
 4 guptasya-iva da . y .
 5 [A]nantaguptāya(?)ā
 6 puṇy-āpyāyan-ā-
 7 [rttharh] sattrā-sā[mā*]nya-bhōja-
 8 [na] [dī]nārāih
 9 vāsō-yugā-
 10 parō di-
 11 [nāra] dīnārāih dē(?)va-
 12 [Yaś=ch=ainarh] dharmma-skandharh vyu-
 13 [chchhindyāt=sa pañchabhīr=mahāpāta]kaiḥ sa[ni]yu-
 14 ktaḥ syād=iti [II]

Second Part.

- 15 sat[t*]ra-sāmānya-bhōjanē
 16 prati suvarṇa-ekān-na-viṇṣatibhi[h]
 17 kārītāḥ [I*] Brāhma(?)nō mayika
 18 dvayam 2 karōṭa 2 bra
 19 yugam 1 koṭṭayba sukaṇ
 20 dakṣhiṇa-kūla-kañchaḍarh pakṣha [II*]
 21 Yaś=ch=ainarh vyuchchhin[dy]ā[t=sa pañchabhīr=mahā]-
 22 [pā]takais=sa[rh*]yuktāḥ [s]y[ād=iti II]

TRANSLATION.

It is impossible to give any connected rendering of the contents of this inscription. We can only note that, in the First Part, we may perhaps have remnants of the name of Kumāragupta in line 1-2; that there is the name of Anantagupta or Anantaguptā in line 5, evidently belonging to some private person; and that lines 7 to 12 appear to have recorded certain grants, fixed in *dīnāras*, for the purpose of providing food in a *sattrā* or 'almshouse,' and also to provide pairs of upper and lower garments. It ends with the usual imprecation against interfering with the continuance of the grant.

The Second Part, again, refers to food in an almshouse, recording something in connection with it at a cost of nineteen gold coins of the kind called *suvarṇa*. Other details follow, including two *karōṭas* or 'basins or cups,' and one pair [of upper and lower garments]. Then follows apparently a grant of some land, on the south bank of a river. And the inscription winds up, as before, with the usual imprecation against interfering with the grants.

¹ From the original stone.² Possibly the original had *śrī-Kumāraguptasya*.

No. 65; PLATE XXXIX C.

KOSAM STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE
MAHARAJA BHIMAVARMAN.

THE YEAR 189.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 3, where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (*ib.* Plate II. No. 3).

Kōsam,¹ the ancient Kauśāmbī, is a small village near the left bank of the Jamnā, about eight miles to the south of Kanri,² the chief town of the Kanri Parganā in the Manjhanpur or Manjhandpur Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on the broken base of a sculptured standing group of Śiva and Pārvatī that was found buried in a field near the large monolith pillar inside the fort, which is described in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 309 ff.

The writing, which covers the whole face of the stone, measuring about 10½' broad by 2' high, is in a state of very fair preservation, as far as it goes. But it is only a fragment, as at least one line is almost entirely destroyed below line 2; and it is also impossible to say how much has been lost at each side of the stone.—The average size of the letters is about ⅓'. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include forms of the numerical symbols for 7, 9, 30, and 100, and perhaps³ for 2.—The language is Sanskrit; and the extant portion of the inscription is all in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription is one of a *Mahādāya* named Bhimavarman, who, judging by the date, must have been a feudatory of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year one hundred and thirty-nine (A.D. 458-59), and the seventh solar day, perhaps of the second fortnight of a month, or perhaps of the second month of a season;⁴ but the details here are broken away and lost. It is evidently a Śaiva inscription; and the object of it must have been to record the gift or installation of the sculpture on the base of which it is engraved.

¹ The 'Kosam' and 'Kodm Khera' of maps &c. in *Indian Atlas*, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 20' N., Long. 81° 20' E.—Khera is a mistake for *Kheri*; the village consisting of two parts, of which one is *Kheri* or *Khera*, and the other is *Kheri* or *Khera*.

² The 'Kanri' of maps.

³ See note 4 below.

⁴ Before the word *śiva* there are two marks which seem to be the numerical symbol 2; and the passage might be completed either in accordance with the method of, for instance, the date of the Nāgā inscription at Palamou, 'in the year 180,000, 100 in the second fortnight, 2 of the first season'—or the 180,000 day, 13' (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IV. part II. No. 180); or the date of the Mahābhārata inscription at Udaypur 'in the 24 (25) of the first month of the rainy season on the 180,000 day' (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. page No. 8). But I know of no other instance of such an ancient method being continued as late as the period of the present inscription; and this makes it doubtful whether the signs in question really are the numerical symbol 2.

TEXT.¹

1 Mah[ā*]r[ā]jasya śrī-Bhīmavarmanṇaḥ samva[t*] 100 30 9

 2 2(?)² diva³ 7 [1*] ètad-[d*]ivasa kumaramê

 3 pa

TRANSLATION.

..... (In the government) of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Bhīmavarman* ;
 —the year 100 (and) 30 (and) 9; 2 (?)⁴; the day 7;—(on)
 this day

No. 66; PLATE XXXIX D.

GADHWA STONE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 148.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 11, where he published his reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate v. No. 4).—This rendering of the inscription has remained the only published version of it up to the present time. But in 1882, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. page 311, note 3, Dr. E. Hultzsch pointed out that the correct interpretation of the date gave the year 148; not 140, as read by General Cunningham.

This is another inscription from *Gadhwa*,⁵ in the Karchhanā Sub-Division of the Allahābād District in the North-West Provinces. It is on a sandstone fragment that was found in the pavement of the Daśavatāra temple of Viṣṇu, and is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

With the exception of a margin of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " at the top and bottom, and at the end of the lines, the inscription covers the entire front of the stone, measuring about 2' 4" broad by $7\frac{3}{4}$ " high. The **writing** is a good deal damaged, but can be made out satisfactorily with a little trouble. It is, however, only a fragment; since the first part of each line, containing nearly as much as is now extant, has been cut away in adapting the stone to some later building purpose, and this part of the stone has not been found.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{7}{8}$ ". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the entire inscription is in prose.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *chatvāriṅśad* and *viṅśati*, line 1; (2) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *chittra*, line 3; and (3) the doubling of *v*, after the *anusvāra*, in *saṃvatsara*, line 1.

¹ From Gen. Cunningham's ink-impression; so also the lithograph.

² See page 266 above, note 4.

³ i.e. *divasa*, or *divasā*.

⁴ See page 266 above, note 4.

⁵ See page 36 above, and note 1.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of some particular king; but his name has been entirely broken away and lost in the first half of line 1. The recorded date, however, shews that it was either of the time of the Early Gupta king Skandagupta, or immediately after his reign. It is dated, in words, in the year one hundred and forty-eight (A.D. 467-68), on the twenty-first solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Māgha (January-February). It is a Vaishṇava inscription. And the object of it is to record the installation of an image of the god Viṣṇu, under the name of Ananta-svāmin; and,—for the purpose of providing perfumes, incense, garlands, &c., and of executing repairs,—a grant, the details of which are lost, but which would seem to have consisted of some land at a village belonging to the same god under the name of Chitrakūṭasvāmin, or 'the lord of Chitrakūṭa.'

TEXT.

- 1 sya pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara³-śatē=śtā-
chatvāriṁśad-uttarē Māgha-māsa-divasē ēka-viṁśatimē [1*]
2 puny-ābhivṛddhy-artham vaḍabhīmṇ=kārayayitvā⁴ Ananta-
svāmi-pādām⁵ pratishtāpya gandha-dhūpa-srag
3 s[phu]ṭa-pratisamskāra-karaṇ-artham bhaga[va]ch-Chittra-
[k]ūṭasvāmi-pādiya-kōshthē(?)ta-prāvēśya-mati.
4 lā dattā dvādaśa [11*] Yainam⁶
vyuchchh[i]ndy[ā]t=sah⁷ pañchabhiḥ mahāpātakaiḥ sa[rmy]uktaḥ
syād=iti [11*]

TRANSLATION.

..... In the augmenting victorious reign⁸ of
in a century of years, increased by forty-eight, on the twenty-first day of the month
Māgha;—

(Line 2.)—Having caused (*a temple having*) a flat roof⁹ to be made, for the sake of
increasing the religious merit of (*and*) having installed the feet¹⁰ of
(the god) Anantasvāmin perfumes, incense, garlands
..... for the purpose of repairing whatever may become torn, there have
been given twelve belonging to the entrance of ...
..... which belongs to the feet of the divine (god) Chitrakūṭasvāmin.

¹ The Chitrakūṭa referred to here is the modern 'Chatarkot,' 'Chitarkot,' and 'Chitrakote Hill of maps, &c., in the 'Bānda' District of the North-West Provinces, forty-two miles south-east of Bānda, and seventy-one miles south-west of Allahābād; Lat. 25° 12' N.; Long. 80° 47' E. It is a great place of pilgrimage, and is specially sacred to Viṣṇu in his incarnation as Rāma.

² From the original stone.

³ Read *rājyē samvatsara*; see page 38 above, note 5.

⁴ Read *vaḍabhīm kārāyitrō*, or *vaḍabhīm=kārāyitrō*.

⁵ Read *pādām* or *pādau*.

⁶ Read *ya ēnam*, or *yaś=ch=ainam*.

⁷ Read *sa*.

⁸ See page 38 above, note 5.

⁹ *vaḍabhī* (also *vaḷabhī*, which occurs in line 6 of No. 18 above, page 81) is explained as meaning 'the wooden frame of a roof; a flat roof, house-top, top-room, turret, top-floor, balcony; any temporary erection on the top of a palace; an awning, a tent;' but it seems to refer to a building here, and to denote 'a flat-roofed temple.'

¹⁰ i.e. "having installed an image;" see page 123 above, note 5. The use of the word *pāda*, not *pada*, shews that the inscription does not refer to the foot-prints or impressions of the feet, which are so frequently objects of worship. So, also, just below this passage, "the feet of the divine (god) Chitrakūṭasvāmin" means simply "the divine (god) Chitrakūṭasvāmin."

(L. 4.)—Whosoever may interrupt this (*grant*), he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins!

No. 67; PLATE XL A.

TUSAM ROCK INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription appears to have been discovered by Mr. Bird, and was first brought to notice by General Cunningham in 1875, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 138 ff., where he published a translation of it by Babu Pratap Chandra Ghosh, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xl. No. 5).

Tusâm¹ or **Tusâm** is a village about fourteen miles to the north-west of Bhiwânî,² the chief town of the Bhiwânî Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Hisâr or Hissâr District in the Pañjâb. Immediately on the west of the village there is a steep isolated hill, that rises abruptly out of the plain to a height of some eight hundred feet. And the present inscription is on the surface of a rock, about half-way up the east side of this hill.

About a foot below the centre of the last line of the inscription, there is engraved on the rock an **emblem**, of which a complete restoration is given by General Cunningham in his published lithograph, and which may be either a Buddhist *dharmachakra* or 'wheel of religion,' or a sun-symbol. But there is nothing to connect it of necessity with the inscription now published; and it may belong to one of the shorter records, *e.g.* the *Ītām bhagavatā bhagavat-pāda-dēśē*, "victory has been achieved by the Divine One, in (*this*) region belonging to the feet³ of the Divine One," which is engraved just above the present inscription, in large and somewhat irregular characters of about the same period.⁴—The **writing** covers an extreme space of about 4' 2" broad by 2' 2¼" high; the lines being of unequal length to suit the irregularities of the rock. The engraving was rather shallow, and some of the letters are a good deal weather-worn; but, on the original rock, the inscription is quite legible throughout.—The **size** of the letters varies from ¾" to 1½". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets but in the word *āḷi*, 'a bee,' in line 1, they include the southern *ḷ*, which I have commented on at page 4 above.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *upādhyāya*, line 5; and (2), as noted above, the use of the southern *ḷ* in *āḷi*, line 1, which is probably due to Sômatrâta, whose record this inscription is, being a Sâtвата from Central or Southern India.⁵

¹ The 'Toosham and Tosham' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49. Lat. 28° 51' N.; Long. 76° 0' E.—The name is written sometimes with the palatal sibilant, and sometimes with the dental; but with a preference for the former.—Gen. Cunningham wrote the name 'Tushâm,' and suggested that it is derived from *Tushâr-ârâma*, 'the Tushâra monastery.' But the sibilant is not the lingual *sh*; and the proposed etymology, due in the first instance to the supposition that the inscription mentioned a Tushâra king named Vishṇu, cannot be upheld.

² The 'Bhewani and Bhewannee' of maps.

³ See page 123 above, note 5.

⁴ See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. V. Pl. xl. No. 1; which, however, is not quite an accurate representation of the original.

⁵ See page 271 below, note 1.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and, or the beginning on palæographical grounds, it may be allotted to the end of the fourth century A.D. It is a Vaishṇava inscription; and the object of it is to record the making, by an *Āchārya* named *Sōmatrāta*, of two reservoirs and of the god Vishṇu under the name of Bhagavat or the Divine One.

The manipulation of General Cunningham's ink-impression, as shown by the published lithograph, led to the introduction of the name of the *Early Gupta* *Mahārāja Ghaṭōtkacha* in line 2; and to the supposition that the name Vishṇu, in the same line, was that of a *Tushāra* king who conquered Ghaṭōtkacha, and who might be identified with the third Kanva or Kanvāyana prince Nārāyaṇa.¹ As is to be seen, however, in my lithograph now published, there is no foundation whatever for this; the *aksharas* *gana*, "(the women) give the name of Ghaṭōtkacha, being, in reality, nothing but *dānav-ān* of the demons;" and *tushāra* here has no meaning but that of 'frost.'

TEXT.*

- 1 Jitam²=abhikshṇam=ēva Jāmbavatī-vadanāravind-³ *rjjit-ālinā* I
 2 dānav-ānganā-mukhāmbhōja-lakshmi-tushārēṇa Vis⁴ *hṇunā* I(II)
 3 Anēkapurushābhyāgat - āryyaSātvata - y⁵ōgac⁶ *shnutrāta* -
 4 bhagavadbhakta-Yaśastrāta-prapautrasy=āchāryya-Vi
 pautrasy=āchāryya- *Gōtama*-
 5 Vasudatta-p[u]trasya Rāvanyām=utpannasya *sagōtrasy=āchāryy-ōpāddhyāya* *bhagavat*-
 6 Yaśastrāt-[ān]ujasy=āchāryya-Sōmatrātasy=ēdam
 pād-ōpayō- *haḥ* *ku*-
 7 jyām kuṇḍam=uparyy-āvasat
 8 ṇām ch=āparam [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Verily victory has been achieved again and again by (the god) Vishṇu, who is a mighty bee on the waterlily which is the face of Jāmbavatī, (and) of the women of the *the withering of*) the beauty of the waterlilies which are the faces of demons!

(Line 3.)—This reservoir, intended for the use of the feet² of the *Āchārya Sōmatrāta*, the house above (it), and the second reservoir, (are the work) of the god or of many men (of *trāta*,—the son of the son's son of Yaśastrāta, who was the successor of the Divine One, (and)

¹ Mentioned, for instance, in the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, book IV. chap. xxiv.; H. H. Wilson's Translation, Vol. IV. p. 192.—The *Tushāra*, *Tukhāra*, or *Tush* are mentioned in the same volume, p. 203.

² From the original stone.

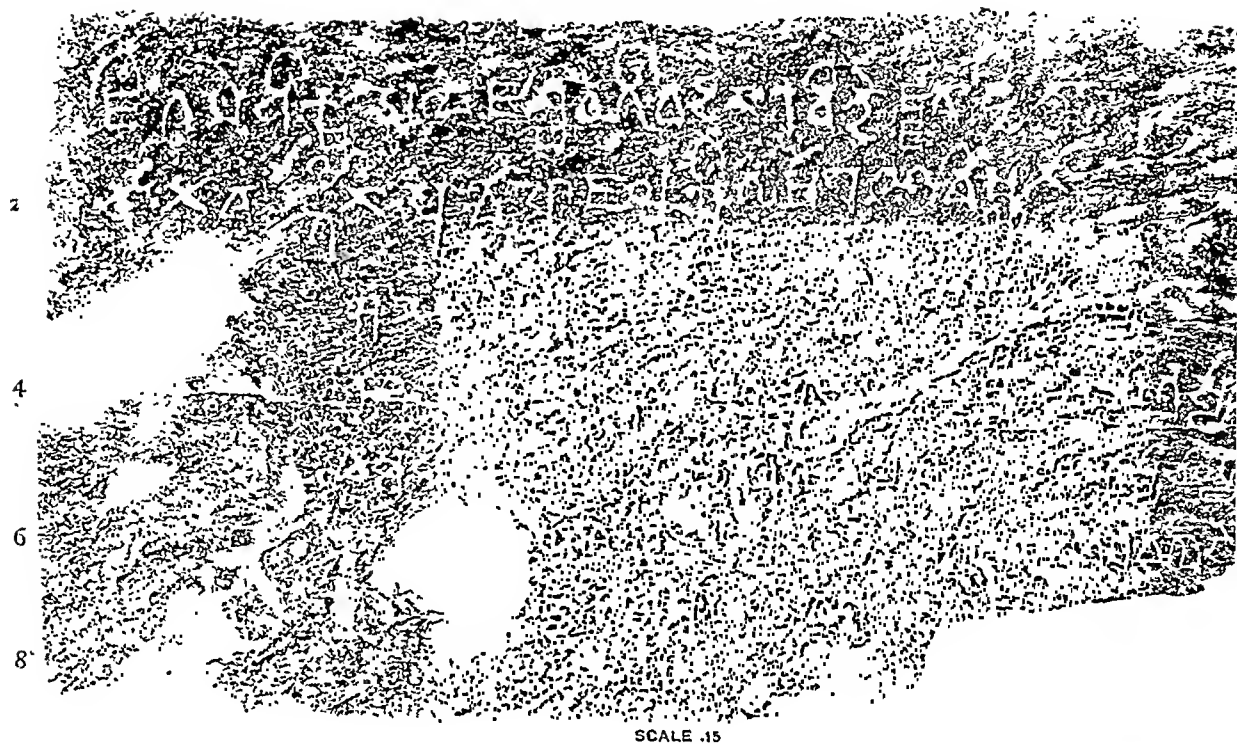
³ Over this *m*, there are the vowel-marks for *ō*. But they are not connected in any way with the *m*; and it is not apparent why they were made, as they cannot possibly stand for the syllable *ōm*, and they are altogether superfluous and unmeaning.

⁴ This *y* is rather an anomalous one; but the character cannot stand for a

⁵ See page 123 above, note 5.

nothing else.

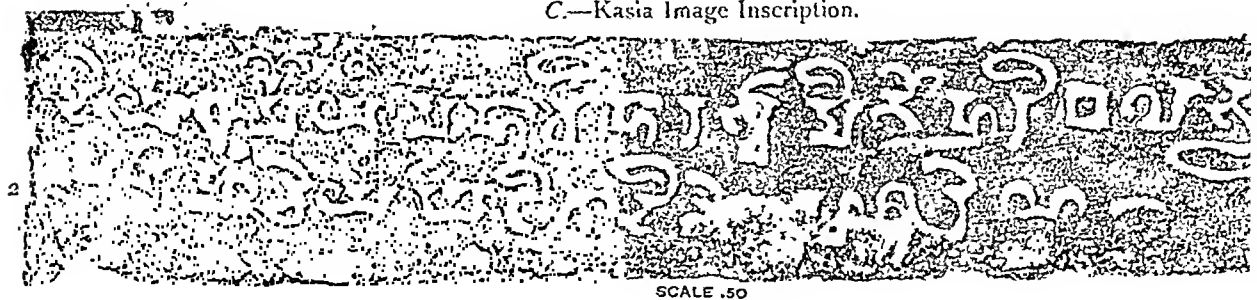
A.—Tusam Rock Inscription.



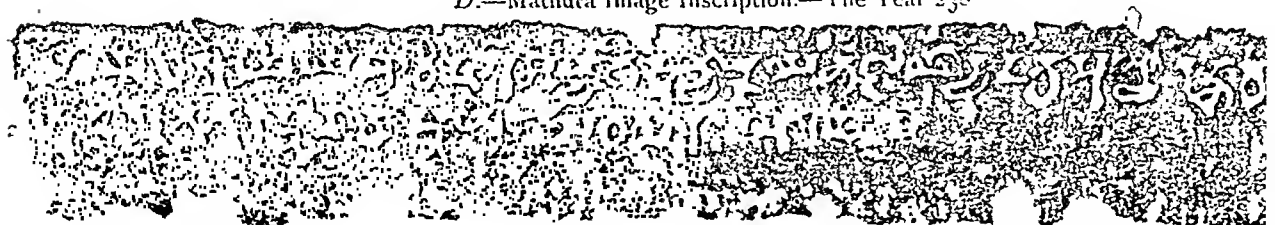
B.—Deoriya Image Inscription.



C.—Kasia Image Inscription.



D.—Mathura Image Inscription.—The Year 230



preceding generations); who was a highly esteemed Sātvaṭa;¹ who was an *Āchārya* of the Yōga philosophy; and who was a devotee of the Divine One;—the son's son of the *Āchārya* Viṣṇutrāta;—the son, begotten on Rāvaṇi, of the *Āchārya* Vasudatta;—a member of the Gōtama *gōtra*;—(and) the younger brother of the *Āchārya* and *Upādhyāya* Yaśastrāta.

No. 68; PLATE XL B.

DEORIYA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1871-72 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1873, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 48 f., where he published his reading of the text and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xviii D).

Dêoriyâ or Dêwariyâ² is a small village on the right bank of the Jamnâ, about eight miles towards the south-west of Arail or Arayal, the chief town of the Arail Parganâ in the Karchhanâ Sub-Division of the Allahâbâd District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is on the pedestal of a stone standing image of Buddha,—draped, and with small attendant figures kneeling at his feet, one on the right side, and two on the left,—that was found at this village. When I examined the image, it was in the Government Museum at Allahâbâd; but it is now, I understand, in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow.

The writing, which covers the whole front of the pedestal, about 1' 1" broad by 2½" high, is in a state of good preservation throughout.—The size of the letters varies from ⅙" to ⅛". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and the whole inscription is in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; it may be allotted, however, on palæographical grounds, to about the fifth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the gift, by a Śākya mendicant named Bôdhivarman, of the statue, on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.³

- 1 Dēya-dharmmô=yam Śākya-bhikshô[r*]=Bôdhivarmmanah [i*] Yad=atra
punya[m*]
2 tad⁴=bhava[tu*] mâtâpitrô[h*] sarva-sat[t*]vânâm ch=ānut[t*]ara-jñān-
avāptayê [ii*]

¹ Sātvaṭa is explained in Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary as being a name of Viṣṇu or Kṛiṣṇa, and also of a people, inhabiting a district in Central India, said to be the descendants of outcaste Vaiśyas.—It seems to be, as used here, the name of some special sect of Vaishnavas or Bhāgavatas, probably from Central or Southern India.

² The 'Deoriya and Deorya' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88. Lat. 25° 19' N.; Long. 81 51' E.—Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji writes the name 'Dēvaliā' (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 354).

³ From the original stone.

⁴ This *d* was at first omitted, and was then inserted above the line.

TRANSLATION.

This (*is*) the appropriate religious gift of the Śākya Bhikshu Bôdhivarman. Whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by (*his*) parents and by all sentient beings.

No. 69; PLATE XLC.

KASIA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription was discovered in 1875-76 or 1876-77 by Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle, and was first brought to notice by him in 1883, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVIII. p. 59, where he published his reading of the text and proposed interpretation of it, followed (*id.* p. 60, note 1) by my own reading of the text (of course mutilated in publication), and my translation as it then suggested itself to me.

Kasiâ¹ or Kasyâ is a village thirty-four miles due east of Gôrakhpur, in the Paḍraunâ² Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Gôrakhpur District in the North-West Provinces; and is the head-quarters of a Joint-Magistrate in charge of a Sub-Division of the District. The inscription is below the figure of a man, sitting in a squatting position, on the lower part of the western side of the pedestal of a colossal stone statue of Buddha, recumbent in the act of attaining *nirvāṇa*, which was found by Mr. Carlleyle in the course of excavations in a large mound of ruins at this village.

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ " broad by 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high, is in a state of very good preservation, except that the name of the sculptor is partially illegible in line 2.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{7}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and the whole inscription is in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; on palæographical grounds, however, it may be allotted to about the end of the fifth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the gift, by a *Mahāvihārasvāmin*³ named Haribala, of the figure below which it is engraved.

TEXT.*

- | | | | | |
|---|------------------|-------------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | Dēya-dharmmô=yam | mahāvihārasvāminō | Haribalasya | 1 |
| 2 | Pratimā | ch=ēyam | ghatitā | Dinē .. mā(?)śvarēṇa 1(11) |

¹ The 'Kasia, Kassia, Kasya, Kesiya, and Kusya,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 102. Lat. 26° 45' N.; Long. 83° 58' E.

² The 'Paraona, Parāuna, and Pudrownan,' of maps, &c.

³ *Mahāvihārasvāmin*, *lit.* 'a great master (superintendent) of a *vihāra*,' is evidently a technical religious title of office, denoting the officer who came, in the management of a *vihāra*, next above the *Vihārasvāmins* or 'masters (superintendents) of the *vihāra*.' The latter title occurs in the Sāhchi pillar inscription No. 73 below, Plate xlii A.

* From Mr. Carlleyle's ink-impression; *sp* also the lithograph.

TRANSLATION.

This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the *Mahāvihārasvāmin* Haribala. And this image has been fashioned by Dinā .. māśvara (?)

No. 70; PLATE XLD.

MATHURA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THE YEAR 230.

THIS inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice in 1871, in the *Four. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. V. p. 185*, where Professor J. Dowson published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id. Plate ii. No. 9*) reduced from General Cunningham's ink-impression.—And this rendering of the inscription was reprinted, with a few corrections, in 1873, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind. Pl. III. p. 37*, accompanied by a fresh lithograph (*id. Plate xvi. No. 23*).

This is another inscription from Mathurā,¹ the chief town of the Mathurā District in the North-West Provinces; and is on the pedestal of a stone standing statue of Buddha, draped, and with a nimbus behind his head and shoulders, that was found in the Mathurā mound. When I examined it, it was in the Government Museum at Allahābād; but it is now, I understand, in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow.

The writing, which covers a space about 1' 4½" broad by 2" high on the upper part of the face of the pedestal, is in a state of fairly good preservation.—The average size of the letters is about ⅜". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 2, forms of the numerical symbols for 30 and 200. In the *rya* of *saṭṭāyār=yad*, line 1, we have to notice that the *r* is formed on the line of writing, with a single *y* below it. And the same method of forming the *r* is followed in *dharmō* and *aya*, though not in *sarvva*, in the same line.—The language is Sanskrit; and the whole inscription is in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king. But its date, in numerical symbols, is the year two hundred and thirty (A.D. 549-50), without any further details. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the gift, by a Śākya female mendicant named Jayabhaddā, to a monastery called the Yaśôvihāra, of the image on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.²

- 1 Dēya-dharmo=yam Yaśâ(śô)vihârê Śākya-bhikshunyar=Jayabhaddâyâr=
Yad³=atra puṇyam tad=bhavatu sarvva-sa-
2 tvanam⁴=anuttara-jñān āvāptayê I(II) Samvatsarah 200 30 I(II),

¹ See page 26 above, and note 2.

² See page 26 above, note 1.

³ From the original stone.

⁴ Read *bhikshunya Jayabhaddâyâh II Yad*.

⁵ Read *sattvānām*.

TRANSLATION.

This (*is*) the appropriate religious gift, at the (monastery called) *Yaśôvihâra*, of the *Śākya Bhikṣuṇī Jayabhaddā*. Whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings ! The year 200 (*and*) 30.

No. 71; PLATE XLIA.

BODH-GAYA INSCRIPTION OF MAHANAMAN.

THE YEAR 269.

THIS inscription, which was published by me, for the first time, quite recently, in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 356 ff., is from a stone-tablet that was discovered in the course of the excavations made by General Cunningham and Mr. J. D. M. Beglar at *Bôdh-Gayâ*,¹ the famous Buddhist site about five miles due south of Gayâ, the chief town of the Gayâ District, in the Bengal Presidency. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The stone has the appearance of having been originally set in a socket about three inches deep, and morticed at the sides into a building. The front surface measures about 1' 7½" broad by 1' 6" high. Below the inscription, towards the proper right side of the stone, there are engraved in outline a cow and a calf, standing towards, and nibbling at, a small tree or bush; the tips of the ears of the cow are discernible in the lithograph, below the commencement of line 14.—The **writing**, which is in the upper part of the stone, and covers a space of about 1' 7½" broad by 1' 0" high, including a margin of about an inch all round, is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout.—The average size of the letters is about ¼". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets. The form of *y*, throughout this inscription, is a slightly older variety of the fully developed *Dēvanāgarī* form exhibited throughout the *Aphsāḍ* inscription of *Ādityasēna*, No. 42 above, page 200. In the conjunct letter *ry*, in *yatir=yataḥ*, line 7, we have to note that the *r* is formed on the line, with a single *y* below it. The characters include, in the last line, forms of the **numerical symbols** for 7, 9, 60, and 200.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening symbol representing *ôm*, and for the date at the end, the inscription is in verse throughout.—In respect of **orthography**, the only points calling for notice are (1) the occasional doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *chakkrais*, line 13; *tanttra*, line 2; and *chaittra*, line 14; and (2) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, e.g. in *vandhu*, lines 2 and 8; *vabhāva*, line 6; and *vôdhi*, lines 10 and 12.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king. Its date, in numerical symbols,² is the year two hundred and sixty-nine (A.D. 588-89), on the seventh

¹ The 'Bodh-Gya and Buddh-Gaya' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 104. Lat. 24° 41' N., Long. 85° 2' E.

² As regards the third symbol in the years, 9, it occurs as the second symbol, in the record of the day, in line 9 of the *Bhumarā* pillar inscription of the *Mahārājas* *Hastin* and *Śarvanātha*, No. 24 above; in connection with which instance, I remarked (page 110, note 2) that, though it resembles most a rather straight and upright form of the symbol for 9, yet it might possibly be 7 or 8. I also

solar day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra (March-April). It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record the erection, by a certain **Mahânâman**,—the second of that name mentioned in this inscription,—of a mansion of Buddha, *i.e.* a Buddhist temple or monastery, at the **Bôdhi-maṇḍa**, or, rather, within the precincts of it; *i.e.* at the modern **Bôdh-Gayâ**.

With regard to the places mentioned in this inscription, **Laṅkā** is, of course, one of the most well-known names of **Ceylon**. And General Cunningham tells me that **Âmradvîpa**, 'the mango-island,' is another of its names, derived from its resemblance in shape to a mango. **Bôdhi-maṇḍa** is the name of the miraculous throne under the *bôdhi*-tree at **Bôdh-Gayâ**, also called the *vajrâsana* or 'diamond-throne,' on which Buddha and his predecessors sat, when attaining *bôdhi* or perfect wisdom.¹ And Professor Childers, in his Pali Dictionary, added that he inferred that the term was also applied to the raised terrace built under the *bôdhi*-tree within the precincts of any Buddhist temple, in imitation, presumably, of Buddha's throne. This, rather than the throne itself, seems to be its meaning in the present inscription.

The chief interest of this inscription, lies in the probability that the second **Mahânâman** mentioned in it, is the person of that name who composed the more ancient part of the Pali *Mahāvamsa*, or history of Ceylon. If this identification is accepted, it opens up a point of importance in the question of dates. On the one hand, there can be no doubt that the date of the present inscription has to be referred to the Gupta era, with the result of A.D. 588-89. On the other hand, from the Ceylonese records, Mr. Turnour arrived at A.D. 459 to 477 as the period of the reign of Mahânâman's nephew (sister's son) **Dhātusêna**,² and it was during his reign that Mahânâman compiled the history.

then considered that the same symbol occurs, in the record of the day, in the Khôh grant of the *Mahārāja* Samkshôbha, No. 25, above; in line 24 of which (page 115) I accordingly read the solar day as 29. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, however, has found, by actual calculation, that the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, which is mentioned in line 2 f. of that record (page 114), was the twenty-seventh solar day in the month. Accordingly, the symbol which we have there, in line 24, must be interpreted as 7; not 9.—On fuller consideration of the whole matter, with the help of Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculation, I find that, in the three passages, we are concerned with two separate symbols; not one and the same.—One is the symbol which is the third in the years of the present inscription of Mahânâman, and the second in the record of the day in the Bhumarâ pillar inscription; and I see no reason to alter my original opinion, that it is a rather straight and upright form of the symbol for 9. A sign extremely like it occurs, it is true, in the date of the Môrbî grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 258, and Plate, line 19), where the record in words compels us to interpret it as 8; but it is there a decimal figure, not a numerical symbol; and that record also comes from a far distant part of the country; so that we are not bound to adopt the same interpretation in the present instance.—The other symbol is the second in the record of the day in the grant of Samkshôbha. And an examination of the lithograph (Plate xv B.) will shew, that it really differs from the symbol which I interpret as 9 through a slight mark below it, which, being a little detached from it, I took originally to be a rust-mark, and not part of the symbol itself. Taking it now as part of the symbol itself, it makes the symbol identical with, though in execution somewhat inferior to, the symbol for the day in the present inscription of Mahânâman; and, accordingly, the symbol for the day here must now be interpreted as 7; not as 8, which I took it to be in my original version of this inscription.—The same symbol occurs also in lines 19 and 21 of the Nêpâl inscription of Jishnugupta (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 172, and Plate); and it was Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's interpretation of it there as 8, which led me to read it originally as 8 in the present instance.

¹ See, amongst other authorities, Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. p. 116.

² See Turnour's *Mahavanso*, pp. ii. liv. lxii. 254 ff.; and *Four. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 922

The recorded date of the present inscription, therefore, shews,—if the identification suggested above is accepted,—either that the details of the Ceylonese chronology are not as reliable as they have been supposed to be ; or else that a wrong starting-point has been selected in working them out, and that they now require considerable rectification.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Ōm [II*] Vyāptō¹ yēn=ā-pramēyaḥ sakala-śaśi-ruchā sarvvataḥ sat[t*]va-
dhātuḥ kṣhuṇṇāḥ pāṣaṇḍa-yōdhās=sugati-patha-rudhas=tarkka-śastr-
ābhīyuktāḥ sampūrṇō
- 2 dharmma-kōshaḥ prakṛiti-ripu-hṛitaḥ sādhitō lōka-bhūtyai² śāstuh Śāky-aika-
va(ba)ndhōr=jjayati chirataram tad=yaśas-sāra-tanttram || Nairōdhīm³
śubha-bhāvanā-
- 3 m=anusritaḥ saṃsāra-saṃklēśa-jin=Maitrēyasya karē vimukti-vaśita yasy=
ādbhuta vyākṛitā | nirvāṇ-āvasarē cha yēna charaṇau dṛiṣṭau munēḥ
- 4 pāvanau⁴ pāyād=vaḥ sa munindra-śāsana-dharaḥ stutyō⁵ Mahā-Kāśyapaḥ ||
Samyukt-āgaminō viśuddha-rajasaḥ sat[t*]v-ānukamp-ōdyatāḥ śishyā
- 5 yasya sakṛid=vichērur=amalām Laṅk-āchal-ōpatyakām tēbhyaḥ śīla-guṇ-
ānvitās=cha śataśaḥ śishya-praśishyāḥ kramāj=jātās=tuṅga-narēndra-
- 6 vaṃśa-tilakāḥ prōtsṛijya rājya-śriyam || Dhyān⁶-ōday-āhita-hitāḥ śubh-
āśubha-vivēkakṛid=vihata-mōhaḥ sad-dharmm-ātula-vibhavō Bhavō
va(ba)bhūva
- 7 śramaṇas=tataḥ || Rāhul⁷-ākhyās=cha tach-chhishya U⁸pasēnō yatir=yataḥ
Mahānāmā kramād=ēvam=Upasēnas=tatō=paraḥ || Vātsalyam⁹ śaraṇ-ā-
- 8 gatasya satatam dīnasya vaiśēshikam vyāpat-sāyaka-santati-kṣhata-dhṛitēr=
ārttasya ch=āpatyakam | krūrasy=āhita-kāripaḥ pravitatam va(ba)ndhōr=
yathā-
- 9 bhāvataḥ ēvam sach-charit-ōdbhavēna yaśasā yasy=āchitam bhūtalam ||
Āmradvīp¹⁰-ādhivāsī prīthu-kula-jaladhis=tasya śishyō mahīyaṇ
- 10 Laṅkā-dvīpa-prasūtaḥ para-hita-nirataḥ saṃ-Mahānāma-nāmā | tēn=ōchchair-
Vvō(bbō)dhimaṇḍē śaśi-kara-dhavalah sarvvatō maṇḍapēna¹¹
- 11 kāntaḥ prāsāda ēsha Smara-va(ba)la-jayinaḥ kāritō lōkā-śāstuh ||
Vyapagata¹²-vishaya-snēhō hata-timira-daśaḥ pradīpa-vad=a-saṅgaḥ
- 12 kuśalēn=ānēna janō vō(bō)dhi-sukham=anuttaram bhajatām || Yāvad¹³=
dhvānt-āpahāri pravitata-kiraṇaḥ sarvvatō bhāti bhāsvān=yāvat=pūrṇō=
mvu(inbu)-

¹ From the original stone.

² Metre, Sragdharā.

³ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita ; and in the following verse.

⁵ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁶ My original reading was *stutyai*. I owe the correction, as also that of *amalām*, for *atulām*, in line 5, to the kind suggestion of Dr. Kielhorn.

⁷ Metre, Āryā.

⁸ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁹ From the vowel *ē* being partially engraved over this *u*, the engraver seems to have begun to form the *śē* here.

¹⁰ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

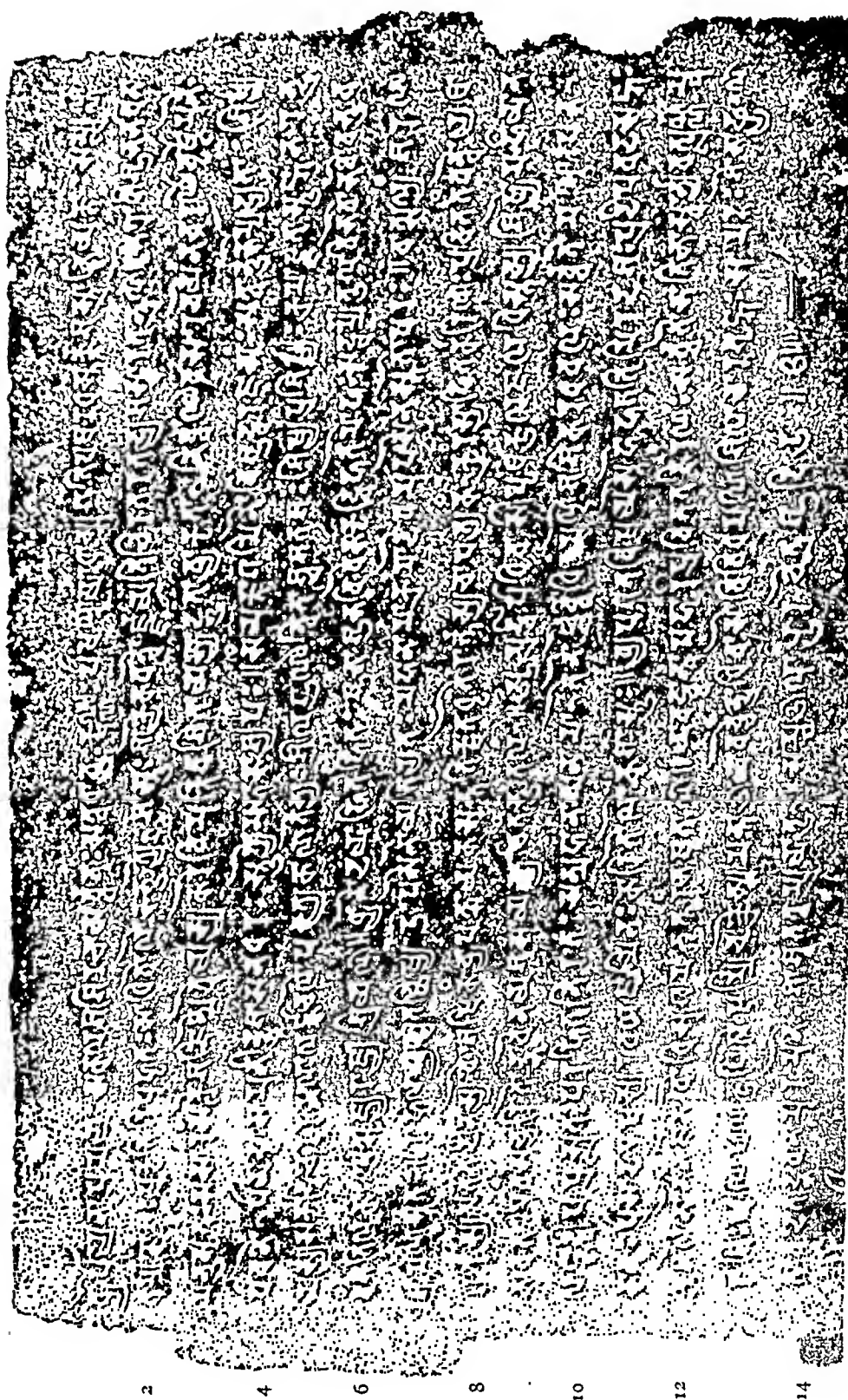
¹¹ Metre, Sragdharā.

¹² This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

¹³ Metre Āryā

¹⁴ Metre, Sragdharā.

A.—Bodh-Gaya Inscription of Mahanaman.—The) car 269.



SCALE 50

B.—Bodh-Gaya Image Inscription of Mahanaman.

- 13 rāṣiḥ phaṇi-phaṇa-kuṭilair=ūrmī-chakkrais=samantāt yāvach=ch=Ēndr-ādhivāsō
vividha-maṇi-śilā-chāru-sringaṇ Sumēruḥ śōbh-āḍhyam
14 tāvad=ĕtad=bhavanam=uru-munēḥ śāśvatatvam=prayātu || Samvat 200 60 9
Chaitra śu di¹ 7 ||

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Victorious for a very long time is that doctrine, replete with fame, of the Teacher, the chief kinsman of the Śākyas, by which, lustrous as the full-moon, the inscrutable primary substance of existence has been pervaded in all directions ; by which the warriors, who are heretics, obstructive of the path of beatitude, have been broken to pieces, being assailed with the weapon of logic ; (*and*) by which the whole treasure of religion, that had been stolen by the enemy which is original nature, has been recovered for the welfare of mankind !

(Line 2.)—May he, **Mahā-Kāśyapa**, who is worthy of praise, protect you,—he who observed the precepts of (Buddha) the chief of saints ; who practised that auspicious habit of abstract meditation which is of the nature of a trance ; who overcame the anguish of successive states of existence ; whose wonderful subjugation of the passions in final emancipation (*is to be*) displayed in the hand of Maitrēya,² and by whom the two pure feet of (Buddha) the saint were beheld at the time of attaining *nirvāṇa* !³

(L. 4.)—His disciples, endowed with a connected tradition of doctrine, purified as to (*their*) emotions, (*and*) active in compassion for existing beings, roamed at one time over the stainless country at the feet of the mountains of **Laṅkā** ; and in succession from them there were born, in hundreds, disciples and disciples' disciples, possessed of the virtue of (*good*) character, who, without the glory of (*actual*) sovereignty, were the ornaments of a lofty race of kings.

(L. 6.)—Then there was the **Śramaṇa Bhava**, whose welfare was effected by the development of abstract meditation ; who discriminated between good and evil ; who destroyed error ; (*and*) who possessed an unequalled wealth of true religion.

(L. 7.)—And his disciple (*was*) he who had the name of **Rāhula** ; after whom (*there came*) the ascetic **Upasēna (I.)** ; then in succession (*there was*) **Mahānāman (I.)** ; (*and*) after him another **Upasēna (II.)**, whose special characteristic of affection, of the kind that is felt towards offspring,—for any distressed man who came to him for protection, and for any afflicted person whose fortitude had been destroyed by the continuous flight of the arrows of adversity,—extended, in conformity with the disposition of a kinsman, (*even*) to any cruel man who might seek to do (*him*) harm ; (*and*) by whose fame, arising from good actions, the whole world was thus completely filled.

¹ As regards the interpretation of the symbol for the day, see page 274 above, note 2.

² Maitrēya is a Bôdhisattva, at present in the Tushita heaven, who is to be the next Buddha. And the present passage, which is rather obscure, is perhaps explained by the injunction which Buddha, when on the point of attaining *nirvāṇa*, gave to Mahā-Kāśyapa, to deliver over his *kāśhāya* or yellow robe (and with it the transmission of the Buddhist doctrine) to Maitrēya, when he should attain the condition of a Buddha (see Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 142 ff.)

³ Mahā-Kāśyapa was seated in meditation, when suddenly a bright light burst forth, and he perceived the earth shaking. And then, exerting his divine sight in order to ascertain what wonderful event was indicated by this portent, he saw Buddha in the act of entering on *nirvāṇa* (see *id.* Vol. II. p. 161).

of twenty years ; and, after that, he would have to wait at least ten or twelve years, before he could be invested with the title of *Sthāvira* or *Thēra*. A further point to be noted, is, that Mahānāman's visit to Bôdh-Gayā probably occurred before the time when Dhātusēṇa became king of Ceylon,—during the flight of the uncle and nephew to avoid the persecution of the usurper Pāṇḍu ; according to Mr. Turnour's deductions, this was between A.D. 434 and 439.

TEXT.¹

1 Ōm Dēya-dharmmô=yam Śākya-bhikshôh Amradvīpa-vāsi-sthavira-
Mahānāmasya² [||*] Yad=atra puṇyam tad=bhavatu sarvva-
sat[t*]vānām=anuttara-jñān-āvāptayê=stu³ [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Ōm! This (*is*) the appropriate religious gift of the Śākya *Bhikshu*, the *Sthavira* Mahānāman, a resident of Amradvīpa. Whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings !

No. 73; PLATE XLII A.

SANCHI STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1854, in his *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 199, where he published his reading of it, accompanied by a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxi. No. 199).

This is another inscription from Sāñchi,⁴ in the Diwānganj Sub-Division of the Bhôpāl State in Central India. It is on the north side of part of a small monolith round pillar, broken, that stands a few yards to the north-east of the eastern gateway of the great *Stūpa*.

The **writing** covers a space of about 10" broad by 2½" high. Except for the first three letters, which are very much damaged, it is in a state of fairly good preservation, as far as it goes. But it is only a fragment ; the concluding part of it being broken away and lost.—The average size of the letters is about ⅜". The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets.—The **language** is Sanskrit ; and the inscription is in prose.—In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *puttra*.

The **inscription** does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated. But, on palæographical grounds, it may be allotted roughly to the fifth century A.D. It is evidently the remnant of a Buddhist inscription ; and its object seems to have been to record the gift of the pillar, on which it is inscribed, by a *Vihārasvāmin*,⁵ the son of

¹ From Mr. J. D. M. Beglar's ink-impression ; so also the lithograph.

² Read *mahānāmnaḥ*.

³ This *stu* (*astu*) is redundant, as we have already had *bhavatu*. The same redundant *astu* occurs also in line 2 of the Bôdh-Gayā image inscription, No. 76 below, page 282.

⁴ See page 29 above, and note 2.

⁵ *Vihārasvāmin*, *lit.* 'master of a *vihāra*,' is a technical religious title of office, applied to functionaries who came next in rank below the *Mahāvihārasvāmin* ; see page 272

Gôśûrasimhabala, whose name is partially destroyed, only the first two syllables, **Rudra**, remaining.

TEXT.¹

1 A(?)ka .. vihârasvâmi-Gôśûrasimhabala-puttra-Rudra

TRANSLATION.

..... the *Vihârasvâmin* Rudra, the son of Gôśûrasimhabala

No. 74; PLATE XLII B.

CALCUTTA MUSEUM STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from the pedestal of a sandstone image that is in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta. The image seems to have been originally a standing statue of Buddha; but the whole of the upper part of it, above the ankles, is broken away and lost. I have no information as to where it was found.

The writing, which covers a space of about $9\frac{3}{4}$ " broad by $2\frac{1}{2}$ " high, is in a state of fairly good preservation, as far as it goes; but it is only a fragment; the conclusion of it, in the third line, having been cut away, apparently in trimming the stone for some building purpose.—The size of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{2}$ " to $\frac{7}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *attra* and *pittrôh*, line 2.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; but, on palæographical grounds, it may be allotted roughly to the fifth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription. And the object of it is to record the gift, by a Śākya mendicant named Dharmadâsa, of the image on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.²

- 1 Dêya-dharmô=yam Śākya-bhikshôr=Dharmadâsasya [1^{*}] ya-
- 2 d=attra punyam tan²=mâtâpittrô[h³] sarva-sat[t⁴]vânâm ch=â-
- 3 [nuttara⁵-jñân-âvâptayê=stu ||]

TRANSLATION.

This (*is*) the appropriate religious gift of the Śākya *Bhikshu* Dharmadâsa. Whatever religious merit (*there is*) in this (*act*), [let] it [be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge] by (*his*) parents and by all sentient beings.

¹ From the original pillar

² From the original stone.

³ This *n* was at first omitted, and then inserted above its proper place.

⁴ This last line has been entirely cut away and lost, apparently in trimming the stone for some building purpose

A.—Sanchi Pillar Inscription



SCALE .50

B.—Calcutta Museum Image Inscription.



SCALE .50

C.—Sarnath Inscription.



SCALE .50

D.—Bodh-Gaya Image Inscription.



No. 75; PLATE XLII C.

SARNATH STONE INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription was discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1871, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 123, and Plate xxxiv. No. 4.

Sârânâth is the modern name of a large collection of Buddhist ruins, about three and a half miles north of Benares (properly Banâras or Banâras), the chief town of the Benares District in the North-West Provinces. The inscription is below a sandstone bas-relief representation of three scenes in the life of Buddha, that was found here in the course of excavations. The original stone is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 1' 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ " broad by 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " high, is in a state of fairly good preservation throughout.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{7}{16}$ ". The **characters** are a peculiarly square variety of the northern alphabet.—The **language** is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse.—The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

The **inscription** does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated. But, on palæographical grounds, it may be allotted roughly to the fifth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record that the sculpture, below which it is engraved, was made by the order of a religious mendicant named **Harigupta**.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Gurum² pûrvvaṅgamam kṛtvā 1³ mâtaram pitaram tathā 1 kâritā
2 pratimā śastuḥ 1⁴ Hariguptēna bhikṣuṇā 11

TRANSLATION.

Having placed first (*in the order of those who are to acquire religious merit from this act*) (*his*) spiritual preceptor and (*his*) mother (*and*) father, this image of the Teacher has been caused to be made by the *Bhikṣu* **Harigupta**.

No. 76; PLATE XLII D.

BODH-GAYA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

THIS inscription, which does not appear to have been previously brought to notice, is from the pedestal of a Buddhist stone statue that was found by General Cunningham and Mr. Beglar in their excavations at **Bôdh-Gayâ**,⁵ in the Gayâ District in the Bengal Presidency. The original statue is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 1' 11" broad by 2" high, towards the top of the pedestal, is in a state of very good preservation throughout.—The average

¹ From the original stone.

² Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

³ and ⁴ In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁵ See page 274 above, and note 1.

size of the letters is about $\frac{5}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and are of almost precisely the same type as those of the Bôdh-Gayâ image inscription of Mahânâman, No. 72 above, page 278, Plate xli B. But, as contrasted with the form in Mahânâman's inscription of the year 269, No 71 above, page 274, Plate xli A., we have to notice that, in conjunction with a following *y*, the *r* is here formed above the line, and the *y* is doubled.—The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose.—In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *attra*, line 1.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; but, on palæographical grounds, it may be allotted roughly to the sixth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the grant, by two Śākya mendicants named Dharmagupta and Daṁśhṭrasêṇa, natives of Tishyâmrâtîrtha, of the statue on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Ôm Dêya-dharmmô=yam Śākya-bhikshvôs=Tishyâmrâtîrtha-vāsika-
 Dharmmagupta-Daṁśhṭrasêṇayôr=Yyad=attra punya[m] tad=bhavatu
 mâtâpi[ta*]râv=âchâryy-ôpâdhyâyau pûrvvaṅgama[m] kṛitvâ
 2 sarvva-satvanâm²=anuttara-jñân-âvâptayê=stu³ ||

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the two Śākya *Bhikshus*, Dharmagupta and Daṁśhṭrasêṇa, residents of Tishyâmrâtîrtha. Whatever religious merit (there is) in this (act), let it be for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings, after (their) parents and (their) *Âchârya* and *Upâdhyâya*.

No. 77; PLATE XLIIIA.

LAHOR COPPER SEAL INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHARAJA MAHESVARANAGA.

THIS inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from a copper seal that was obtained by General Cunningham from a native dealer at Lâhôr,* the chief town of the Lâhôr District in the Pañjab. It is not known where it was originally found. I obtained it, for examination, from General Cunningham.

The seal is on an exaggerated signet-ring, in shape closely resembling the ordinary English pattern, of the kind which may still be seen worn loosely on the thumbs of the ministers of Native States. From the flat surface of the seal, to the bottom of the ring, it is about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " high. The flat surface of the seal is about $\frac{1}{16}$ " thick, and slightly oval in shape, about $1\frac{3}{8}$ " by $1\frac{1}{8}$ ". At the top there is a bull, recumbent to the proper left, with a crescent moon in front of its face; below this, a straight line, turned up at each end; below

¹ From the original stone.

² Read *sattidānām*.

³ This *stu* (*astu*) is redundant, as we have *êhastu* in line 1; see page 279 above, note 3.

* The 'Lahore' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 30. Lat. 31° 34' N.; Long. 74° 21' E.

this, the legend, in two lines, of which the text and translation are given below; and, at the bottom, a curved line, which is evidently intended for a *nāga* or hooded snake. The legend is in reverse in the original, so as to give a direct impression on documents; and it is evidently for some purpose or other of this kind that the seal was used. I give a direct representation of it in the lithograph.—The weight of the seal and ring is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ oz.—The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and the legend is in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription simply records the name of the *Mahārāja Mahêśvaranāga*, the son of *Nāgabhaṭṭa*, belonging, it may be presumed, to a branch of the well-known *Nāga* family or tribe. On palæographical grounds, it may be referred roughly to about the end of the fourth century A.D.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Mahārāja-Nāgabhaṭṭa-
- 2 putra-Mahêśvaranāga

TRANSLATION.

The *Mahārāja Mahêśvaranāga*, the son of *Nāgabhatta*.

No. 78; PLATE XLIII B.

ROHTASGADH STONE SEAL-MATRIX OF THE MAHASAMANTA SASANKADEVA.

THIS inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, was discovered by Mr. Beglar cut in the rock at the hill-fort of *Rôhtâsgadh* or *Rôhitâsgadh*,² twenty-four miles south by west of *Sahasrâm*,³ the chief town of the *Sahasrâm* Sub-Division of the *Shâhâbâd* (Ârâ) District in the Bengal Presidency.

In the upper part, there is a somewhat damaged representation of a bull, recumbent to the proper right, and below this, separated by a line about $\frac{5}{16}$ " broad, the legend, in two lines, of which the text and translation are given below; the whole being enclosed in a circle, about $4\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter, with a breadth of circumference varying from $\frac{1}{8}$ " to $\frac{1}{4}$ ". I give a direct representation in the lithograph. But the original, on the rock, is in reverse; and, with the bull, the circular surrounding line, and the line across the surface, the legend is countersunk, not in relief. It is plain that what we have here, is a mould or matrix, for casting copper-seals in relief, to be attached to copper-plate charters.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{9}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets.—The language is Sanskrit; and the legend is in prose.—The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

¹ From the original seal.

² The 'Rhotasgurrh and Rohtâsgarh' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 104. Lat. $24^{\circ} 37'$ N.; Long. $83^{\circ} 55'$ E.

³ The 'Sahasrâm, Sahseram, and Sasseram' of maps.—The name is understood to be a corruption of the Sanskrit *sahasra-grâma*, 'the (circle of a) thousand villages.'

The inscription simply records the name of the *Mahāsāmanta*¹ Śaśāṅkadêva. The age of the characters would justify us in identifying him with the Śaśāṅka (*She-shang-kia*), king of Karnaśuvārṇa (*Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na*) in Eastern India,—the contemporary and murderer of Râjyavardhana II. of Kanauj,—who is mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang as a persecutor of the Buddhists.² And, if this identification is accepted, it will refer the inscription to just about the commencement of the seventh century A.D.

TEXT.³

- 1 Śrī-mahāsāmanta-
- 2 Śaśāṅkadêvasya

TRANSLATION.

Of the illustrious *Mahāsāmanta* Śaśāṅkadêva.

No. 79; PLATE XLIII C.

SARNATH STONE INSCRIPTION OF PRAKATADITYA.

THIS inscription, which has not been previously brought to notice, is from a stone that was discovered by General Cunningham at Sârṇâth,⁴ close to Benares. It has now, I think, been sent to the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

The writing, which covers the entire front of the stone, about 2' 0½" broad by 1' 6" high, has suffered a great deal of injury; especially towards the bottom, where the first halves of lines 12 to 16 are now quite illegible; and I have to acknowledge some very appreciable assistance from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in respect of some of the more pointedly damaged passages. In addition to its being so worn, the extant record is only a remnant of what was originally engraved. Nothing is lost at the top and bottom; but parts of the original stone have been cut away at the sides, evidently in order to adapt it to some building purpose; and the verse commencing in line 3 and ending in line 4, shews that at least eighteen letters have been destroyed in this way, between the last that is legible in line 3 and the first in line 4; the general run of the inscription seems to shew that nearly the whole of what was thus cut away, came at the ends of the lines. Also, as may be seen in the lithograph, two round holes were drilled in the stone for some purpose or other, about half-way down.—The average size of the letters is about ⅙". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and, except that the Kuṭila characteristic is only discernible in a few places, e.g. in *nitarāṇ nishkāṇṭah*, line 7, they are of almost precisely the same type as those of the Aḥśad inscription of Ādityasēna,

¹ *Mahāsāmanta*, lit. 'a great chief of a district,' is a technical official title which, as noted above (page 13, note 3), seems to denote the same rank as *Mahārāja*.—Next below the *Mahāsāmanta* came the *Sāmanta*. This latter title is of equally frequent use, in its technical value, in other inscriptions. In the present series, however, it is only used in a general way, to denote 'feudal chiefs;' e.g. in line 5 of No. 33 (see page 145 above, note 1), and in line 1 of No. 80 below, page 288.

² See Deall's *Ind. Rev. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 210 ff., and Vol. II. pp. 42, 91, 118, 121.

³ From Mr. Deall's rubbing; so also the lithograph.

⁴ See page 271 above.

A.—Lahor Seal of
the Maharaja Mahesvaranaga



FULL SIZE

B.—Rohtasgadh Seal-Matrix of
the Mahasamanta Sasankadeva.



SCALE .50

C.—Sarnath Inscription of Prakataditya.



No. 42 above, page 200, Plate xxviii.—The **language** is Sanskrit. The last line seems to be in prose; and the rest of the inscription, in verse throughout; though the metres cannot in every instance be recognised.—In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, once, in *puttrēṇa*, line 16; and (2) the use of *v* for *b* throughout; e.g. in *vâlāditya*, and *lavdha*, line 3.

The **inscription** is one of a king named **Prakaṭāditya**, whose capital appears to have been **Kâśī**, i.e. **Benares**, which is mentioned in the first line. It is not dated; but, on palæographical grounds it may be referred roughly to about the end of the seventh century A.D. It is a Vaishṇava inscription; and the object of it is to record the building of a temple of the god Viṣṇu, under the name of Muradvish, and some provision, the details of which are lost, for the repairs of it.

The chief interest attaching to this inscription, consists in its mentioning at least two kings of the name of **Bâlāditya**. One of them was the father of Prakaṭāditya. The other was an ancestor of the same name; and, as he himself is called "another" **Bâlāditya**, the presumption is that the name of the still earlier ancestor, who was mentioned in the passages that have been destroyed in lines 2 and 3, was also **Bâlāditya**. And the probability is, that the first Bâlāditya is the one who is so well known in connection with the history of **Mihirakula**.

TEXT.¹

- 1 dē(?)vô(?) || Kâś²-îti-
vikhyâtaṁ puram kâ(?)mē(?)na bhûshitam |
- 2 [II] [Pu]raṁdara i[va] pataty=ahô(?) ||
T[u]ṅga-ta(?)raṅga(?)va.. śâstra-vidô..... taṭānām | kari
- 3 rân³=madhya-da..mśam=ânitah | tad-varṁśa-sambhavô=nyô **Vâ(bâ)lâ-
dityô** ṇripaḥ prītyâ || Tad-gôtra-lavdha(baḥa)-janmâ **Vâ(bâ)lādityô**
.....
- 4 patiḥ || Tasya⁴ **Dhava**=êti jâyâ pati-vratâ Rôhiṇ=iva
chandrasya | Gaur=iva **Śûlapâṇer**=L[I]akshmir=iva Vâsu[dēvasya ||]
.....
- 5 [pra]tâpa-tapt-âmitra-vadhû-sindhu-sô[sha]..... | ti-vinayâ
dvaya-bhṛi(?)taṁ bhakti-dharmm-aika-śakti-satata-prathita
- 6 nu(?)ḥ suta-vatsala sutah śauryya-
vinaya-sampannaḥ | śrīmân=**Prakaṭādityô**
- 7 [dvi]ja⁵-vara-nikar-âśrayaḥ pravṛi(?)ddha(?)-guṇaḥ | kalpa-druma iva
nitarām nishkampah prakata-mûlô=pi ||
- 8 [I] dvija⁶-gaṇa-sēvyah sa[tata]m vidvat-samudaya-vihita-ruchiḥ ||
Nir[ji]ita-[du]rjjaya-śat[tru]s=tri
- 9 pû(?)rvvaḥ Kârttikēya iva || Yasya va.. nirgata
ludha(bdha)-hṛiṣṭa-bhramad-bhrama[ra].... vi
- 10 ta⁷-dinam prithu-pushkarīnyaḥ || Ye(?)na(?)⁸ ripu-sundarīnām
malināni kṛitāni v[i]pu[la].....

¹ From the ink-impression.

² Metre, Āryā; and probably in the next verse.

³ Metre, Āryā.

⁷ Metre, apparently Vasantatilaka

² Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh)

⁴ Metre, Āryā.

⁶ Metre, Āryā; and probably in the next verse.

⁸ Metre, probably Āryā.

11	.....naśa(?)na(?)-dviḥa-guru	II	....	kāritam=êtad=
	bhavanam Muradvishô ra			
12.	.....			yabhâ(?)su(?)
	yutâyāmikâ prakata			
13	.....		bahu-matô dharmma-	
	yaśô-râśi			
14	.....		yaḥ(?) II	Khaṇḍa ¹ -
	sphuṭita-saṁskāra dhû			
15	.....		haṁsa-bha	praśastiḥ
	svâ..... ta(?)ḥ II			
16	.....			R[A]machandra-
	[pu]ttr[ê]ṇa Dêvakêna II			

TRANSLATION.

This inscription is too fragmentary for a connected translation to be offered. But we have to note the following points. Line 1 mentions the city of KÂŚÎ; and line 2 apparently the god Puramdara, in connection with it. The passage lost between the last legible letter in line 2 and the first in line 3, contained the name of a king, in connection with whom we perhaps have, at the commencement of line 3, a mention of the Madhyadêśa or Central Country. In his lineage, there was born "another" king Bâlâditya (l. 3). In the family of the latter, there was born yet another Bâlâditya (l. 3). His wife was Dhavalâ (l. 4), who is compared with Rôhiṇî, the wife of the Moon, Gaurî, the wife of Śûlapâni, and Lakshmî, the wife of Vâsudêva. Their son was the glorious Prakatâditya (l. 6), whose virtues and prowess, including a comparison of him with the god Kârttikêya (l. 9), are described in lines 7 to 10, apparently without the introduction of any further historical matter. Line 11 mentions the building of a temple of the god Muradvish. Line 14 contained some provision for the repairs of this temple. And line 16 gives us the name of Dêvaka, the son of Râmachandra, apparently as the engraver of the inscription.

No. 80; PLATE XLIV.

NIRMAND COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MAHASAMANTA AND MAHARAJA SAMUDRASENA.

THIS inscription has been known, to General Cunningham, since 1847 or 1848, but was not brought to notice till 1879, when Major W. R. M. Holroyd, Director of Public Instruction in the Pañjâb, having obtained and forwarded the plate on which it is engraved, Dr. Rajendralala Mitra published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLVIII. Proceedings, p. 212 ff.

Nirmand¹ is a village, near the right bank of the Satlaj, twenty-one miles north-east of Plâch,² the chief town of the Plâch Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Kullû³ Division of the Kangra District in the Pañjâb. The inscription is on a copper-plate, which belongs to a

¹ Metre, probably Ślôka (Anuṣṭubh).

² The 'Nirmand' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 47. Lat. 31° 25' N.; Long. 77° 38' E.

³ The 'Plâch' of maps.

⁴ The 'Kullu and Kulu' of maps.

temple of the god Paraśurāma at this village; and, in accordance with the custom of the country, it is kept nailed up on one of the walls of the temple. I obtained the original plate, for examination, through the kindness of Mr. L. W. Dane, B.C.S.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, is of rather irregular shape, the extreme measures being about 1' 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " by 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". The edges of it are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. Three of the four corners are more or less damaged; but nothing has been lost thereby; except in the upper proper right corner, where, unfortunately, the name of the family of the *Mahārāja*, whose grant is recorded, has been broken away at the commencement of line 1. The rest of the inscription is in a state of very good preservation throughout. The plate is rather thin; and the letters, though not very deep, shew through on the reverse side throughout; they were also engraved with such force as to destroy entirely the original smoothness of the plate, and thus to give the majority of them rather a blurred appearance in the lithograph. The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of the majority of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—At the top of the plate, in the centre, there is a hole, which seems to have been made originally for a ring, with a seal attached to it; but it has been broken through to the edge, and the ring and seal are not forthcoming. There is another hole in the bottom of the plate; this was probably made later, in order to nail the plate up on to the wall of the temple.—The weight of the plate is about 1 lb. 12 oz.—The size of the letters varies from $\frac{3}{16}$ " to $\frac{5}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. In the combination of *r* with a following *y*, the *r* in this inscription is written on the line, with only a single *y* below it; e.g. in *paryantā*, line 8, and *kuryāt*, line 11. The characters include, in line 14, forms of the numerical symbols for 1, 6, and 10.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 12 to 14, the inscription is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmanīya*, in *yugalah=kratu*, line 2; *duḥkha*, line 6; *anudhyātah=parama*, lines 2, 3, and 4; *utpannah=pitṛā*, line 2; and *dayāluh=parama*, line 5; (2) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *vanśa*, line 1; (3) the occasional doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *samatikkrānta*, line 1; and *attra* and *vādīttra*, line 15; and (4) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, in *lavdha*, line 3; *vvali*, line 7; *kuṣumvīnd*, lines 8 and 9; and *kuṣumva*, line 9.

The inscription is one of a *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahārāja* named **Samudrasēna**. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year six, and the eleventh solar day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha (April-May). There is nothing to indicate any particular era to which the date should be referred. On palæographical grounds, we might very well refer it to the Harsha era, with the result of A.D. 612-13. But I feel rather doubtful as to the probability of the years of Harshavardhana's reign having been constituted an era, of general acceptance, quite so soon after his accession. And I am inclined to look upon the date of this inscription as referring only to the years of the authority of Samudrasēna himself, as in the Āraṅ grant of the *Rāja* Mahā-Jayarāja, No. 40 above, page 191, the Rāypur grant of the *Rāja* Mahā-Sudēvarāja, No. 41 above, page 196, and the Chammak and Siwanī grants of the *Mahārāja* Pravarasēna II., Nos. 55 and 56 above, pp. 235 and 243. And, in that case, all that can be said about the period of the present inscription, is, that it belongs roughly to about the seventh century A.D.¹ The object of

¹ Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XIV. p. 120 ff.) has referred this inscription to V'krama-Saṁvat 1227 (A.D. 1160-61); but on grounds which will not stand for a moment. It is

the inscription is to record the allotment of the village of *Sûlisagrâma* by *Samudrasêna*, to a body of *Brâhmaṇs* who studied the *Atharva-Vêda* at the *agrahâra* of *Nirmaṇḍa*, for the purposes of the god *Tripurântaka* or *Śiva*, who, under the name of *Mihirêśvara*, had been installed by his mother *Mihiralakshmî* at a previously established temple of the same god under the name of *Kapâlêśvara*. It is therefore a *Śaiva* inscription; but the occurrence of the word *mihira*, 'the sun,' as the first component of the god's name, seems to indicate that, in this particular case, some form or other of solar worship was combined with the *Śaiva* rites.

TEXT:

- 1 ²..... bhikhyâta - narapati - vaṇṣa - jas = sama³bhavach = chatur - udadhi-samatikkrânta-kîrttir=anêka-sâmant-ôttamâng-âvanata-mukuṭa - maṇi - mayûkha-vichchhurita-charaṇâravinda-⁴
- 2 vugala⁵h = kratu-yâji mahâsâmanta-mahârâja-śrî-Varuṇasênas=Tasya putras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ=paramadêvyâp(m)=Pravâ(bâ)likâ-bhaṭ[ṭ*]ârikâyâm=utpannaḥ=pitr=aiva tulyô guṇair=mma-
- 3 hâsâmanta-mahârâja-śrî-Saṁjayasênas=Tasya putras=tat-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ=paramadêvyâm Śikharasvâminî-bhaṭ[ṭ*]ârikâyâm=utpannas=samara-śata-lavdha(bdha)-jayas=tyâgi ma-
- 4 hâsâmanta-mahârâja-śrî-Ravishênas=tasya putras=tat-p[â*]d-ânudhyâtaḥ=paramadêvyâm śrî-Mihiralakshmî-bhaṭ[ṭ*]ârikâyâm=utpannaś=śarad-amala-sakala-rajanikara iva prâṇi-

true that the alphabetical characters of that part of the country are of an extremely conservative type; but not to anything like such an extent as to enable us to refer the present record to within several centuries of so late a period. The more important point, however, is, that his reading of the date is completely wrong. Overlooking altogether the numerical symbol that stands after the word *saṁvat*, he has obtained his reading of the date by interpreting, among the words that precede *saṁvat*, *arka* as 'twelve,' and *gaṇa* as 'twenty-seven.' According to the numerical-word system, *arka* certainly does stand for 'twelve;' and *gaṇa* might possibly be used for 'twenty-seven,' though I can find no authority for it. But, in the present passage, *arka* is simply the second component of the name of the writer of the grant; and, whatever *gaṇa* may mean here, it is most certainly not used as a numerical word. The date is recorded, in the usual way, in the numerical symbol that stands immediately after *saṁvat*; and that symbol is a 6.—Gen. Cunningham found some corroboration of his interpretation, in the fact that the accepted genealogy of the 'Mandi' and 'Suket' families contains a *Samudrasêna*, whose date, reckoning backwards at the rate of thirty years to the generation from A.D. 1500, would be about A.D. 1140 to 1166, and who might, therefore, on his interpretation of the date, be identified with the *Samudrasêna* of this inscription. But this identification cannot be accepted for a moment; it is wholly impossible to accept the names of *Vīrasêna*, *Savâhanasêna*, *Kanavâhanasêna*, and *Naravâhanasêna*, which precede him in the genealogy, as being identical with, or even intended to represent, the *Ravishêna*, *Samjayasêna*, and *Varunasêna*, of the inscription.

² From the original plate.

³ Four letters, or perhaps five, are broken away and lost here. A small part of the last of them, immediately preceding the first legible syllable, *śâ*, is visible; but it is impossible to say what the entire letter may have been.

⁴ The mark over this *ma* is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.

⁵ The mark between the *ri* and the *nda* is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.

⁶ The upper parts of these three letters are broken away and lost; but enough remains to shew distinctly what they were.

- 5 nām samāhlādana-karas=samutkhāt-āśēsha-ripur=āśāvatām=aprārtthita-phala-pradō
din-ānāth-ātura-dayāluh-paramamāhēśvarō=ti-vra(bra)hmanyah=parārtthy(rtth).
aika-ratō mahāsāmanta-
- 6 mahārāja-śrī-Samudrasēnō janani-śrī-Mihiralakshmyā dharmm-ārttham
bhagavatas-Tripurāntakasya lōk-ālōka-karasya prānat-ānukampinas=sarvva-
dulikha-kshaya-karō¹ Kapālē-
- 7 śvarē janani-pratishṭhitasya śrī-Mihirēśvarasya Kapālēśvara-vva(ba)li-charu-
sat[t*]ra-srag-dhūpa-dīpi(pa)-dānāya sataṭam śirṇṇa-khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-
sādhanāya cha Ni-
- 8 rmmāṇḍ-āgrāhār-Ātharvvaṇa-vrā(bra)hmaṇa-stōmāya Sūlisagrāma-navavaidila-
karmin-ānta-Vakkhalika-kuṭumvi(mbi)nā dvēsa-bhūmī-paryantā paribhūta-
nāmna Phakkaś=cha Tālāpura-
- 9 ka-kuṭumvi(mbi)nā dvēsa-bhūmī s-ōdraṅgā sa-sīm-ānta-paryantā
Sulabhaka-kuṭumva(mba)-Dinna-kuṭumva(mba)ś=cha I Kapālēśvara-dēvasya
pūrvva-pratishṭhāyām mahārāja-Śarvvavarmmēṇa² bhūmī dattā I
Sūlisagrāmasya śrī-Mihi-
- 10 ralakshmyā dattasya sam-audaka-jāṅgala-bhūmī-samētam=aśēsham sa-prativāsi-
jana-samētam s-ōdraṅga[ni*] sva-sīmā-triṇa-kāshṭha-prasravaṇa-yūti(ti)-
paryantam dēvāgrāhāratvēn=ā-cha-
- 11 ndr-ārka-tārā-samakālinam pratipādayati sma [II*] Viditv=aitad=rājabhis-
tad-āśrī(śrī)tajanēn-ādhipit-ānadhikritēna hitam=ichchhatā pratipālanīyā [I*]
yō=nyathā kuryāt=paripanthanam=apaha-
- 12 raṇa-pīḍ-ōpadravam vā sa pañchabhir=mmahāpātakair=upapātakaiś=cha
sariyuktas=syāt II Uktāñ=cha [I*] Va(ba)hubhir³=vvasudhā bhuktā
rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhi[h*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya
tadā
- 13 pnam [II*] Shashṭim varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē . mōdati bhūmi-dah
āchchhētā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [II*] Sva-
dattām para-dattām=vā yō harēta vasundharām shashṭi-yarsha-
- 14 sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyām jāyatē kṛimir=iti II Dūtō=tra Nihilapatī-
Kusalaprakāśaś=cha I lēkhakō=tra Udyōta-arkkaś⁴=cha gaṇa-
srōstha⁵ [II*] Samvat 6 Khē⁶ su di 10 I [II*]
- 15 Rāshṭra-samētasy=ā(ē)yam datti[h*] paripālyā II Ai(?)ṅgi(?)k=āttra
udyā(?)na(?)-sthāvara-vādittra-ka(?)viśva-sa(?)hadra upalava⁷
- 16 kagalalañcha(?)ṭika dva⁸ya(?) Mihi(hi)ralakshmi(kshmi)-pratipād[i*]ta iti [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Born in the lineage of the famous kings there was the *Mahā-sāmanta* and *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Varuṇasēna*, whose fame stretched out over the

¹ Read *karasya*.² Read *śarvvavarmmaṇḍ*.³ Metre, Ślōka (Anusṭubh); and in the following two verses.⁴ Read *udyōtārkaś*.⁵ This seems to be intended for *gaṇa-srēshṭhalā*.⁶ This is what is engraved. But of course it is a mistake for *vai*, i. e. *vaiśākha*; and it is easy to see how the engraver made the mistake in copying from the draft before him.⁷ The mark that follows this *va* is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.⁸ The mark before this *dva* is a fault in the copper, making a hole right through it.

four oceans; the waterlilies of whose feet were covered over with the rays of the jewels in the bowed-down tiaras on the heads of many feudal chiefs; (*and*) who celebrated sacrifices.

(Line 2.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (*and*) who was verily equal to (*his*) father in virtuous qualities, (*was*) the *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Samjayasēna*, begotten on the *Paramadēvī*,¹ the *Bhaṭṭārikā* *Prabālikā*.

(L. 3.)—His son, who meditated on his feet, (*and*) who attained victory in a hundred battles, (*and*) who was full of liberality, (*was*) the *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Ravishēna*, begotten on the *Paramadēvī* *Śikharasvāminī*.

(L. 4.)—His son, who meditates on his feet, the *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Samudrasēna*,—who was begotten on the *Paramadēvī*, the *Bhaṭṭārikā*, the illustrious *Mihiralakshmī*; who, like the spotless full-moon of autumn, causes the delight of (*all*) living creatures; who has uprooted all enemies; who confers upon the expectant rewards that are not (*even*) sought for (*by them*); who is tender to the poor, the helpless, and the afflicted; who is a most devout worshipper of (the god) *Mahēśvara*; who is extremely friendly to *Brāhmaṇs*; (*and*) who is entirely intent upon the supreme good,—for the sake of the religious purposes of (*his*) mother, the illustrious *Mihiralakshmī*, has allotted, as an *agrāhāra* of the god, to endure for the same time with the moon and the sun and the stars, to the body of *Brāhmaṇs* who study the *Atharva-Vēda* at the *agrāhāra* of *Nirmaṇḍa*,—for the purpose of giving, at (*the temple of the god*) *Kapālēśvara*, the *bali*, *charu*, *sattra*, garlands, incense, and lights, of the holy (god) *Mihirēśvara*, who is the divine *Tripurāntaka*, the maker of the visible and invisible world, compassionate to those who worship (*him*), the destroyer of all sorrows, (*and*) who was established by (*his*) mother at (*the temple of the god*) *Kapālēśvara*; and for the purpose of always repairing whatever may become worn-out and broken and torn,—the whole of the village of *Sūlisagrāma*, that was granted by the illustrious *Mihiralakshmī*, together with the level and marsh and forest lands; together with the inhabitants; with the *udrāṅga*; (*and*) including all its boundaries, grass, timber, and springs,—(*viz.*) (*the land*) including the *dvēsa*-land² (*that had been given*) by the cultivator *Vakkhalika*, (*whose holding was*) on the edge of the newly-constructed *vaidila*³ of the village of *Sūlisagrāma*; and the *dvēsa*-land, with the *udrāṅga* (*and*) including the edges of (*its*) boundaries, (*that had been given*) by a cultivator of the town of *Tālāpura*,⁴ who under a nick-name (*was called*) *Phakka*,⁵ and the holding of *Sulabhaka* and the holding of *Dinna*; (*and*) the land that had been given by the *Mahārāja* *Śarvavarman* at the former installation of the god *Kapālēśvara*.

(L. 11.)—(*This grant*) should be preserved by (*future*) kings, becoming aware of it; (*and*) by the people, whether holding office or not holding office, dependent on them, who

¹ *Paramadēvī*, *lit.* 'supreme goddess,' was a technical title of the wives of *Mahārājas*. The more usual title, however, was *Mahādēvī* (see page 16 above, note 2).

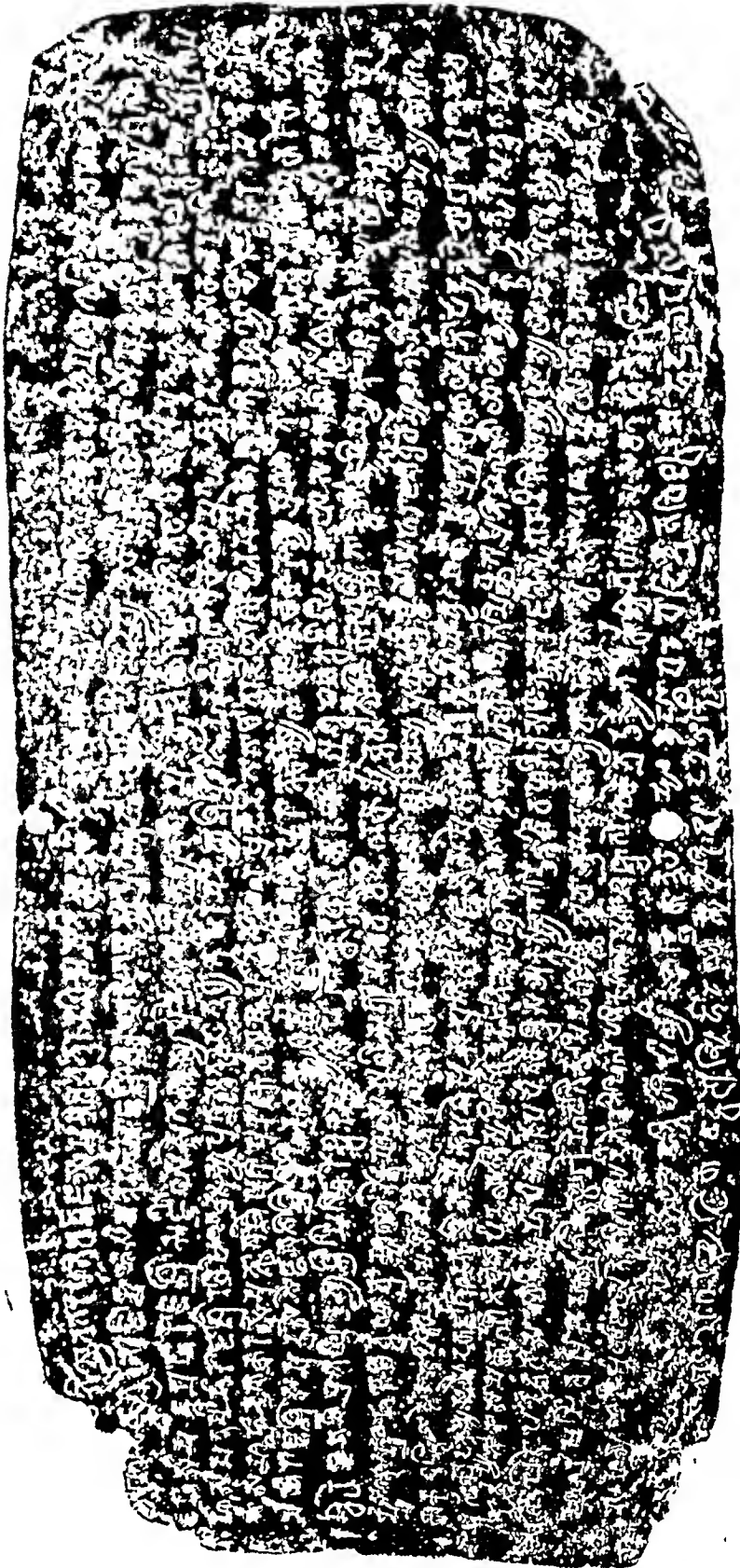
² *dvēsa*.—I have not been able to obtain any explanation of this word, which is probably a local term. Dr. R. Mitra translated it by 'grazing-ground,' but quoted no authority for this.—The purport of the passage from *Sūlisagrāma-nāma*, line 8, down to *ēkāmī dattā*, line 9, is not quite clear. But it seems to specify certain previous grants which make up the *aīśkara* or 'entirety' of *Sūlisagrāma*, as now bestowed by *Samudrasēna*.

³ *vaidila*.—This is another word of which I have not been able to obtain any explanation.

⁴ Or perhaps *Tālāpura*, with the short vowel *a* in the first syllable.

⁵ *lit.* 'the cripple.'

Nirmand Plate of the Mahasamanta and Maharaja Samudrasena.



W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

SCALE 30

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

are desirous of welfare! Whosoever (acting) otherwise, may cause obstruction or the annoyance of the pūn caused by confiscation,—he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins and the minor sins!

(L. 12.)—And it has been said:—"The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagarā; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs at that time the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continues it)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (for) the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years.

(L. 14.)—And the *Dātā* in this matter (is) the *Nīhīlpati* Kuśalaprakāśa; and the writer in this matter (is) Udyōtaka, the leader of the assemblage (ṛ).² The year 6; (the month) Vaiśākha; the bright fortnight; the day 10 (and) 1.

(L. 15.)—This grant, which is one of the whole assembly of (the people of) the country, should be preserved!

No. 81; PLATE XLV.

RAJIM COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE RAJA TIVARADEVA.

THIS inscription was discovered about 1785 by a Marāṭhā chief named Hanmantrao Maharik, and was first brought to notice in 1825, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. p. 499 ff., where, the original plates having been forwarded by Mr. R. Jenkins, a lithograph of it was published (id. Plate xiv.), accompanied by a version of the text by a Jain scholar named Srivarmasuri, and a translation by Professor H. H. Wilson.—Subsequently General Cunningham obtained the original plates again, and, in 1884, published a fresh lithograph in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 17, and Plates vi. vii. and viii.

Rājīm¹ is a town on the right bank of the Mahānadi river, about twenty-four miles to the south-east of Rāypur,² the chief town of the Rāypur District in the Central

¹ *Dātā*; see page 100 above, note 3.—An Ujjain grant of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1192 (Colebrooke's *Essays*, Vol. II. p. 273; and *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 51, line 13) gives an instance of more than one original *Dātā* or *Dātaka* being employed for one and the same grant,—viz. "the *Parāhita*, the *Thakkura*, the illustrious Vāmanasvāmī; the *Thakura*, the illustrious Puruṣōttama; the *Modā-pradhāna*, the *Rājaputra*, the illustrious Dēvaçhara; and others,"—without any such circumstances as those indicated in No. 30 above, page 134, which necessitated the despatch of a second *Dātaka* to authorise the insertion of additional privileges in the charter.

² *Nihīlpati*.—I have not been able to obtain any explanation of the first component of this official title.

³ *gana-śrēṣṭha* (?).—If this is the proper intended reading, the word must have some technical meaning; but its exact purport is not apparent.

⁴ The passage commencing with *ai(?)gi(?)k=śtra*, in line 15, is too corrupt to be capable of translation. But it appears to record two other grants made by Mihiralakshmi; and it mentions a park, some immovable property, and some musical instruments.

⁵ The 'Rajam and Rajim' of maps. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 91. Lat. 20° 58' N.; Long. 81° 55' E.

⁶ The 'Raepoor, Raipur, and Ryepoor' of maps &c.; see page 196 above, and note 1.

Provinces. The plates containing the inscription were discovered in digging for stones to build a house in this town, and are now in the possession of the priests of the temple of the god Rājīvalôchana. I obtained them, for examination, through the District Authorities.

The plates, of which the first and last are engraved on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about $8\frac{7}{8}$ " by $5\frac{7}{8}$ ". They are quite smooth, the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. They are rust-eaten in a few places; but the inscription is for the most part in a state of perfect preservation. They are of fair thickness; but the letters shew through on the reverse sides of the first and last plates, so clearly that most of them can be read there. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—Towards the proper right side of each plate, about the centre, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring, which had not been cut when the grant came under my notice, is circular, about $\frac{7}{16}$ " thick and $4\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The ends of it are secured, in the usual way, in the lower part of a seal. The top of the seal is circular, about $3\frac{3}{16}$ " in diameter. It has, in relief on a rather deep countersunk surface, across the centre, a legend, in two lines, of which the text and translation are given below; in the upper part, a figure of Garuḍa, facing full-front, depicted with the head of a man and the body of a bird, with his wings expanded, with, apparently, human arms hanging down between the wings and the feet, and with a serpent, with expanded hood, standing up in front of and over each shoulder; on the proper right of this, a *chakra* or discus, the emblem of Viṣṇu; and on the proper left, a *śaṅkha* or conch-shell; in the lower part, a floral device.—The weight of the three plates is about 2 lbs. 15 oz., and of the ring and seal, about 2 lbs. $6\frac{1}{4}$ oz.; total, 5 lbs. $5\frac{1}{4}$ oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{7}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; but they include the separate form of the lingual *d*, as distinct from the dental *d*, e.g. in *vāḍavānala*, line 6, and *gūḍō*, for *gūḍhō*, line 10. They give another specimen of the 'box-headed' variety, peculiar to Central India, on which I have commented at page 18 f. above. They include, in line 36, a form of the numerical symbol¹ for 7, and also of the decimal figure² for 8.—The language is Sanskrit, except for the three vernacular terminations in the record of the date in the last line. The legend on the seal is in verse. The inscription itself, except for one verse at the beginning and the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 25 to 35, is in prose throughout.—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś*, in *nistrinśa*, line 4; *vaṇśa*, line 16;

¹ This sign is, perhaps, rather an intermediate form between the numerical symbol and the decimal figure, as it differs a little from the symbol for 7 which we have in the Bôdh-Gaya inscription of Mahānāman, No. 71 (see page 274 above, note 2); but it approximates much more closely to the symbol, than to the figure.—Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 17) interpreted it as 6; probably on account of its resemblance to the modern Bengālî form of 6. This will not stand; because of the southern type of the characters of this inscription.—There might possibly be a doubt, whether it represents 7 or 9. But I think, on the whole, that it is intended for a 7.

² Here we have a fully developed decimal figure, and of the southern type, as shown by the slight bend to the left in the vertical stroke; it is also explained by the ordinal adjective *asthamu*, 'the eighth'.—This mixture of a numerical symbol and a decimal figure is rather unusual. But a still more marked example occurs in the date of the Śākya Buddhist inscription of the Śāmanā Dāyadatta of Vikrama-Samvat 870, where the 800 is expressed by the decimal figure 8 in combination with a form of the numerical symbol for 100 (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 351 f.)

and *nriśaṅsa*, line 27; (2) the use of *v* for *b*, in *vahala*, line 5; and (3) the use of *b* for *v*, in *bvavasthā*, line 8; *baṇṇuṣi*, line 9-10; *abhibhiddhayē*, line 22; *pratibastavyam*, line 25-26; *byāsa*, line 30; and *bā*, line 34.

The inscription is one of the *Rāja Tivaraḍēva*, of the Pāṇḍuvarṇśa or lineage of Pāṇḍu. In line 18, he has also the name of Mahāśiva-Tivaraṛāja; and, according to the legend on the seal, he was the lord of the Kōśala country. The charter recorded in it is issued from the town of Śrīpura, which is evidently the modern Śirpur, about forty miles east by north from Rāypur. It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it being simply to record the grant, by Tivaraḍēva, to a Brāhman, on the twelfth lunar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Jyēṣṭha (May-June), of the village of Pimparipadraka in the Penṭhāma *bhukti*.¹ The last two lines record, partly with a numerical symbol,² and partly with a decimal figure coupled with the ordinal adjective, a second and fuller date; viz. the seventh year of the reign, and the eighth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Kārttika (October-November). This is evidently the date of the writing or assignment of the charter. And the 'reign' referred to, is probably the government of Tivaraḍēva.

Tivaraḍēva's paramount sovereign is referred to in line 11. But his name, or lineage, is not mentioned. Nor does the inscription contain any distinct information as to the period to which it is to be referred. This latter point, however, appears capable of determination from other sources. Tivaraḍēva was the adopted son³ of Nannadēva, who was the son of Indrabala. Nannadēva and his father Indrabala are mentioned again in an inscription at Śirpur itself, discovered by Mr. Beglar, and brought to notice by General Cunningham, in 1884, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 25 f. and Plate xviii A.; and from this we learn that Indrabala's father was Udayana, of the Śavara lineage. The Śirpur inscription contains no date; but, on palæographical grounds, it may be referred roughly to about the eighth or ninth century A.D. And it seems extremely probable that this Śavara king or chieftain, Udayana, is the one who was conquered, captured, and released again, by the Later Pallava king Pallavamalla-Nandivarman.⁴ Mr. Foulkes⁵ has allotted Nandivarman to the century from A.D. 800 to 900; his exact date still remaining to be fixed, in accordance, to a certain extent, with the date of the Chōla king Koppāra-Kēsarivarman, whose name appears in a Tamil addition to Nandivarman's grant. These points remain for further investigation. But they indicate the period to about which the present inscription of Tivaraḍēva may be referred. And, though the archaic forms of the characters might lead us, at first sight, to allot it to an earlier period, such a conclusion is negatived by the vernacular terminations occurring in the last line, and by the use of a decimal figure in the record of the date. General Cunningham, indeed,⁶ has arrived at the specific date of A.D. 425 for Tivaraḍēva. But this is based upon his identification of Nannadēva's great-grandson Śivagupta with a certain Śivagupta of the Sōmavarṇśa, a king of Kaṭak, who, according to the Orissa

¹ *bhukti*, lit. 'enjoyment,' is a technical territorial term, the exact purport of which remains to be determined.

² See page 292 above, notes 1 and 2.

³ *tanaya-prāpta*, line 16; lit. 'acquired as a son.'—Nannadēva's son by birth was Chandragupta, as recorded in line 5 of the Śirpur inscription referred to in this paragraph.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. pp. 278, 282 f.; and *Manual of the Salem District*, Vol. II. pp. 360, 364.

⁵ *Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S.* Vol. XVII. p. 203.

⁶ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. p. 17 f.

palm-leaf records, was reigning in the time of Yayāti or Yayātikēśarin; and upon his acceptance of Stirling's date of A.D. 474 to 526 (or 473 to 520) for Yayātikēśarin, as correct. I shall discuss the matter at length hereafter. It is sufficient to say, here, that the date of Yayātikēśarin, derived from the Orissa records, is altogether unreliable, and is too early by at least about four centuries; and that, if the identification of the two Śivaguptas is correct, it leaves no doubt whatever that Tivaradēva cannot be allotted to an earlier date than roughly about A.D. 800.

TEXT.¹

Tir Seal.

ॐ Śrīmat²-Tī³varadēvasya Kōsal-
 ādhipatēr-idam
 ॐ āsanam dharmma-vṛddhy-arttha[m]
 śhīram=ā-chandra-tārakam [11*]

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm [11*] Jayatī⁴ jagat-[t*]raya-tilaka[h*] kshītībhṛt-kula-bhavana-
 maṅgala-sūtra[h*] śrī(śrī)mat-Ti(ti)varadēv dhaureya[h*] sa-
- 2 kala-puṇyakṛtām [11*] Sta(sva)sti Śrī(śrī)purāt-samadhigatapañcha-
 mahāśabd-ānēka-nata-nripati-kiri(ri)ṭa-
- 3 kōṭi-ghṛipta(ṣṭa)-charaṇa-nakha-darpaṇ-ōdbhāsīt=pi kauṭhad-unmukha-prakaṭa-
 ripu-rāja-lakshmi(kshmi)-
- 4 kēśapāś-ākaraṣaṇa-durlalita-pāṇipalla[vō*] niśīta-nistṛi(stri)ṅśa-ghana-ghāta-pātīt-
 āri-dvīrada-ku-
- 5 mbha-maṇḍala-galad-va(ba)hala - śōṇita - sad - āsīkta - muktāphala - prakara - maṇḍita-
 rāṇḍaga-
- 6 dvi(vi)vidha-ratna-saṁbhāṭa-lābha-lōbha-vijimbhamāṇ-āri - kshāravāri - vādavānalaś-
 chandr-ōḍaya iv-ākṛita-
- 7 kar-ōdvēgaḥ kshī(kshī)rōḍa iv-ādvi(vi)rbhūt-ānēk-ātīśāyi-ratna-sampat
 Garutmaṇ-iva bhujaṅg-ōddhāra-chatura[h*]
- 8 parāmṛiṣṭa-ga(śa)tra-kalatra-nētr-ānījāna - kōmala - kapōla - kuṅkumapatra - bhaṅgat
 śīst-āchāra-bya(vya)vasthā-
- 9 paripālita-sika-datta-chitta[h*] [11*] api cha prāktanē tapasi yaśasi
 rahasi chētasi chakshushi ha(va)p[u].

Second Plate; First Side.

- 10 śhī cha pōjītō janēn-āklīśtataya mīdatam-a-vitṛiptō gōḍō(dhō) gāḍa(dha)-
 svachchha-prasanna-ya(va)da-

¹ From the original plates.

² Metre, Śāka (Anushtubh).

³ The vowel is somewhat damaged, and it is difficult to say whether *i* was engraved, or *ī*. In lines 1 and 18, the short vowel *i* is used in this name; and, in fact, *i* is used for *ī* throughout the greater part of the inscription; but the metre of line 1 shows that, in this name, the long vowel *ī* is the correct one.

⁴ Metre, Anyā; but one short syllable is wanting in the second *pāda*.

⁵ The vowel *ś* is partly destroyed by the ring-hole of the plate.

- 11 nēna ch=ālaṅkṛita[h*] svāmi-bhavan[ĕ*]=py=a-bahu-lapanô=n-ujjhitaḥ ku-trishṇô=pi nitānta-tyā-
- 12 gi(gi) ripujana-prachanḍô=pi sô(sau)mya-darśanô bhūti-vibhūshaṇô=py=a-parushaḥ svabhāva[taḥ*] ki-
- 13 űich=ā-santusṭhō dharm-ārjanēna sampal-lābhē svalpa-krōdhēna prabhāve lubdhō yaśasi na pa-
- 14 ra-vitt-apahārē sa(sa)k[l]aḥ subhāsi(shi)tēshu na kāmīni(nī)-krīi(krī)ḍāsu pratāp-ānala-dagdh-āsēsha-
- 15 ripu-kula-tūlarāsis=tuhinaśilāśaila-dhavalā-yaśô-rāśi-prakāsita-diganta[h*] kānta[h*] prakṛityā
- 16 śrīi(śrī)mad-Indrabala-sūnôr=alaṅkṛita-Pāṇḍuvaṇśasya śrīi(śrī)-Nannadēvasya tanaya-prāptaḥ sva-punya(ṇya)-
- 17 sambhāra-prasa(sa)mit-āsēsha-jagad-upadravaḥ sva-prajñā-sū(sū)chi-samuddhṛit-ākḥila-kaṇṭakāḥ para-
- 18 mavaishṇavô mātāpitṛi-pād-ānudhyātaḥ śrīi(śrī)-Mahāśiva-Tira'rājah kuśali II² Penṭhāma-bhukṭiya-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 Pimparipadrakē brāhmaṇām(n) saṃpūjya prativāsinaḥ samājñā-payati [I*] Veditam=astu
- 20 bhavatām yath=āsmābhir=ayam grāmô yāvad=ravi-śāśi-tārā-kiraṇa-pratihata-ghôr-andhakāram ja-
- 21 gad=avatiṣṭhatē tāvad=upabhōgya[h*] sa-nidhiḥ s-ōpanidhiḥ³=a-chāṭa-bhata⁴-pravēś[ô*] dā-
- 22 radraṇaka-sarva-kar-ādāna-samētô mātā⁵pitṛôr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ābhi-bri(vri)⁶ddhayē Bhā-
- 23 radvājasagōtra - VājasaneyāMādhyandina bhaṭṭaGauridattaputra - bhaṭṭa-
- 24 Bhavadatta-bhaṭṭaHaradattābhyām Jyēshṭha-dvādaśyām=udaka-pūrvam prati-pādita i-
- 25 ty=avagamyā bhavadbhir=yath-ôchitam=asmai⁷ bhōga-bhāgam=upanayadbhiḥ sukhām=prati-
- 26 vastabya(vya)m=iti II Bhāvinaś=cha bh. śmipālān=uddiśy=ēdam=abhidhiyatē [I*] Bhūmī⁸-pra-
- 27 dā divi lalanti patanti hṛi(ha)nta hṛitvā mahi⁹ nṛipatayô narakē nṛi-śaṇśaḥ

Third Plate.

- 28 ētaḍ=[d*]vaya[m*] parikalayya chalāñ=cha lakshmi(kshmi)m=āyus=tathā kuruta yad=bhavatām=abhi(bhī)shṭa[m] [II*]

¹ Read *tivara*. The engraver first cut the *rā*, of *rājah*, omitting both *va* and *ra*; and then, partially cancelling the *ā*, he omitted to insert the *va*.

² This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

³ Read *s-ōpanidhir*.

⁴ The engraver first formed *va*, and then corrected it into *ṭa*.

⁵ The engraver first began to form *pitṛô*, and then corrected it into *mātā*.

⁶ The engraver first formed *brii*, and then partially cancelled the superscript *i*.

⁷ Read *ābhyām*.

⁸ Metre, Vasantatilaka.

⁹ Read *mahīm*.

- 29 Api cha [I*] Raksh¹-âpâlanayôs=tâvat=phalam su-gati dur-gati kô nâma
svargam=uchchhri(tsri)jya
- 30 narakam pratipadyatê [II*] Byâ(vyâ)sa-gi(gi)tâmś=ch=âtra ślôkân=udâraharanti [I*]
Agnêr²=a[pa*]tyam prathamam
- 31 sūvarnam bhûr=vaishnavi(vi) sūryya-sutâś=cha gâvah dattâ[s*]=trayas=
têna bhavanti lôkâ yah kañchanam gâ-
- 32 ñ=cha mahi(hi)ñ=cha³ dadyâ[t*] [II*] Shashti⁴-varsha-sahasrâni svargê
môdati bhûmi-dah âkshêptâ
- 33 ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt [II*] Bahubhir=vasudhâ dattâ
râjabhih Sagar-âdibhih
- 34 yasya yasya yadâ bhûmi[s*]=tasya tasya tadâ phalam [II*] Sva-
dattâm para-dattâm bâ(vâ) yatnâd=raksha
- 35 Yudhishthirah⁵ mahi⁶ mahimatâm śrêshṭha dâna śrêyô⁷=nupâlanam=
iti || Pravarddhamâna-
- 36 vijaya-râjya-samvatsaru⁸ 7 Kârtika divasu ashṭha(shṭa)mu 8 [II*]

TRANSLATION.

The Seal.

This charter, which is for the sake of the increase of religion, of the illustrious **Tivaradêva**, the supreme lord of (the country of) **Kôsala**, shall endure firmly as long as the moon and the stars !

The Plates.

Ôm! Victorious is the illustrious **Tivaradêva**, the ornament of the three worlds; the auspicious thread of the palaces of the race of kings; the most energetic of all those who do works of religion !

(Line 2.)—Hail! From the town of **Śrîpura**;—He who verily is made resplendent by the mirror of the nails of (his) feet, that is polished by a crore of diadems of the many kings, bowing down (*before him in the act of performing obeisance*), who have attained the *pañchamahâśabda*;²—whose fingers are discourteous in pulling the flowing tresses of

¹ Metre, Ślôka (Anuchṭubh).

² Metre, Indravajrâ.

³ This *śeṭa* is imperfect in the lower part. It was repeated, and formed completely; but the greater part of the second *śeṭa* was then destroyed by the ring-hole.

⁴ Metre, Ślôka (Anuchṭubh); and in the following two verses.

⁵ Read *yudhishthira*.

⁶ Read *mahîm*.

⁷ Read *dândch=chhrêṣṭ*.

⁸ Here, and in *dikaru* and *ashtarau*, we have evidently a vernacular termination.—As regards the interpretation of the year and the day, see page 292 above, notes 1 and 2.

⁹ *pañchamahâśabda*; lit. 'five great sounds'—This is a technical expression, the meaning of which remained for a long time in doubt—in Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary *mahâśabda* is given as meaning 'an official title beginning with the word *mahâ* ('great');' and *pañchamahâśabda*, in accordance with this, would denote five titles of rank and honour, such as *Mahârâja*, *Mahâmandala-dêva*, *Mahâsamanta*, &c. This explanation was adopted by me (*Jour. De. Ind. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 317, note), in preference to a suggestion previously made to me (*id.* Vol. IX. p. 307, note), that the term was identical with the *pañchamahâśastra* of the Jains, and denoted the five titles of *Arhat*, *Siddha*, *Ârâhant*, *Upâdhyâya*, and *Sacrasiddha*. And, finding the five titles of *Mahâśamanta*,

the goddess of the fortunes of hostile kings, mourning, and looking up in anxious expectation (*of even further ill-treatment*), and exposed in public;—who is a very submarine

Mahāpratihāra, *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, *Mahākārtākritika* and *Mahārāja*, twice applied to Dhruvasēna I. of Valabhi, in lines 13 f. and 29 f. of his grant of (Gupta)-Samvat 207 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 105), Dr. Bühler (*id.* p. 106, note) accepted the same explanation. Also, the same rendering has been given by Professor Kielhorn, in his translation of line 3 of the Kanheri inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I. and his Śilāhāra feudatory Kapardin II., dated Śaka-Samvat 775 (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 135).—Meanwhile, Mr. Sh. P. Pandit (*id.* Vol. I. p. 81, note), while accepting the same explanation, added, though without quoting his authority, that it had been usual to accept the term as referring to the sounds of five musical instruments. Taking up this idea, Sir Walter Elliot (*id.* Vol. V. p. 251 f.) quoted two passages from *Ferishtah*, and one from the nineteenth book of Chand's *Prithirāj-Rasa*, which speak of the *naubat* or 'imperial band' being played at the courts of kings five times daily; and expressed his opinion that this was the custom to which the expression under notice referred. In commenting on this, Mr. Growse (*id.* Vol. V. p. 354 f.) pointed out that the passage in Chand refers to "a noise of the five kinds of music playing every day," rather than to "song and music playing five times a day;" quoted a line from the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tulsidās, book i., which speaks of "the noise of the five kinds of music, and auspicious songs;" and also gave, from a commentary on the same poem, a Hindi couplet which explains the five kinds of music as being the sounds of the *tantri* or lute, the *tāl* or bell-metal instrument played with a stick, the *jhāñj* or cymbals, the *nagāra* or kettle-drum, and a wind-instrument. And finally, Mr. K. B. Pathak (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 95 f.) quoting an Old-Kanarese passage from a Jain author, descriptive of a royal procession, which mentions the sounding of the *pañchamahāśabda* and auspicious drums, stated that the Liṅgayat *Vivēkachintāmaṇi* enumerates the five musical instruments as being the *śrīṅga* or trumpet, the *tammaṭa* or tambour, the *śaṅkha* or conch-shell used as a horn, the *bhēri* or kettle-drum, and the *jayaghaṇṭā* or gong.—The last two contributions to the discussion leave no doubt whatever that the expression *pañchamahāśabda* denotes the sounds of five musical instruments, the use of which was allowed, as a special mark of distinction, to persons of high rank and authority.—Some of the inscriptions mention certain specific musical instruments, which, if they are to be classed among the customary and technical five instruments, remain to be identified with those enumerated in the *Vivēkachintāmaṇi*. Thus, the Baḷagāmve inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1102 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 46, line 4) gives to the Kalachuri king Bijjala the epithet *ḍamaruka-tūrya-nirghōṣhaṇa*, 'he who has (played before him) the sound of the musical instrument called *ḍamaruka*' (a double drum, shaped like an hour-glass). So, also, the Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum had the epithet *trivālī-tūrya-nirghōṣhaṇa*; e.g. in the case of Lakshmidēva, in the Saundatti inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1151 (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 268, and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 113, line 62). And the Kādambas of Goa had the epithet *permaṭṭi-tūrya-nirghōṣhaṇa*; e.g. in the case of Śivachitta-Permaḍi, in the Veṅkaṭapur inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1080 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 273, line 7 f.).—Occasionally, instead of *pañcha-mahāśabda*, 'the five great sounds,' we have *aśēsha-mahāśabda*, 'all the great sounds;' e.g. in line 41 of the Barōda grant of the Rāshtrakūṭa chieftain Karka II. of Gujarāt, dated Śaka-Samvat 734 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 160), and in line 24 of the Barōda grant of the chieftain Dhruva II. of the same family, dated Śaka-Samvat 757 (*id.* Vol. XIV. p. 199). But, that this had no wider meaning, is shewn by the double expression *aśēsha-pañcha-mahāśabda*, 'all the five great sounds' which occurs in line 1 of the Ambarnāth inscription of the Śilāhāra chieftain Māmvaṇi, dated Śaka-Samvat 782 (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 219, and Vol. XII. p. 329), and in line 2 of the Añjanēri inscription of the Yādava chieftain Sēuṇa-dēva, dated Śaka-Samvat 1063 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 126).—The epithet *samadhigata-pañchamahāśabda*, 'one who has attained the *pañchamahāśabda*,' is of very constant occurrence in inscriptions, in connection with the names of feudatories, and even of *Mahākumāras* or heirs-apparent. But the only instances that I can quote, in which it is applied to paramount sovereigns, are the cases of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I., in line 6 f. of his Śirūr inscription, dated Śaka-Samvat 788 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 218); of another Rāshtrakūṭa king named Kakka, in line 22 of his Chhārōli grant, dated Śaka-Samvat 679 (*Four. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 108); and of Dēvapāla of Dhārā, in line 5 f. of the 'Chārwa' inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 1275 (No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, p. 111).—The only instance known to me, in which any reference is made to the source of this mark of distinction, viz. to its being bestowed upon a feudatory

fire to the salt water of (*his*) enemies, gaping with the greedy desire to acquire a multitude of various jewels in battle-fields which are decorated with numbers of pearls that are always besprinkled with the thick blood that trickles down from the foreheads of the elephants of (*his*) enemies, struck down with the crushing blows of (*his*) sharp sword;—who has not caused distress by (*his*) taxes, just as the rising moon does not cause distress by (*its*) rays;—who, like the sea of milk, manifests a wealth of many most excellent jewels;—who, like Garutmat, is skilful in eradicating the serpents;¹—who breaks the saffron-leaves on the cheeks, soft with the collyrium (*washed down by the tears*) from (*their*) eyes, of the violated wives of (*his*) enemies;—whose thoughts are solely given to the establishment and protection of virtuous behaviour;—

(L. 9.)—Who, moreover, is not too much puffed up with satisfaction, (*though he is*) unweariedly worshipped by mankind, in (*respect of his*) religious austerity (*and*) fame (*and*) secrecy (*and*) intellect (*and*) faculty of sight and (*beauty of*) form resulting from (*good*) acts done in a former life;—who is reserved, and is decorated with an impenetrable, pure, and complacent countenance;—who, even in the palace of (*his*) lord, is never at a loss (*for words*), though he does not talk too much;—who, though he is thirsty for (*the acquisition of*) land, is yet exceedingly liberal;—who, though he is fierce to (*his*) enemies, is yet mild of aspect;—who, though he is adorned with majesty, is yet not harsh;—who, moreover, is by nature never quite satisfied in accumulating religion in the acquisition of wealth, (*and*) in (*displaying only*) mild anger in (*spite of all his*) power;—who is greedy for fame, (*but*) not for the appropriation of the wealth of others;—who is affable in excellent conversations, (*but*) not in the dallyings of wanton women;—who has burned with the fire of (*his*) prowess all the heap of cotton that is the race of (*his*) enemies;—who has irradiated the ends of the quarters of the world with the mass of (*his*) fame that is as white as the rocky mountain of snow;—(*and*) who is by nature beautiful;—

(L. 16.)—(*He*), the illustrious Mahâśiva-Tīvararāja,—who is the adopted son² of the illustrious Nannadēva, who was the son of the illustrious Indrabala, (*and*) who adorned the lineage of Pāṇḍu; who has allayed all the troubles of the world with the abundance of his religious merit; who has extracted all thorns with the needle of his wisdom; who is a most devout worshipper of (the god) Viṣṇu; (*and*) who meditates on the feet of (*his*) parents,—being in good health, (*and*) having done worship to the Brāhmaṇs at (the village of) Pimparipadraka belonging to the Penṭhâma *bhukti*, issues a command to the residents:—

(L. 19.)—"Be it known to you, that this village is given by Us, with libations of water, on the twelfth lunar day of (the month) Jyêṣṭhâ, for the increase of the religious merit of (*Our*) parents and of Ourselves, to the *Bhaṭṭa* Bhavadatta and the *Bhaṭṭa* Haradatta, sons of the *Bhaṭṭa* Gauridatta, of the Bhâradvāja *gôtra* and the Vâjasaneyâ-Mâdhyam-dîna (*śākhâ*),—to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness

by the reigning paramount sovereign, is in the Dēḍgaḍh inscription of Bhôjadēva of Gwâlior, dated Vikrama-Samvat 919 and Śaka-Samvat 784, in which (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 101, and Pl. xxxiii. No. 2. l. 3) the *Makûśāmanṭa* Viṣṇu (?) has the epithet *tat-pradatta-pañchamahâśabdâ*, 'possessed of the *pañchamahâśabda* conferred by him, i.e. by Bhôjadēva.'

¹ This possibly contains an allusion to the well-known Nāga family or tribe.

² *tanaya-prâpta*; *lit.* 'acquired as a son'; see page 293 above, note 3.

dispelled by the rays of the sun and the moon and the stars ; together with (*its*) hidden treasures and deposits ; not to be entered by the regular or the irregular troops ; (*and*) accompanied by (*the right of*) receiving the *dāradraṇaka*¹ and all the taxes.

(L. 24.)—" Being aware of this, you should dwell in happiness, rendering to them, in a proper manner, (*their*) share of the enjoyment."

(L. 26.)—And for the guidance of future kings, this is said,—“ Those kings who bestow land, enjoy pleasure in heaven ; (*but*) alas ! those who confiscate land (*that has been given*), and (*thus*) work injury to mankind, fall into hell : bearing in mind these alternatives, and also that fortune (*and*) life are transient, do that which pleases you !” Moreover,—“ The reward of protection ensures a fortunate condition, and of omission to protect, a state of misfortune ; who, indeed, will (*willingly*) disregard heaven and obtain hell ?”

(L. 30.)—And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyāsa :—Gold is the first offspring of fire ; the earth belongs to (the god) Viṣṇu ; and cows are the daughters of the sun : therefore the three worlds are given by him, who gives gold, and a cow, and land ! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years ; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell ! Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara ; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*) ! O Yudhisṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself, or by another ; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) (*is*) more meritorious than making a grant !

(L. 35.)—The year 7 of the increasing victorious reign ; (the month) Kārttika ; the eighth day, (*or in figures*) 8.

¹ *dāradraṇaka* is a fiscal term that requires explanation. The dictionaries give *dāra*, in the sense of ‘a cleft, gap, hole ; a ploughed field ; a wife ;’ but they do not give *draṇaka*, or any root by means of which it can be explained. The term may refer either to some agricultural cess, or to a marriage-tax of the kind spoken of in line 6 ff. of the Daṇḍāpur inscription of Jagattuṅga II., dated Śaka-Samvat 840 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 223 f.)

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rāja; with Dēva, Gōpa, Jaya, Kōṇḍa, Maṇṭa, Nila, Śatrughna, Sudēva, Tivara, Vyāghra.
rāta; with Amra or Āmra, Vyāghra, Yaśas.
śarman (see 11 n.); with Bhartṛi, Dēva, Dhruva, Gō, Gōṇḍa, Guha, Hari, Īvara, Jyēsthā, Kumāra, Magha, Mātri, Mōksha, Mūla, Nāga, Rēvati, Rudra, Śānti, Sōma, Su, Svāti, Vara, Varuṇa.
sēna; with Āditya, Ananta, Daṁshtrā, Dhara, Dhruva, Guha, Hari, Kumāra, Nāga, Pravara, Prithivi, Ravi, Rudra, Saṁjaya, Samudra, Siddha, Skambha, Sūra or Śūra, Ugra, Upa, Varuṇa, Vasanta, Vikrama, Vīra.
śiddha; with Sana.
śimha; with Drōṇa.
śingha; with Achala, Drōṇa.
śiṅha; with Bhrukunṭha, Nāga.
śiva; with Bhāra, Mātri, Sūkshma.
sōma; with Bhartṛi, Rudra.
svāmika; with Dhṛiti.
svāmin; with Agni, Ananta, Bappa, Bhava, Brahmādēva, Dēva, Divākara, Gōmika, Gōpa, Gōri, Gōvinda, Guhila, Jaya, Kumāra, Mitra, Nāgavatsa, Sarva, Savitṛi, Svāti, Vindu.
svāmī; with Hari, Jaya, Murunda, Śikhara.
trāta; with Hari, Sōma, Viṣṇu, Yaśas.
tula; with Mātri.
vādha; with Sarva.
vardhana; with Āditya, Harsha, Prabhākara, Rājya, Viṣṇu, Yaśas.
varman (see 11 n.); with Achala, Āditya, Anisū, Ananta, Avanti, Bala, Bandhu, Bhīma, Bhōga, Bōdhi, Chandra, Chitra, Hari, Hastin, Īśāna, Īvara, Jaya, Nara, Śārdhila, Sarva, Susthita, Vibhu, Viśva, Yajña.
vatsa; with Bandhu, Nāga.
vishnu; with Dēva, Dhanya, Hari, Indra, Mātri, Varuṇa.
vriiddha; with Viṣṇu.

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ERRATA.

INTRODUCTION.

Page 36, line 15, *for* Mr. Blochmann's, *read* Mr. Kay's.

106, note 1, line 3, *for* Kādamba, *read* Kadamba.

117, line 3, *for* navô-ttarê, *read* nav-ôttarê.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

- 6, Text line 5, *for* ôchchhri, *read* ôchchhri (chchhri).
" " " 9, *for* sadṛśāny, *read* sadṛśāny.
" " " 17, *for* parākkram-āṅkasya, *read* parākkram-āṅkasya.
7, " " 20, *for* mālābhagyasya, *read* mālābhagyasya.
20, " " 20, *for* kula-vadhuḥ, *read* kula-vadhu(dhū)ḥ.
" " " 21, *for* ôrjītam, *read* ôrjītam.
" " " 26, *for* paribriṇhan(n), *read* paribriṇhan(n).
26, " " 1, *for* ôchhêttuḥ, *read* ôchchhêttuḥ
27, note 4, in lines 1 and 13, *for* ôchchêttṛi, *read* ôchchhêttṛi; and in line 1, *for* ôchchêttā, *read* ôchchhêttā.
28, note 6, line 4 from the bottom, *for* *Puraṇa*, *read* *Purāṇa*.
31, Text line 3, *for* jivita=sādhanah, *read* jivita-sādhanah.
35, " " 3, *for* rmmanah, *read* rmmanah.
43, " " 6, *for* shan-navatê, *read* shan-navatê.
48, note 1, line 2, *for* Visvavarman, *read* Viśvavarman.
59, Text line 4, *for* Âpi, *read* Api.
" " " 11, *for* an-upaskritair, *read* an-upaskritair.
60, " " 15, *for* Athâ, *read* Atha.
61, " " 27, the word Guptânām should be in the thick type.
73, line 4, *for* appratimēna, *read* appratimēna.
74, Text line 8, *for* a-sahyatamāñ, *read* a-sahyatamāñ.
75, " " 19, *for* (? shthâ), *read* (? shthâ).
" " " 23, *for* tritīyam, *read* tri(tri)tīyam.
76, " " 39, *for* śrīmān, *read* śrīmān.
83, " " 17, *for* ābhiramam *read* ābhirāmam.
96, " " 12, *for* pramukhânām, *read* pramukhânām.
115, " " 14, *for* khanda, *read* khaṇḍa.
118, " " 6, *for* ādin, *read* ādin.
" " " 7, *for* Kaṇva, *read* Kāṇva.
146, " " 4, *for* drishta, *read* dṛishṭa.
153, " " 4, *for* ôdapan, *read* ôdapān.
" " " 7, *for* udûḍham, *read* udûḍham.
" " " 10-11, *for* garimnas, *read* garimṇas.
" " " 12-13, *for* visambvâ(va)dītā, *read* visambvâ(vâ)dītā.
154, " " 17, *for* dêsām, *read* dēsām; and *for* ñimbam, *read* ñimbam.
" " " 18, *for* Dharmmadô, *read* Dharmmadô.

- Page 154, Text line 19, *for* khâtayâm, *read* khânayâm.
 156, line 27, *for* mightly, *read* mighty.
 162, Text line 4, *for* vṛishashya, *read* vṛishasya.
 165, " " 3, *for* didhitir, *read* didhitir.
 166, " " 14, *for* vad=apâst, *read* d=apâst.
 173, " " 5, *for* triṇa, *read* triṇa.
 193, line 6, *to the word* TEXT *attach the note-reference* 3.
 194, Text line 11, *for* âtisra(sri)shtaḥ, *read* âtisra(sri)shtaḥ.
 " " " 19, *for* Shashṭhim, *read* Shashṭim.
 203, " " 10, *for* pariṇâyitavan, *read* pariṇâyitavân.
 204, " " 23, *for* lakshmivan, *read* lakshmivân.
 " " " 24, *for* âhō, *read* ahō.
 237, " " 13, *for* Chakra, *read* Chakra-.
 238, " " 25, *for* atisṛishtaḥ, *read* atisṛishtaḥ.
 245, " " 1, *for* Dṛishtaṃ, *read* Dṛishtaṃ.
 250, line 35, *for* Oldhausen, *read* Olshausen.
 254, Translation, line 2, twice, *for* ana, *read* and.
 280, No. 74, Text lines 2 and 3, *the note-references should be* 3 *and* 4.
 290, line 12, *the word* Mihiralakshmi *should be in the thick type*.
 294, Text line 1, *as pointed out to me by Prof. Kielhorn, for* sūtra[h*], *read* stambha[h*]; *and cancel the latter part of note* 4.
 296, Translation, line 9, *for* thread, *read* pillar, *in accordance with the correction in the Text*.

I have not had the opportunity of examining the final printed sheets as thoroughly as I could have wished; and doubtless some other instances of oversight on my part will be discovered, in addition to the present corrections, most of which I owe to the kindness of Prof. F. Kielhorn. Some suggestions by him for altering my readings and translations, will be considered in the *Indian Antiquary*; since, to include them here, would further delay the issue of the book.

